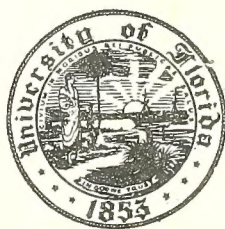




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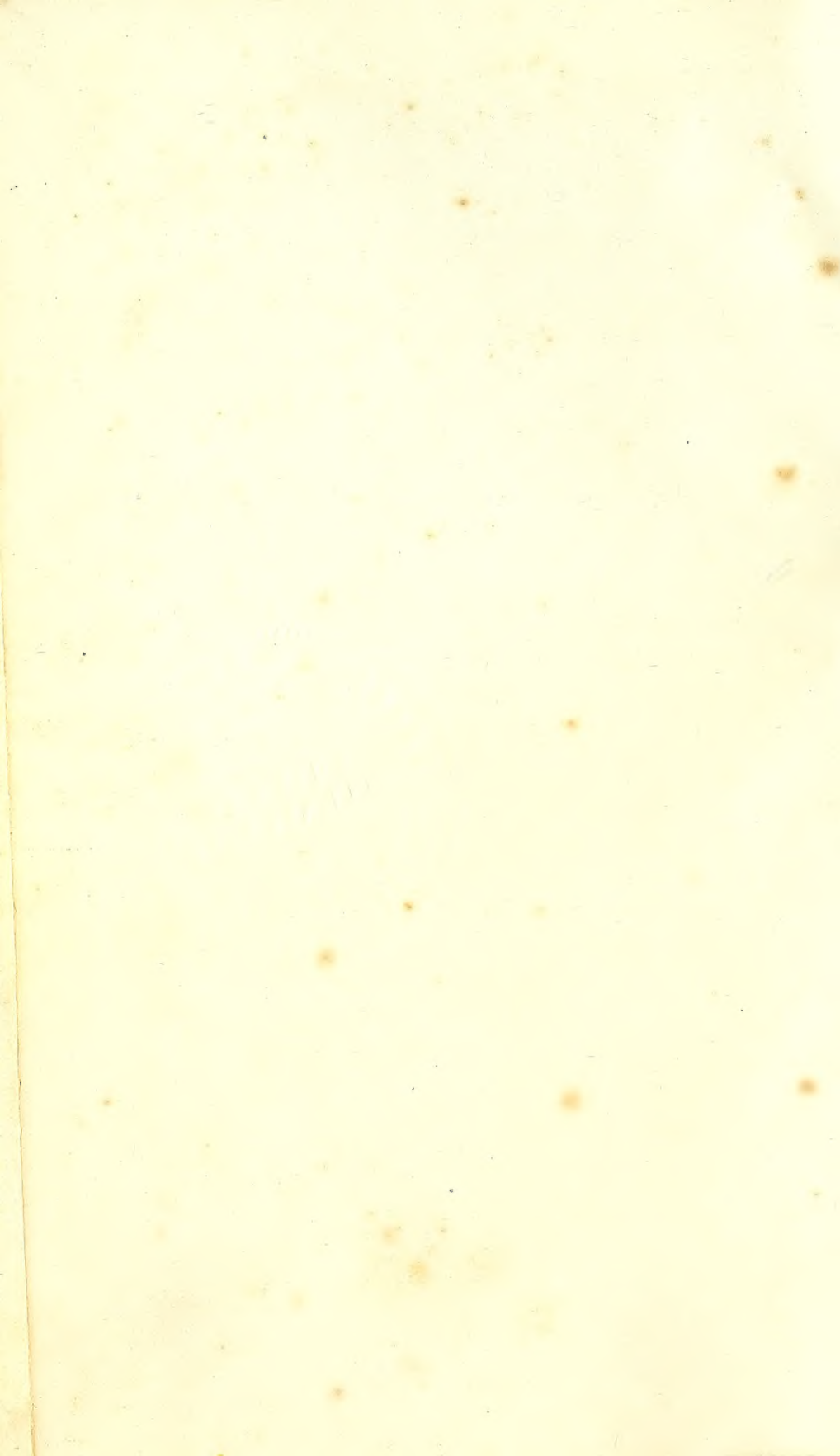


J. M. Bude
S. Peters



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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1880.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the Publishers' circular announcing this new series of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, it was stated "that, during the interval which has elapsed since the last number of the RECORD appeared, the want of some Irish Periodical mainly devoted to the exposition of ecclesiastical subjects has been keenly felt and deeply regretted.

"An effort is now about to be made under peculiarly favourable circumstances to meet this want, and to remove from the Irish Clergy the reproach of not maintaining a Periodical they might justly call their own. The new series will be published under the sanction and approval of ecclesiastical authority, and with the co-operation of distinguished writers from every part of Ireland.

"Although chiefly devoted to the discussion of questions intimately connected with the professional studies of a priest, still in its pages will be found papers on those literary, historical, scientific and archaeological subjects which at the present day engross so much of the public attention. It will thus, it is hoped, become for Irish priests at home and abroad a trustworthy source of information, a desirable medium of intercommunication, and a permanent record of every important document issued by the Holy See or by any of the Roman Congregations on questions having a practical interest for Irish ecclesiastics."

Very little more remains to be written by way of introduction to our new Periodical. On the one hand no apology is needed for undertaking, at the request of those best qualified to judge of its expediency, a work at once so laborious and so useful. On the other hand, any lengthened statement of an elaborate plan for conducting a Periodical, which is given at the outset, and which leaves no room for the improvements suggested by experience, is apt to be embarrassing to those who give it, and to be received by the intelligent reader with disapprobation and merited distrust. He had a true insight into human nature who taught that we should strive

Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem.

The Editor may be allowed this opportunity of expressing his deep gratitude for the friendly aid already supplied or promised from various parts of Ireland and of England by writers of recognised ability and distinction. He feels assured that such aid will be always abundantly and cheerfully given, and that in a short time the RECORD will come to be regarded by Irish priests, wheresoever they may be labouring, with a feeling of personal interest. He will spare no pains to make it worthy of their esteemed approval and support.

The difficulty of his task will be considerably diminished by adhering to the usage—now so commonly observed in Periodical Literature—of having the name, or at least the initials, of each writer attached to his contribution. Thus the duty, and consequently the responsibility, of an Editor are practically limited to securing the co-operation of competent writers, and indicating, as far as may be necessary, the range of subjects which he may deem suitable for exposition or discussion.

In the case of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, the diocesan *Imprimatur* will form the best guarantee that its Editor has not notably erred as regards either branch of his duty.

T. J. C.

IRISH THEOLOGIANS.—No. I.

JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA.

JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA, a man of Irish birth and education, was by far the most distinguished scholar of the ninth century in Western Europe. He was at once theologian, philosopher, and poet; he could write Greek verses and expound the Scriptures in the Hebrew and the Septuagint; he was familiar with Aristotle and Plato, as well as with St. Basil and St. Augustin; and was not only rector of the Royal School of Paris but is also said to have been professor of dialectics and mathematics. He was known as the "Master" by excellence, and was spoken of as a "miracle of knowledge." Even in our own time critics of great name have ranked Scotus with Chrysostom, Dante, and Thomas of Aquin, partly from the beauty and sublimity of his thoughts, partly from the originality, depth, and subtlety of his philosophical speculations. No doubt he erred seriously, and was censured justly. He erred, however, not in the spirit of Luther and Calvin, but of Origen and St. Cyprian; for one who ought to know, and was no great friend to the Irish stranger, has attested that he was *in all things* a holy and humble man, filled with the spirit of God. But he sailed through unknown seas where there was no chart to guide him. His daring spirit, soaring on strong pinions, essayed untravelled realms of thought, and in the quest of truth he often followed wandering fires; yet, as he himself tells us, in the light of God's revelation and the strength of His grace, the wearied spirit always found its homeward way again. He was in reality the first of the schoolmen, and his very errors, like the wanderings of every explorer of a new country, served to guide those who came after him. Moreover, he has been censured not only for his real errors, but for doctrines which he never held, although condemned under his name; and so it came to pass that he was unduly blamed by those who knew little of his history and less of his teaching, and unduly praised, we think, by those who are much more ready to eulogise him for his errors than for his virtues. We shall at present merely sketch his history, which contains many things of interest, at least for Irishmen; hereafter we hope to find an opportunity of examining his writings with a view to ascertain how far he may be guilty of the theo-

gical and philosophical misdemeanours that have been laid to his charge.

Like many other good things which Ireland has produced, both England and Scotland have striven to make Scotus their own. Thomas Dempster, the saint-stealer, in his *Menologium Scotorum*, published in 1621, and dedicated to Cardinal Barberini, has endeavoured to prove that Scotus Erigena was a native of North Britain; as, however, his arguments are founded on the similarity in sound between *Ayr* and *Erigena*, and between *Scotus* and *Scot*, we need not now refute them at length. Thomas Gale, an Englishman, who was the first to publish at Oxford, in 1681, Scotus' treatise, "*De Divisione Naturae*," maintains that he was of English birth, and was born at a place called Eringen or Ergerne, in Herefordshire, as that name is very like *Erigena*—for he gives no other shadow of positive proof! It is now superfluous to prove at length, what all modern scholars admit, that "*Scotus*" in the ninth century, and even down to the eleventh century, was exactly equivalent to "*Irishman*" now, although of course even then they sometimes spoke of the "*Scoti of Alba*" as we speak of the "*Irish of Glasgow*" at present. But when used alone in those early centuries the terms "*Scoti*" and "*Scotia*" were applied exclusively to the primitive race and their dwelling-place—the Milesian Scots of Ireland, of whom the Albanian Scots were a colony. In 812, before the birth of Scotus, Eginhard, the Secretary of Charlemagne, says that a fleet of Normans invaded Ireland, "the island of the Scots;" and, after the death of Scotus, Alfred the Great, in his translation of Orosius, speaks of Ireland as "*Hibernia, which we call Scotland*." So the very name John Scotus is the same as John the Irishman, and this name was given to him by all his contemporaries. Pope Nicholas I. calls him, in a letter to King Charles, "*Joannes genere Scotus*," and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who knew him intimately, calls him "*Scotus*" and "*Scotigena*," or Irish-born. But what settles the question is the way in which Prudentius, in his treatise on Predestination, speaks of Scotus, for Prudentius says he was himself the friend of Scotus—quasi frater—he lived some time with him in the palace of the king, and no one could know better whence Scotus came. "*Te Solum*," says Prudentius, "*omnium acutissimum Galliae transmisit Hibernia*." So it was Ireland, then, and not England or Scotland, sent him over to France. Later on in the eleventh century when, after the

fusion of the Picts and Scots into one nation, Scotia came to signify Scotland, the cognomen Erigena was given to Scotus to signify that he was not an Albanian but an Irish Scot. We do not find, however, that any of his contemporaries gave him that name, and the form Erigena, from which Dempster infers his Caledonian origin, is not found in any existing MS. copy of his works. In most of them it is written *Ierugena*, which Dr. Floss, the learned editor of the works of Scotus published in Migne's Patrology, thinks is derived from *ἱερωῦ* (*νῆσος*), and signifies "native of the sacred isle," *insula sanctorum*. But although Scotus himself was certainly fond of Greek compounds, very few scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries were able to make them. For our own part we should prefer to adopt the reading *Eriugena*, which is found in the Florentine and Darmstad manuscripts, as being a far simpler and more natural form. Eriu is the older nominative, and its vowel termination would render it better adapted to form a compound than the genitive form Erin, and thus we get Eriugena, which no doubt would very soon be contracted into Erigena.

Unfortunately we neither know the exact date of Erigena's birth, nor where he was born and educated. We find him an inmate of the palace of Charles the Bald in 851, when he published his book on Predestination. He must have been at that time some years in France, for he was then well known as a distinguished scholar, so that if we assume that he was born about 820, and came to France about 845, we cannot be very far astray. We know from a letter of Eric of Auxerre to Charles the Bald, that a crowd of Hibernian philosophers came to France attracted by the liberality of that prince, and driven out of their own country by the invasion of the Danes. "Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene toto cum grege philosophorum ad littera nostra migrantem;" "concrepantibus," says William of Malmesbury, "undique belli fragoribus." All the Irish annalists tell us that from 815 to 845 the Danes under Turgesius plundered, desolated, and burned the whole country, but especially the churches, monasteries, and schools. In 843 "Turgesius plundered Connaught, Meath, and Clonmacnoise with its oratories;" in the same year "Forrannen, the Primate of Armagh, was taken prisoner with his relics and people" (to the number of 3,000), "and they were carried by the Danes to their ships at Limerick." It is easy to see how young Scotus might

be captured by the foreigners, and succeed in making his escape to France, or seek an asylum there, most probably either in this or the next year

Charles the Bald, son of Louis le Debonaire, and grandson of Charlemagne, was at this time king of Northern France and Burgundy. He had few of the kingly virtues of his great grandsire, but he was a zealous patron of literature, very fond of theological discussions, was present at many French Councils, and on the whole was far better fitted by nature to be a monk than a monarch. He received the young Irish scholar with great kindness, and treated him with marked distinction. Scotus had apartments in the palace, was made *Capital*, or head, of the *Scholæ Palatinæ*, and frequently admitted to the royal table. He was a great Greek scholar, and the king wanted him to translate into Latin the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, a task which none of his subjects was able to accomplish. Moreover, the Irishman was witty as well as wise, and the king loved a joke quite as much as he loved learning. William of Mahnesbury has preserved two of the witticisms of Scotus. On one occasion, when the wine was going round the table, the Irishman by some word or act offended against the etiquette due to royalty. The king, who was sitting opposite to Scotus, good-humouredly rebuked him by asking—"Quid interest inter Scottum et Sottum?" "Tabula tantum," says the witty Hibernian, and the monarch greatly enjoyed this turning of the tables against himself. On another occasion Scotus was dining at the table of the king with two other clerics. We cannot, indeed, ascertain for certain whether Scotus himself was a cleric or not; he certainly does not appear to have been a priest. These two clerics were very big men, and Scotus was, like some other great men, very small. Three fishes were brought in by an attendant—one small and two large ones. The king beckoned Scotus to divide the fish with his companions. Scotus did so, giving them the small one, and keeping for himself the two big ones. The King protested against the unfair division. "It is perfectly fair, my Lord the King," said Scotus, "for here," pointing to himself and his plate, "we have one small and two big, and there," pointing to his companions, "they have two big and one small." The king laughed, and probably a fairer division was afterwards made by Scotus.

He might have long enjoyed his honours and emoluments in the palace in peace if he were prudent. But just

at this period two fierce theological disputes arose in France, and either his friends at court, or his Irish blood, prompted him to mingle in the *mêlée*. A short account of both these discussions is necessary in order to understand his part in the conflict.

Just about the time when Erigena arrived in France, began the first and the warmest controversy of the ninth century concerning the abstruse question of Predestination. Most of the French bishops and theologians took part in this discussion, which was hotly debated for twelve years. Its author was a Benedictine monk, of the famous Abbey of Fulda, who was called Gotteschalk, or servant of God. He was son of a Saxon noble, the Count Bernus, and when yet a child was dedicated to the service of God in the Abbey of Fulda. But he refused to be bound by the vow of his parents when he arrived at man's estate, and appealed to the Archbishop of Mayence to permit him to leave the abbey. The archbishop decided in his favour, but Raban Maur, his abbot, appealed to the Emperor, and through his influence Gotteschalk was forbidden to give up the habit; but it seems he was allowed to leave Fulda, and crossing the Rhine he took refuge in the Benedictine Abbey of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, the first Suffragan See of the Archbishop of Rheims. Here he closely applied himself to the study of St. Augustin, and began to dogmatise on grace, asserting the doctrine of a twofold predestination—of the good to glory, and of the bad, if not to sin, at least to punishment. At this time he was illegally ordained by a chorepiscopus of Rheims called Rigbold, without the knowledge of the Bishop of Soissons, and found it prudent to retire for a while to Italy, where he was hospitably received by Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and son-in-law of Louis le Debonaire. At Friuli he met Noting, Bishop of Verona, to whom he explained his new theories on grace. Shortly afterwards Noting, coming to the Court of Louis of Bavaria, met Raban Maur, and informed him of the views of his ancient runaway monk Gotteschalk. Raban Maur, one of the most learned men of his own time, and for many years head of the great school of Fulda, was now Archbishop of Mayence; so as soon as his former undutiful novice appeared in Germany, Raban at once summoned a synod to his archiepiscopal city of Mayence, and cited Gotteschalk to appear before the synod and account for his doctrinal novelties. This Council was held on the 1st of October, 848. Gotteschalk did appear in person, and

handed in a profession of faith in which, according to Hincmar, he declared—"Quia *sicut* Deus incommutabiliter ante mundi constitutionem omnes electos suos per gratuitam gratiam suam prædestinavit ad vitam, *similiter omnino* omnes reprobos, qui in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse incommutabilis Deus per justum judicium prædestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam."

If this sentence really express the doctrine of Gotteschalk he taught the heresy of Calvin, for, although the wicked are condemned for their demerits, they are, he says, predestined to eternal death quite independent of them. He was accordingly condemned by the Council, and Raban wrote a letter to Hincmar to inform him that a vagabond monk (gyrovagus), of the diocese of Soissons, held heretical doctrine, and was condemned by the synod with the approbation of King Louis. He also requests Hincmar to convene a synod in his own diocese, and condemn his doctrines in like manner. Hincmar was not slow in following this advice. That great bishop, for more than thirty years the central figure of the French Church, was in every way qualified to fill the high place which he occupied as the first prelate and peer in France. He was learned, eloquent, and resolute, a lasting friend, and, to those whom he considered in the wrong, an unrelenting foe. In his youth he had been a monk of the great Abbey of St. Denis, so that between Raban Maur, a Benedictine abbot of Fulda, and Hincmar, a Benedictine of St. Denis, the former now the most powerful prince-bishop in Germany, and the latter the first prelate in France, the unfortunate Gotteschalk, a runaway monk of their order, could hope for little mercy. A great synod of his province was convoked by Hincmar in the palace of Quiercy. The king was there, and a great number of bishops and abbots. Gotteschalk was introduced and interrogated, but persisted in his opinions, and, if we may credit Hincmar, was very insolent in his demeanour. So the bishops condemned him to be degraded, and the abbots ordered him to be flogged according to the rule of St. Benedict, and after that to be imprisoned in an *ergastulum*. A great fire was kindled, Gotteschalk was ordered to take his MS. on Predestination in his hand, and the lash was then applied until he should himself fling the book into the flames, which he was glad to do very soon. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Convent of Hautvilliers, where he remained contumacious for nine years, and died, it is said, in the same spirit.

But the severity of Hincmar defeated his purpose. It was said that the doctrine of the great Augustin was condemned at Quiercy, that Hincmar was a tyrant, and Gotteschalk a confessor suffering for the faith. Ratramnus, a learned monk of Corbie, in the diocese of Amiens, was the first to attack Hincmar in a letter which he wrote to his friend Gotteschalk, and which it seems the latter was allowed to receive. Thereupon Pardulus, Bishop of Laon, entered the lists in defence of his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Rheims. On the other hand, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres, and Prudentius pronounced in favour of Gotteschalk, and wrote very warmly in his defence. This Prudentius was a Spaniard by birth, but, being a very learned and holy man, was treated with great favour by the king. Like Scotus, he was at one time an inmate of the palace, and was afterwards made Bishop of Troyes. These three, then—Ratramnus, Lupus, and Prudentius—defended Gotteschalk, and attacked Hincmar in a formal statement submitted to the king and many of the bishops of France. The king remitted these documents to Hincmar, and Hincmar invoked the aid of the Archbishop of Mayence. Raban Maur came promptly to his assistance, and published several letters, in which he examined and refuted the arguments put forward by Prudentius and Ratramnus, and advised Hincmar not to suffer Gotteschalk to cause any further disturbance by allowing him to diffuse his poisonous doctrine in various letters to his friends. Florus too, a deacon of the Church of Lyons, joined the party adverse to Hincmar; so the latter, finding his adversaries multiplying on all sides, earnestly begged his friend Scotus to come to his assistance, and the “Master” promptly responded to the call. In 851 he published his “*Liber de Prædestinatione*,” a short treatise in nineteen chapters on a very burning question. This book at once raised a tremendous storm on all sides. He adopted a new system of discussion, arguing rather from reason than authority, and dealing his blows indiscriminately on friend and foe. He ranged through all metaphysics, discusses the nature of sin, the origin of evil, the eternal punishment of the wicked, and the qualities of the bodies that will be hereafter united to the glorified and condemned souls. He somewhat contemptuously speaks of his opponents, and altogether acts on the principle which he elsewhere so eloquently proclaims in a sentence that has something of the sonorous ring of a Ciceronian period: “Non ita sum territus auctoritate, aut minus capacium

animorum expavesco impetum, ut ea quæ vera ratio clare colligit indubitanterque definit aperta fronte pronuntiare confundar, praesertim cum de talibus non nisi inter sapientes tractandum sit, quibus nil suavius est ad audiendum vera ratione, nil delectabilius ad investigandum, quando quæritur, nil pulchrius ad contemplandum quando invenitur." Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, at once sent this treatise of Scotus to Prudentius, and he was not very long in pronouncing what he thought of it. The next year he published his great treatise, "*De Prædestinatione contra Joannem Scotum*," with an introduction addressed to Archbishop Wenilo. We have no hesitation in saying that this introduction is written in language rather vulgar, and by no means charitable. He heaps all manner of abusive epithets on the head of the redoubtable Scotus, and although he declares that he is animated only by zeal for the Catholic faith and the affection of true charity, we think he would have given better proof of both by greater moderation in his language. He declares that he found in the book of Scotus the poison of Pelagianism, the madness of Origen, and the wild fury (*furiositatem*) of the Collyrian heretics. He speaks of the impudence of Scotus in barking at (*oblatrantem*) the orthodox faith and the Catholic Fathers, and he hints pretty clearly that it was the devil himself who vomited so many blasphemies by the mouth of John and Julian, and so on to the end of the chapter. In the same spirit, but in more moderate language, Florus attacked the book of Scotus, whom he calls a "*vaniloquus et garrulus homo*," and speaks of his writings as "*plena mendacii et erroris*." For the present we shall not discuss in what or how far Scotus erred in his book, but he was certainly on the right side in supporting Hincmar, and although neither Florus nor Prudentius held all the opinions of Gotteschalk, it would not be difficult to extract from their writings many propositions, which would need to be interpreted in a very charitable spirit indeed before they could be reconciled with the commonly received doctrines of our Catholic theologians.

But Hincmar was not the man to yield to the noisy declamation of the theologians of the South. In 853 he convened another Synod at Quiercy, in which he formulated with great accuracy his own doctrine on grace and predestination. They are well known as the *Capitula Carisiaca*. We can only quote the headings:—

1. Quod una tantum sit prædestinatio Dei.

2. Quod liberum hominis arbitrium per gratiam sanetur.
3. Quod Deus omnes homines velit salvos fieri.
4. Quod Christus pro omnibus hominibus passus sit.

The opponents of these propositions could not be orthodox.

It is said that Prudentius signed them, but he certainly in a short time afterwards formulated four counter-propositions, which it is not easy to reconcile with Catholic doctrine, and in this proceeding he was countenanced by Remigius of Lyons. Later on, in the Council of Valence in 855, and in that of Langres in 859, the southern theologians and bishops attacked the *capitula* of Hincmar, at least by implication, and denounced the book written by Scotus as a devil's commentary rather than an argument of faith, and said it contained nothing but old women's stories, and Irish porridge nauseous to the purity of faith. They did not expressly mention his name, but there can be no doubt about the reference in the words, "Scotorumque pultes puritati fidei nauseam inferentes." But in the end Hincmar prevailed, and his doctrine was sanctioned in the Synod of Tousi, in the year 860, where a great many prelates of both parties were assembled from fourteen provinces, with twelve metropolitans, and the three kings at their head—Charles the Bald, Lothaire of Lorraine, and Charles of Provence. So the censures of Florus and Prudentius, and the condemnation of Valence and Langres, cannot have much weight in blackening the theological character of Scotus Erigena.

The next discussion in which Scotus is said to have taken part occurred shortly after. It has been stated by many writers that he was the first who denied the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Western Church. Certainly Berengarius in the eleventh century claimed Scotus as his teacher on the new doctrine which he introduced; and the Sacramentarians regarded him as a great apostle of what they called the truth. A book on the Eucharist attributed to Scotus by Berengarius was condemned in three synods, and committed to the flames as impious and heretical. It is important, therefore, to examine the historical evidence on which these statements rest, with a view to ascertain whether they are well founded or merely foul aspersions on the character of the Irish theologian.

Saint Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie, the monastery to which Ratramnus also belonged, had written about the year 831, a book, published much later, "*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*." Its author was a holy and

learned man, given to penance and self-denial, so humble that although a deacon he never received priest's orders, and forbade his disciples to write his life after his death. This book was written for the instruction of the newly converted Saxons in a plain, simple style, and was presented by special request to Charles the Bald. In this treatise the author expressed in very emphatic language the absolute identity of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist with the "flesh that was born of Mary, and suffered on the cross, and arose from the dead." This assertion of absolute identity in its widest sense gave some offence to many good Catholics at that time, and they inferred therefrom that Paschasius held that Christ was as visibly present in the Eucharist as on the cross, that His flesh was really eaten in a carnal and revolting sense, as the Capharnaïtes imagined, and that therefore St. Augustin was wrong in teaching that the Blessed Eucharist was a sign of the Body of Christ, but of the Body of Christ really present. It was, therefore, clearly a discussion *de modo loquendi*—on the form of speech to be used. Both parties expressly and emphatically confessed the Real Presence, but Paschasius used language which seemed to imply that the *sacramental mode* of existence was the same as the *natural mode* of existence of the Body of Christ on earth and in heaven, which of course is not the fact, nor did Paschasius mean to assert it. On the other hand his opponents, amongst whom the monk Ratramnus of the same abbey of Corbie was chief, in their anxiety to assert the difference *quoad modum existendi*, used some expressions which seemed to deny the substantial identity, than which denial nothing could be further from their minds. It has been said by some that the book against Paschasius which is attributed to Ratramnus or, as he is also called, Bertramus, was not really written by him, but by Scotus; others maintain that two distinct books were written by order of King Charles against Paschasius—one by Ratramnus, the other by Scotus—that the former is still in existence and the latter has been lost. The truth, however, seems to be—(1) that Scotus wrote no treatise on this subject; (2) that the errors on the Eucharist attributed to him by his contemporaries were contained in his commentary on St. John's Gospel, fragments of which still exist; (3) that the book on the Eucharist, attributed to Scotus in the eleventh century and condemned under his name, was in reality not written by him but by Ratramnus, and is the identical treatise

which still exists, and of whose doctrine we can easily judge.

There is no contemporary evidence to show that Scotus wrote a treatise on the Eucharist, and, on the other hand, there is positive evidence which goes to show the identity of the work attributed to Scotus with the treatise that has certainly been written by Ratramnus. The very words, on account of which Berengarius says the book was ordered to be burnt at the Council of Rome in 1059, namely—"ea quae in altare consecrantur esse figuram, pignus, signum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi," and which were used in a heretical sense by Berengarius but not by their author, are found in the Book of Ratramnus, the MS. of which still bears his name in uncial letters of the tenth century. Another expression attributed by Ascelinus to the unfortunate Irishman—*specie geruntur ista, non veritate*—are nowhere to be found in the existing writings of Scotus, but are found exactly in the same MS. of Ratramnus. There can be no doubt that Scotus, in his commentary on St. John, did use inaccurate language, but certainly not in a heretical sense, as, for instance, when he says—"Spiritualiter enim Christum immolamus, et intellectualiter eum mente, non dente, comedimus." Scotus meant *spiritualiter et realiter* in the same sense precisely as St. Augustin used similar words to the exclusion of the carnal revolting meaning of the Capharnaïtes. Yet, in this and in other passages, his language displeased some of his best friends, so that Hincmar in his second book on Predestination *seems* to attribute to Scotus—for he does not mention his name—the error of teaching that the Sacrament of the altar was not the real body and blood, but only a memorial of them, whereas Scotus taught in reality, or certainly meant to teach, that it was both—namely, a memorial, and at the same time a reality. Adrevaldus, too, wrote a treatise "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini contra ineptias J. Scoti." This is the only contemporary evidence we have concerning the alleged errors of Scotus on the Eucharist. Just 200 years later, however, in consequence of the fame of Scotus and the similarity of their style, the book of Ratramnus was attributed to Scotus both by Berengarius and most of his contemporaries. So it shared the fate of Berengarius himself, it was condemned by the Council of Paris in 1050, and in the same year it was anathematised by the Councils of Rome and Vercelli. Nine years later Pope Nicholas II. made Berengarius himself throw the book into the fire in

presence of an immense crowd of people at Rome. And so it came to pass that Scotus was censured for opinions which he never held and for a book which he never wrote.

Almost since his first arrival in France, Scotus had been engaged in translating from the Greek into Latin the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius. In the year 828 the Greek Emperor Michael Balbus—the stammerer—had sent, as a present to Louis le Debonaire, a copy in Greek of the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Dionysius, mentioned in the 17th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, was said to have been at first Bishop of Athens, and to have been afterwards sent into France by St. Clement, where he preached the Gospel for many years, and died a martyr's death. The works attributed to St. Dionysius, although really written by some forger of the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, were at this time regarded as genuine. Hence, the Greek Emperor's gift was very highly prized in France, and preserved with the greatest care and veneration as the undoubted work of the apostle of the French people, and especially of Paris, where the Great Abbey of St. Denis, for many ages the cemetery of the kings of France, was built in his honour. But these writings in Greek were a sealed fountain to most of the French scholars at the time. Hilduin, a monk of St. Denis, was charged with their custody and commissioned to translate them, but failed in the attempt. When, however, the exiled Irish scholar came to Paris, the king, to his great joy, soon discovered that he was a perfect master of the Greek tongue, and asked him to undertake the translation of the writings of the Areopagite. Scotus gladly undertook the task imposed upon him by his royal patron, and executed it in such a way as to please the man of all others best qualified to pronounce a critical opinion—Anastasius, the Roman librarian. In a letter written to the king, in 875, he declares it to be a wonderful thing that a man like Scotus, a barbarian living at the end of the world—*vir ille barbarus in finibus mundi positus*—could understand and translate into another tongue the writings of the Areopagite. But the Holy Spirit, he says, was the chief agent who filled him at once with fire and eloquence—*qui hunc ardentem et loquentem fecit*—and charity was the mistress who taught him for the instruction and edification of many. He adds that his only fault was to translate too literally, and the cause of that was his great humility, which did not permit him to change the exact order and meaning of the words of so great a writer.

We cannot ascertain for certain the year of its appearance, it was probably about 855, but in this case too Scotus was unfortunate. Whether it was that the French theologians had given him a bad character in Rome on account of the book on Predestination, or, as others think, that the great Greek scholar was considered to be a supporter of Greek influences in the Court of Charles during the Photian intrigues, it is certain that at this time he was no favourite at Rome. Accordingly, when his work appeared, Pope Nicholas wrote a letter to Charles the Bald, in which he complains of the publication of this translation without the usual apostolic sanction—*quod juxta morem ecclesiae nobis mitti debet*—especially as John the Scot, who translated it, although said to be a man of much learning, was by many persons regarded as not altogether sound in his doctrine—*non sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicitur*. Therefore the Pope orders Charles either to send the aforesaid John to Rome to give an account of himself, or at least not to permit him to remain any longer at Paris as the head of the University—*aut certo Parisiis in studio, cujus capital jam olim fuisse perhibetur, morari non sinatis*. This letter was written in the third year of Nicholas' pontificate, either 861 or 862. We do not know what effect the letter produced, whether the king dismissed Scotus from his high position or not. It is very improbable that he did dismiss him, seeing the way in which Anastasius, himself a Roman, spoke of Scotus twelve years later as a holy, learned, and humble man. Most probably by that time they got better information concerning Scotus in Rome, and found out that he was neither so unsound in doctrine, nor so Photian in his tendencies as his enemies made him out to be. At this time, however, when the Pope wrote to Charles, Scotus took very good care not to go to Rome, where he might have met the fate of Gotteschalk; nor does it appear that Charles dismissed his favourite from the palace, although requested to do so by the Pope himself.

Scotus not only translated and wrote extensive commentaries on the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, but about the same period composed a profound, original, and eloquent work in five books, which he entitles *Περὶ Φυσέως Μερισμοῦ*, seu, *De Divisione Naturae*. This work has been greatly praised, and greatly and justly censured. We shall, however, for the present reserve our judgment on its undoubted merits, as well as

on its demerits, and confine ourselves to sketching its eventful history. It is a dialogue between a master and his pupil after the Platonic fashion, not indeed with Plato's unrivalled beauty of form, but with much of the eloquence and subtlety of the Greek mind. No other scholar of the Western Church in any age was so filled with the spirit of the philosophy and theology of the Greeks, and whose mind was so closely akin to the mind of Greece. The Irish, like the Greek mind has a natural love for speculation, is quick, subtle, and far-seeing, has greater power of abstraction and generalization—that is to say, greater metaphysical power, than the phlegmatic Anglo-Saxon. Scotus was a typical Celt, strongly developing all the intellectual peculiarities of the race. Moreover, he was familiar with Plato, and Aristotle, and the Greek Fathers, far more than with the Latin Fathers. He had by close study imbibed the spirit of Neo-Platonic philosophy from the writings of Dionysius, whom he not unnaturally regarded with the reverence due to an apostle, and so his whole soul was made by nature, study, and duty, intensely Greek. No doubt this was in itself one great source of his errors, both real and imaginary, because his critics seeing he erred in some things where they could fathom his philosophy, imagined he erred in many more where they could scarcely guess at the meaning of his words. Hence William of Malmesbury very justly says of this work of Scotus, "*De Divisione Naturæ*," that it was very useful for the solution of some difficult questions, "*Si tamen ignoscatur ei in quibusdam, quibus a Latinorum tramite deviavit dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit.*" His eyes were on the Greeks, and his spirit was with the Greeks, and so his teaching and his language in many respects seemed strange and erroneous to the Latins. It has been said that this book of Scotus was corrupted by his enemies the more easily to refute him, and by heretics the more easily to defend their own errors. But the supposition is quite gratuitous, unsupported by evidence, and unnecessary as an explanation of facts. His doctrine in many points was attacked in his own time, his errors were palliated by friends and amplified by enemies. In later ages erratic sectaries, who vexed the Church of France in the beginning of the thirteenth century, appealed to the writings of Scotus in defence of their errors, and thus he was made a third time a scape-goat to carry the sins of others. We learn from the *Chronicon* of the monk Alberic,

but from no other source, that in the year 1225 Honorius III. sent a brief to the archbishops and bishops of France, in which he passed a severe judgment on the book of Scotus entitled "Periphrasis," for so the monk writes it. The Bishop of Paris had informed the Pope that this work was full of heretical depravity, and had been condemned by the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, that it was hid in many monasteries, where cloistered and scholastic men, thinking it a great thing to propound new opinions, spent much time in the study of the book. So the Pope ordered it to be carefully sought after, whenever it was found to be solemnly burned, and inflicts excommunication *ipso facto* on those who shall knowingly presume to keep it in their possession. This severe prohibition was effective. The MS. copies were everywhere sought out, and nearly all destroyed, and no Catholic dared to publish it. But in the year 1681 Thomas Gale, of Oxford, printed it at that city. A few years later, in 1685, the old prohibition was renewed, and the work placed on the *Index*, where it still remains, although reprinted in Migne's Patrology.

Scotus also wrote several Greek and Latin poems on various subjects, thirteen of which, mostly Latin, are printed in Migne's edition of his works. Like most poems in foreign, and especially in dead languages, they are merely artificial flowers of poesy—stiff, scentless, and lifeless—but they serve to show the familiarity of the writer even in that rude age with the languages of Greece and Rome.

How Scotus ended his life we know not. William of Malmesbury, whom many other authorities blindly follow, states that it was a common report—*ut fertur*—that he was invited to England by King Alfred, that he lectured at Oxford, and afterwards retired to Malmesbury, where he was stabbed to death by his pupils with their pens, or perhaps penknives (graphiis). His body was at first secretly buried in the Church of St. Laurence, where the crime was committed, but a bright light shining nightly on the spot warned the monks to transfer the holy remains of the martyred scholar to the left corner of the high altar in the great Church of Malmesbury, where they reposed in peace and honour until another abbot, Warinus de Lira, exhumed the bodies of Scotus and other saints, and buried them without honour or ceremony in an obscure corner of the Church of St. Michael. But his memory was long venerated as a holy martyr, and his feast celebrated on the 10th of

November, on which day his name was inserted in the Antwerp edition of the Roman Martyrology until Cardinal Baronius had it expunged. The story of William of Malmesbury is altogether improbable, and we have no contemporary evidence in its support. It arose in the beginning from confounding Scotus Erigena, or, as he was sometimes called, Joannes, with another John, abbot of Etheling, who was invited to England by Alfred about the year 880. In the letter written by Anastasius in 875 he not obscurely speaks of John Scotus as already dead, at least he uses the past tense throughout. It is not improbable, therefore, that shortly after the Pope's letter in 862 Scotus may have deemed it prudent to retire from Paris, and, with an Irishman's love of home, returned to his native country, where he is said to have died in peace and holiness in the year 874.

It has been said, too, that he travelled to Athens, and visited various parts of the East, and that he was skilled in most of the Oriental languages. But these statements appear unfounded: they are certainly destitute of any reliable authority. What we know for certain is that Scotus was an Irishman, that he was the first scholar of his time, that he acquired his knowledge even of the Greek language in the schools of his native country. He was loved and honoured by friends who knew him, and misjudged both during his life and after his death by many who knew neither the man himself nor his writings. His career was short and brilliant; comet-like he blazed for a while in the sunshine of royal favour; he appeared and disappeared in a strangely eccentric orbit. For ages he was lost to view, but in our own time is seen again shining in the literary heavens with even more than his ancient splendour. We are not inclined to extol him unduly, neither does it become us to judge him harshly; but whatever may be said of his errors, all must admit that John Scotus Erigena was a man of saintly life, a prodigy of learning, and an honour to the country which gave him his name and his knowledge.

J. H.

“CELTIC” IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION
PROGRAMME: THE OSSIANIC POEMS.

EVEN to those who, like ourselves, are but pilgrims and wayfarers in the vast fields of Irish literature—that wonderful expanse where only a few resolute and devoted workers find themselves at home—even to us it seems hard to hear the study of “Celtic” derided or decried. And we venture to think, that in regard of this study all opposition and apathy are so completely in the wrong, that even a very limited acquaintance with the subject will enable us to make out a very plain case in favour of the study of Irish literature.

The Intermediate Education Commissioners have found themselves very much narrowed in their selections of Irish works by the terrible dearth of books of the kind, attainable at less than fancy prices. They have wisely confined themselves to works published by the Ossianic Society, and to three volumes out of the six issued by that meritorious and, unfortunately, defunct association. We do not seek to extend our view beyond those three volumes, and Dr. Joyce’s interesting new work, entitled “Old Celtic Romances;” and we believe we shall easily find enough without even half exhausting the material, to satisfy our readers that we are right about “Celtic” studies.

There is no doubt that the Ossianic tales present one point of very tangible interest. They form a literature like that which must have preceded Homer. They represent to us with warm enthusiasm men whose life was spent in hunting and fight, and whose adventures in caves and forests were believed to be of a marvellous description, who were supposed to have encountered extraordinary monsters, and sometimes to have overcome them by extraordinary means, who roaming through desert places were, it was firmly held, encompassed by more awful beings of strange superhuman intelligence, with whom they were on terms of enmity or friendship, from whom they often had much to suffer, and yet over whose terrible arts the wonderful men sometimes wonderfully triumphed. Tales of such heroes were rife in early Greece: the adventures of Theseus, the labours of Hercules, the great boar-hunt of Calydon, the extraordinary history of Danaë and Perseus, the long voyage of the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece, the divine Nymphs of the fountains, the grinning Satyrs of

the woods, are all kindred subjects, which it was a joy to hear about among the early patriarchs of the accomplished Hellenic race.

The dry skeleton of a thousand narrations of the kind we speak of, is preserved in our classical dictionaries, and is needed to explain a thousand allusions in authors of later times. The stories themselves, in their own early fully developed form, are almost entirely lost to us for ever. In Homer's *Odyssey*, indeed, we still find traces of miraculous monsters and of witchcraft of humiliating and disgusting power; elsewhere, even the heroes of the mythic ages, when described with interest and enthusiasm, are little more at most than exaggerated specimens of ordinary men, and their gods are made like themselves. In the Ossianic tales, the dry bones of an age of wild, hunting, magic-beset warriors are suddenly presented to us clothed with life; this is surely something that no philosophic student of history or literature will despise, and something that can help even a schoolboy to appreciate the very first speech of Nestor in his *Homer* better. It is surely a boon indeed to find the old-world reminiscences of the heroic age set forth with all the fresh, earnest vividness of patriarchal times. It is well to have a clear idea of how men spoke when filled with enthusiasm for the marvellous tales of early adventure, which even in the *Iliad* appear to be out of date.

But much as this is, we must candidly admit that it is not enough to prove our case. If there is not great literary excellence in even the enthusiastic sketches of the wild old time, they really cannot deserve to be made any general subject of study. We feel we are called upon to show that the Ossianic tales possess some lively charms not merely for the archaeologist and philosopher, but even for the mere poet and literary critic, and we proceed to deal with this interesting subject in what appears to us the simplest and most obvious way.

We will begin with the tale relating to the Ossianic Cycle, which has been selected by the Intermediate Education Commissioners as the main subject for examination in the lower grades. It was pitched upon, no doubt, in great measure because of the modern form of its language. But its matter is old, and what, after the foregoing explanation the reader will allow us to call, with reference to subject not to time, pre-Homerically heroic. It has been explained over and over again, by Ebrard

for instance, on the continent, when dealing with Scotch Gaelic, as well as by our own writers at home, by O'Grady with regard to our own story, how in modern Celtic, the tales and living spirit of the old time have been preserved. Dr. Sullivan says:—"Those poems and tales were learned by heart by the bards, and recited by them for the princes, at fairs and assemblies. As the language lost its inflections, and some of its words and expressions became obsolete, and new ones were taken up, the bards naturally adapted more or less those tales to the language of their hearers;" and thus we find the tale in question, tolerably modern as are its linguistic forms, breathing the spirit of an early paganism, whose path had not yet been crossed by Christianity; and as we pursue its course we find ourselves in an atmosphere of magic, meeting with strange monsters and enchanted fruit, and transformations like those of Circe, and witch and wizard riding at their convenience on the wind. Amidst all this we have, however, what makes the noblest poetry of Homer, men—true men—with characters and passions wonderfully and touchingly developed. We fortunately possess an analysis of the argument of the tale, the tale of Dermid and Grania, which we now proceed reluctantly to abridge. The analysis is from the pen of Lady Ferguson, in her beautiful little work, "The Irish before the Conquest."

"King Cormac had ten daughters . . . Grania, 'the golden-haired, the fleet and young,' was affianced by her father to Finn, son of Cumhal, the great chief of the Fianna Eirinn or Irish militia, the Finn MacCool of Irish, and Fingal of Scottish tradition . . . His lieutenant, 'the dark-haired Dermid of bright face and white teeth,' attracted the attention of Grania, who at the marriage feast at which she was to be united to Finn, cast herself on his protection, or in the language of the romance, laid his (*sic*) gesa on Dermid, who was thus compelled very reluctantly to elope with her . . . Dermid, after many varying fortunes and picturesque adventures, meets his death on the summit of the majestic mountain of Benbulbin, in the county of Sligo, from the tusks of a wild boar. Finn, arriving on the scene just before the death of his rival, gives occasion to a passage in the Irish romance of more than ordinary beauty and pathos."

On this passage Sir Samuel, as Lady Ferguson says, has "constructed" a poem; she gives it us entitled "The

Death of Dermid," and we regret we cannot lay it here before our readers. We are sure that no one has ever read it without being touched. We have there set before us Dermid, "the mangled man," "the slain boar by him," and Finn haughtily insulting his fallen and dying foe. Dermid replies that Finn can cure him if he will, and on Finn's asking, in apparent astonishment, "How?" Dermid reminds him that in an adventure with a fairy he grasped "half the spiritual world . . . healing and sight prophetic and the power divine of poesy . . . virtue such that but so much of water as might wet," if brought in the hand of Finn, would restore a dying man to life and vigour. Finn then reproaches Dermid with having carried off Grania, and Dermid replies, "It was herself, Grania, the princess, put me in the bonds of holy chivalry to share her flight."

He relates Grania's appeal to him, and continues:—

Resolve me, Finn,
For thou art just; could youthful warrior, sworn
To maiden's service, have done less than I?
No; hate me not—forgive me—give me drink."

Finn answers he will not, and then Dermid bursts out into his touching speech. He reminds his old chief of an extraordinary service which he, as his devoted follower, rendered to him in the midst of a great peril, and then exclaims—

Thou hadst not then, refreshed and grateful, said
"I will not," had I asked thee, "give me drink."

We give the six following lines of the poem:—

FINN—There springs no water on this summit bald.
DERMID—Nine paces from the spot thou standest on,
The well-eye—well thou knowest it—bubbles clear.
Abashed, reluctant to the bubbling well
Went Finn, and scooped the water in his palms;
Wherewith returning, half-way, came the thought
Of Grania, and he let the water spill.

Dermid now appeals again, reminding his captain of a second extraordinary service he had rendered, and

Again abashed, reluctant to the well
Went Finn, and scooped the water in his palms;
Wherewith returning, half-way, came the thought
That wrenched him, and the shaken water spill'd.

Dermid now abandons the tone of supplication. He takes higher ground. He alludes to Finn's having had knowledge

When the seer's fit,
Sudden and cold as hail, assail'd thy soul,
In vision of that Just One crucified
For all men's pardoning——

But we are now at the end of all :

Finn trembled, and a third time to the well
Went straight, and scoop'd the water in his palms ;
Wherewith in haste half-way returned he saw
A smile on Dermid's face relaxed in death.

This is surely very touching poetry. Sir Samuel has done his work extremely well, and the only question for us now to answer is, how much credit ought in this case to be allowed to the original Irish story.

It is clear, even from the little we have been able to quote, that much in this poetry is Sir Samuel's own. He has indeed, as Lady Ferguson said, "constructed" himself a poem. The general tone of what he has written is clearly that of the present Laureate, not that of wild pagan hunting days; the allusion at the close to Christian forgiveness and its model in the Great Atonement is, of course, not taken from the tale of Dermid and Grania, which, as we have said, is heathen from first to last. What praise—what glory is really due to the old tale itself? We have no hesitation in replying that the Death of Dermid, as it stands in the Irish story, is beyond comparison, far higher and grander than in the poem constructed by Sir Samuel. This is no attack on the accomplished artist; it is only a new exemplification of the general rule, that translations and imitations, even though the work of men of genius, commonly fall far below the merit of the original. Pope and Dryden have not rivalled Chaucer, and Sir Samuel Ferguson has assuredly not attained the grandeur of the ancient Irish story he had before him. In the first place, the early part of the tale develops admirably the characters of Finn and Grania and Dermid, so that when the rivals meet in the death scene the parts they play seem highly natural—not in any degree the reverse, as is the case in the English poem. It seems odd, indeed, to find Sir Samuel making Dermid reply to Finn's insult by reminding him who hates him, of his inherent power to save the hated foe; odd, too, to find Finn not exultingly and defiantly refusing, but beating about helplessly for an evasion. In the Irish all is clear and natural.

Finn's character has been already well displayed. He seems a curious compound of Agamemnon and Ulysses; he

is a king of men; he is the supreme chief of the Fenian bands; he has magic gifts of divination; he is selfishly full of his own dignity and interest; he writhes at the idea of being outdone by Dermid, but nevertheless Dermid is, in the eyes of all the Fenians, what Achilles was in the eyes of all the Greeks—the bravest, the best soldier of them all; and though Finn pursues him with the hate and bitter pride of Agamemnon, he is as keenly alive as a Ulysses could be to the fact that, amid the troops he leads, and in the very family and household around him, there are to be found partisans of the gallant Dermid. And when he and Dermid meet for the last time (his son Ossian, and Ossian's son Oscar are present too), Finn knows that his son and grandson have sympathized all along with Dermid, not with him, and that they must do so the more in this last dread hour, as Finn's pursuit of Dermid had been solemnly given up, as all old injuries had been condoned and peace had been fully made, as Finn was actually, along with Ossian and Oscar, on his way to pay a visit to Grania and Dermid—like the Emperor of Austria proceeding to Venice to be entertained by Victor Emmanuel!

Finn, who is no Christian, hates Dermid still, and on seeing him agonizing bursts out into a brutal insult. But on finding the question of preserving Dermid's life brought up to trouble him, with Ossian and Oscar standing by, he falls back, like a diplomatist and lawyer of our own time, on the regular set defences—first of all challenging proof, then justifying his position, finally professing incompetence to execute what it is held he ought to do. The pleas of Finn are in the Irish just as Sir Samuel has set them down.

But Dermid—why does Dermid appeal to his foe? Those who have read the Irish story need no answer to the question. For there Dermid appears manifestly one of those most attractive and most unsuccessful men, in whom good nature takes the form of careless magnanimity, who have no lasting passion, little vanity, and no pride whatever, who are genial and brave, and in instants of supreme peril men of supreme and instantaneous enthusiasm, who bear no real ill-will, and find in themselves no reason to doubt that others may readily in a moment perform generous and clement acts. As to Dermid's being such a one there can be no mistake or doubt. He carries off Grania because Grania insists on it. Even after they have started on their wanderings he advises her to return, he allows her to insist on their being married; amidst all their dangers he never

expresses regret for the plight to which she has reduced him, though she, on the contrary, the bold woman of wicked caprice, does so loudly. It is only when Finn is very near that her words lose all their power, and the brave Dermid suddenly, obstinately refuses to hide from his adversary's face. From first to last there is not one bitter, not one unkind word ascribed to him in the whole long tale. Such a man is just the one who, in spite of Finn's insults, would coolly—half hopefully, half carelessly—remind him of his magic healing power, and when upbraided in return burst forth into an extraordinarily glowing and eloquent defence, just as we find the thing related both in the English poem and the Irish tale. Such a one, too, seeing his hopes denied, would die as Dermid does, not in the English poem, but in the Irish romance, taking leave of Finn with one simple sigh when Finn spills the water the second time, and then dying, it seems carelessly, without a sermon or any "last deathbed words," passing quietly away without a "smile." But we are anticipating. We must pause on the threshold of our subject.

J. J. O'C.

(To be continued.)

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LENTEN FAST.

A NUMBER of questions similar to the following have recently been proposed for solution. My knowledge of the recurrence of such difficulties at each return of the season of Lent leads me to think that to many readers of the new series of the RECORD an explanation of the points involved will not be without interest.

1. Are persons who are under twenty-one years of age, exempt not only from the law of fasting, but also from that of abstinence, so that, for instance, they may take butter at breakfast on fasting days in Lent?

2. All theologians seem to teach that the only abstinence imposed by the law of the Church, as regards fasting days outside of Lent, is abstinence from meat. How does it occur that in Ireland, on such days, eggs and lacticinia are not allowed at the collation? And how are we to understand the words of the Rescript in reply to the

Postulatum of the Maynooth Synod on this subject, "that the Holy See had never sanctioned the use of butter at the collation on any fasting day"?

3. On what principle is the use of meat restricted to one meal, or—as is usual in some dioceses—to two meals, on Sundays in Lent? Are there not forty days—the full term of the Lenten fast—from Ash-Wednesday to Holy Saturday, independently of the Sundays?

In regard to the first of these questions it may not be superfluous to remark, as was already explained in more than one number of the former series of the RECORD, that the form in which the question is thus proposed, and in which indeed it usually is proposed, is to a certain extent misleading.

The practical answer to be given to its concluding portion—as to whether persons under twenty-one may take butter at breakfast—does not in any way depend on the answer to be given to the preceding portion of it, as to whether those persons are exempt from the law of abstinence as well as from the law of fasting. We shall in fact see that, in the unanimous teaching of theologians, persons under twenty-one are fully subject to the law of abstinence; but it by no means follows that they may not take butter at the collation. And on the other hand we shall see that the use of butter at collation is, under certain circumstances, strictly prohibited, when the special portion of the law of abstinence which forbids the use of butter is not in force at all.

I have no doubt that those statements will be regarded as at least somewhat paradoxical by those who are not accustomed, in dealing with questions regarding the ecclesiastical fast, carefully to analyse the structure of this complex obligation, and steadily to keep in view the distinction of the various elements of which it is made up. So far then as any danger may exist of such a view being taken of the principle on which the answers to the questions proposed must mainly rest, I shall need no apology for prefixing to those answers a statement of some principles regarding the ecclesiastical fast and the distinction of the various obligations which it comprises—principles which, although of course laid down by all standard writers on the subject, are rarely kept sufficiently before the mind of the reader, *in the solution of practical cases*, in the more compendious treatises alone within the reach of many missionary priests.

It is right at the same time to state, that this preliminary exposition will contain little that can be regarded as new by those fully familiar with the details of the common teaching of theologians on the subject. Since, therefore, it may be regarded by very many readers as superfluous, I will mark its beginning and its close, so that it may conveniently be omitted in reading by those who may wish directly to pass to the answers to the questions proposed.

The law of fasting comprises chiefly two distinct precepts. Of these, the first and principal one is usually described as regarding the *quantity* of food which may be eaten on a fasting day; the other regards its *quality*. The former, it may be more strictly accurate to say, forbids us to eat more than one meal and a collation; the latter restricts us to the use of certain kinds of food. "Adverte, cum communi sententia," says Castropalao, "in jejunio praescribi: [primum,] abstinentiam plurimum refectio: [secundum,] abstinentiam quorundam ciborum."¹

Frequently, then, the term Fast is employed as implying both these obligations. But frequently, also, it is employed to designate only the former of the two, which is thus distinguished from the latter, usually known as the obligation of *abstinence*. In this second and narrower sense, the term is employed, for instance, in the first of the questions set forth at the beginning of this paper. I shall endeavour throughout so to frame my statements as to avoid, as far as possible, the inconvenience attending this ambiguity.

Since then the obligation of *abstinence*, as regards the kinds of food prohibited, may be more or less severe, it follows that the obligation of the ecclesiastical fast, taking the term in its wider signification, admits of various degrees. Thus (1) *meat* alone may be forbidden, or (2), both *meat and eggs*, or (3) *meat, eggs, and lacticinia*.

The Fast of Lent includes the obligation of abstinence in its strictest form; so that where its rigour has not been tempered by usage or by dispensation, *the use even of lacticinia*, as well as of eggs or meat, *is absolutely prohibited*, even at the principal meal, *on every day in Lent*. "Universe praecipitur," says St. Alphonsus, "in diebus quadragesimalibus, abstinentia a lacticiniis."²

¹ *Opus Morale*. Tract. xxv. *De Bulla Cruciatæ*. Disp. unica. Punct. 7, i., n. 7.

Theologia Moralís, Lib. iv. tract 6. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*, n. 1007

In some churches indeed, as, for instance, in many parts of Italy, and especially in Rome, eggs and lacticinia are prohibited on other fasting days throughout the year. But theologians are almost unanimous in teaching that where this obligation exists, it springs from local legislation or from usage, and that the common law of the Church does not prohibit eggs or lacticinia, but only meat, on fasting days outside Lent.

As some misconception seems to prevail in regard to the extent of the obligation of abstinence included in the ordinary, as distinct from the Lenten, fast, it may be useful to transcribe a few passages from the writings of the standard authorities on the subject.

The teaching of St. Thomas is most explicit on the point. "*Ova et lacticinia*," says the Angelic Doctor, "*jejunantibus interdiciuntur in quantum sunt ex animalibus exorta carnes habentibus. Unde principalius interdiciuntur carnes quam ova et lacticinia. Similiter etiam inter alia jejunia solemnius est quadragesimale jejunium, et ideo in quolibet jejunio interdicitur esus carniū, in jejunio vero quadragesimali interdiciuntur universaliter etiam ova et lacticinia.*" Billuart expresses the same view in almost the same words:—"In jejunio quadragesimae," he says,¹ "quod est solemnius, . . . praeter carnes prohibentur ova et lacticinia, quae non prohibentur in aliis jejniis. *Haec intellige de jure communi.*" "In jejniis extraquadragesimalibus," says Henno,² "*nec ovorum nec lacticiniorum comestionem prohibet jus commune, ut docet S. Thomas.*"

Suarez does not formally explain the law of fasting; but in his treatise on the Virtue of Religion, alluding incidentally to the obligation of fasting, he says:³—"Non est illa abstinentia [a lacticiniis] *de ratione jejunii nisi quadragesimalis.*" "Constat," say the authors of the Salamanca Course,⁴ "dari in Ecclesia praeceptum abstinendi in quadragesima ab ovis et lacticiniis: *in aliis vero jejniis non dari.*" Lessius is equally distinct:—"Lacticinia," he says,⁵ "*jure communi solum tempore quadragesimae vetantur; extra illud permittuntur.*" And Laymann⁶ teaches, "Discrimen illud, quod esus carniū omnibus diebus jejuniorum et absti-

¹ *Cursus Theologiae. De Virtutibus Justitiae Annexis. Diss. ii. Art. vii.*

² *Theologia. Tract. i. de Vitiis, Appendix, quaest. i. concl. ii.*

³ *De Virtute Religionis, Tract. vi. lib. 4, cap. vii. n. 9.*

⁴ *Cursus Theologiae Moralis. Tract. xxiii. cap. ii. n. 33.*

⁵ *Theologia Moralis. Lib. 4, cap. ii. dub. 2, n. 8.*

⁶ *Theologia Moralis. Lib. 4, Tract. viii., cap. i., n. 3.*

nentiae, ovorum vero et lacticiniorum in sola quadragesima prohibetur, est secundum legem communem Ecclesiae.” “Abstinentiam ab ovis et lacticiniis,” says Sporer,¹ “de jure communi pro solo tempore quadragesimae, non item pro aliis diebus jejuniorum obligare, advertunt doctores communissime.” In his treatise on the Jubilee, Bossius² says:—*Extra quadragesimam jure communi in jejuniis de praecepto Ecclesiae non interdiciuntur ova et lacticinia.*” Busembaum³ writes:—“Ova et lacticinia intra quadragesimam jure communi prohibentur; extra eam permittuntur.” Viva,⁴ in explaining the condemnation of a proposition which denied the existence of any obligation to abstain from eggs and lacticinia in the case of the Lenten fast, asks, “utrum in jejuniis extra quadragesimam, ova et lacticinia interdiciantur.” And he answers the question thus:—“*Communis sententia negat ea jure communi prohiberi.*”

In fine, St. Liguori tells us that this is the common opinion of Theologians. “Sententia communis,” he says,⁵ “quam sequimur, docet de jure communi non vetari lacticinia et ova extra quadragesimam.” In support of it, he quotes, in addition to some of those writers whom I have already mentioned, St. Antoninus, Navarre, Henriquez, Concina, Holzmann, and Elbel.

There can, therefore, be no doubt of the correctness of the exposition of the law laid down in the second of the questions prefixed to this paper. We shall afterwards see how the principles thus laid down are to be understood in connexion with the prohibition of butter at the collation, even outside Lent.

The discipline of the Irish Church in reference to abstinence on fasting days is now in substantial accordance with the provisions of the common law. But it may not be out of place to note, that down to so recent a period as the middle of the seventeenth century it was characterised by excessive rigour in this respect. The use of *meat* was prohibited on *all Wednesdays* throughout the year. And in addition to the abstinence from meat, prescribed by the common law on Fridays and Saturdays, *every Friday* during the year, and in many parts of the country *every Saturday*, was a day of *rigorous abstinence from eggs and lacticinia*,

¹ *Theologia Moralis*. Tract. iii. Appendix. sect. i. n. 9.

² *Tractatus de Jubilaeo*, sec. 4, cas. 18, n. 19.

³ *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae. Dub. i.

⁴ *Damnatae Theses*. In prop. Alex. 32, VII. n. 10.

⁵ *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. vi., tract vi. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae n. 1009.

such as is now observed only on two or three days in the first and last weeks in Lent. Besides, in many districts, *every Friday* throughout the year was observed as a day not merely of abstinence, but of *strict fast*.¹

Notwithstanding the extraordinary rigour of this discipline, to which, strange as the statement may seem at the present day, our forefathers clung with a tenacity which amounted almost to obstinacy,² the abstinence prescribed on ordinary fast days occurring outside Lent, was strictly within the provisions of the common ecclesiastical law. On

¹ "Accepimus . . . *piam et antiquam inter Catholicos istius regni Hiberniae hactenus consuetudinem viguisse feria quarta a carnibus, feria vero sexta et nonnullis in locis etiam Sabbato, ab ovorum et lacticiniorum esu abstinendi.*" Bulla CLEMENTIS VIII. *Accepimus* (13 Mart. 1598.)

"Ex usu Ecclesiae Ardmachanae abstinendum erit ab esu *carnium omnibus feriis quartis per annum, feriis etiam sextis ab esu ovorum et lacticiniorum* Praeterea omnibus *feriis sextis per annum, jejunatur* passim a devotioribus, quod ab aliis tribuitur devotionis magis quam obligationis esse. (Quomodoque autem fuerit, sive obligationis sive devotionis," etc. *Consultatio Ecclesiastica*, ex Actis Syn. Provinciae Ardmachanae. (19 Febr. 1614.)

"*Jejunium quadragesimale cum feriis sextis per annum . . . observetur.*" Decret. Syn. Provinc. Tuamensis, A.D. 1658.

A number of documents fully illustrating this feature of the discipline of our Irish Church, will be found in the *Collections* from the MSS. of the Very Rev. Dr. Renahan, late President St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, edited by the present venerated Bishop of Kerry.

² Clement VIII., in 1598, issued a Bull, empowering the Irish bishops to dispense with many of these austerities. The bishops of the province of Dublin, assembled in Provincial Synod at Kilkenny, in 1614, under the presidency of Dr. Eugene Mathews, Archbishop of Dublin, published this Bull, and, availing themselves to a certain extent of the authority which it communicated, dispensed with the more rigorous portions of the abstinence previously observed. In several points, however,—the abstinence from meat on Wednesdays throughout the year, and from eggs on Fridays and Saturdays—no change was made, the bishops evidently fearing that a relaxation of the ancient discipline in these respects would shock the tender consciences of the faithful. "Commutationem circa esum carnum feria quarta aut ovorum feria sexta extra quadragesimam . . . Archiepiscopus non committit, neque ad eam faciendam quemquam delegat; si autem progressu temporis visum fuerit expedire, tunc eam delegabit."

And, although the Archbishop was invested with authority to legislate in this matter for the whole of Ireland, he showed a decided unwillingness to interfere with the existing discipline outside his own ecclesiastical province. "Neque commutationem cum aliis extra provinciam faciendam, donec ab Ordinariis locorum illorum requiratur aut significetur, expedire ut fiat."

Dr. Moran (*History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i. page 271), tells us that the faithful did not avail themselves even of the modifications granted by the Synod: "Very many continued to observe the

the Vigils of festivals, therefore, and the Ember days of Advent, Pentecost, and September, the obligation of abstinence did not exclude the use of eggs and lacticinia, except, of course, when the fasting day happened to fall on Friday (and in some parts of the country on Friday or Saturday), when, by virtue of the rigorous abstinence already described, the use of eggs and lacticinia was forbidden, quite independently of the fast, as the use of meat on Fridays is forbidden now.

The only remnant in recent times of the severe discipline which formerly prevailed in Ireland in regard to the law of abstinence, was the abstinence from eggs on any fasting day which happened to fall on Friday, so generally in force throughout the country until within the last few years. Even this had long since been abrogated, by usage or otherwise, in many dioceses, especially in the ecclesiastical province of Cashel. And in 1877 it was removed, almost completely, as regards the entire country, by a Rescript from the Holy See, in compliance with the petition of the Synod of Maynooth. So that now at length the discipline of the Irish Church as to the law of abstinence on fasting days may be regarded as in substantial conformity with the common ecclesiastical law.

Frequently, as I have already stated, the term "Fast" is employed to designate that special portion of the obligation, which restricts the number of meals, as distinguished from the other obligation known as that of abstinence.¹

It is important to observe that those two obligations are perfectly distinct. This is plain from the nature of both precepts. The law of abstinence, binding from midnight to midnight, prohibits the use of certain sorts of food; the law of fasting, which binds during the same interval, renders it unlawful to take a second meal; obviously either obligation may exist independently of the other.

former fasts in all their rigour; and, sixty years later, we find another dispensatory Bull published by Clement X., and another Synod notifying to their flocks that they were free from any obligation of observing the ancient disciplinary usages."

Some interesting documents bearing on this subject will be found in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, collected and edited by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran (Dublin, 1874-1878).

¹ Thus Benedict XIV. writes:—"Decrevimus ne ulla generalis pro aliqua civitate concedatur facultas adhibendi carnes ad mensam tempore quadragesimæ nisi conditio servandi *jejunii*, sive *unius comestionis*, interponatur." *Encycl. Libentissime* (10 Jun. 1745.)

Thus, on Fridays throughout the year, there is an obligation of abstaining from meat (and, by the common law, on Saturdays also), but no restriction as to the number of meals. Another instance, as we shall see, and a more striking one, is the obligation of abstinence on the Sundays of Lent.

And thus, on any fast day, as all theologians are agreed, persons who are exempt from the obligation of fasting, so that they can take their usual number of meals, may, nevertheless, remain bound by the law of abstinence.

On the other hand, a person exempt from the obligation of abstinence, may still remain bound by the prohibition of taking a second meal. "Privilegium," says Bonacina, "concessum in uno praecepto, non extenditur ad aliud, et ille cui concessa est facultas comedendi carnes non potest ex vi hujus privilegii, multiplicem refectionem sumere."¹ The truth of this opinion, long debated by theologians, was placed beyond all controversy by several Encyclicals² of Benedict XIV.

We may now proceed to consider the *subjects* of these two precepts of abstinence and of fast, that is to say, the *persons* who are subject to their obligation.

The law of fasting, it is hardly necessary to add, is not binding on persons under twenty-one years of age. But, by the common law, all children over seven years of age who have come to the use of reason, are bound by the law of abstinence. And, it should be observed, theologians, in laying down this principle, make no distinction between the various portions of the obligation of abstinence—from meat, from eggs, or from lacticinia.³ Billuart, Henno, and

¹ *Opera Moralia*, Tom. ii., Disp. xi. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*. Quaest. 1, punct. ii., n. 3.

² Vid. Bullarium Benedict XIV. Encycl. *In Suprema* (22 Aug. 1741): Encycl. *Libentissime* (10 Jun. 1745). In the latter he says:—"Putabamus illos qui ob legitimam causam . . . quadragesimae abstinentiam non observarent, minime solvandos a jejuniis ita ut liceret ipsis mensam bis instituere."

³ "Colligitur, quarto, pueros qui ad rationis usum pervenerunt (quod accidere consuevit post completum septennium) obligari legibus Ecclesiasticis, consequenter teneri . . . ad abstinentiam a lacticiniis et cibis vetitis in die jejunii."—BONACINA. *De Legibus*. Quaest. i., punct. vi., n. 8.

"Lege jejunii, qua parte continet a carnibus aliisque cibis vetitis abstinentiam, astringuntur omnes fideles Christiani rationis usum habentes, uti est omnium recepta sententia."—CASTROPALAO. *Opus Morale*, Tract 30, *De Virtute Temperantiae*. Disp. 3, punct. v., n. 1.

"Post septennium (quando non constat usum rationis nondum

a few other writers, in defining the extent to which children are bound by the law of fasting, mention, indeed, only the obligation of abstaining from meat. But this cannot be regarded as equivalent to a statement that a distinction is to be made between the age at which children are bound to abstain from meat, and the age at which they are bound to abstain from lacticinia. For those writers, as we shall afterwards see, explain the obligation of the law in reference to countries where, according to their view, the obligation of abstaining from laticinia has fallen into disuse, even as regards adults. The meaning, then, of the passages referred to is, that children are subject only to the obligation of *abstinence*, and are not restricted as to *the number of meals*.

Having thus brought the general exposition of the principles of the law to a close, we are in a position to examine the questions proposed for solution.

For convenience of arrangement, as regards the points requiring exposition in each instance, I shall take, in the first place, the question:—

On what principle is the use of meat restricted to one meal or—as is usual in some dioceses—to two meals, on Sundays in Lent? Are there not forty days—the full

venisse) tenentur pueri . . . ad abstinentiam a cibus vetitis.”—VIVA. *Cursus Theologico-Moralis*. Pars. 1, quaest. iii., art. ii., n. 5.

“*Communis et recepta sententia est omnes fideles usum rationis habentes debere a carnibus, ovis, et lacticiniis, abstinere.*”—ATALANI. *Universi Juris Theologico-Moralis Corpus Integrum*. Pars. 4, quaest. 1, cap. vi., n. 1.

“Pueri, dum ad usum rationis pervenerunt, tenentur . . . Ecclesiae praeceptis. . . Ita de abstinentia a carnibus et lacticiniis.”—SANCHEZ. *Opus Morale in Decalogum*. Lib. 1, cap. xii., n. 6.

“Pueri rationis compotes . . . debent . . . abstinere a carnibus et reliquis cibus interdictis.”—AZORIUS. *Institutiones Morales*. Lib. 7, cap. xvii., quaest. 2.

“Omnes habentes usum rationis tenentur servare . . . abstinentiam a carne et lacticiniis.”—RONCAGLIA. *Universa Moralis Theologia*. Tract. 9, cap. ii., quaest. 3.

“An pueri, postquam ad rationis usum pervenerint, teneantur observare leges Ecclesiasticas nimirum . . . abstinere a carnibus vel a lacticiniis diebus vetitis? Resp., teneri observare.”—SALMANTICENSES. *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*. Tract. 11, cap. iii., punct. iv., nn. 51-2.

“An pueri statim ac pervenerint ad usum rationis tenentur ad leges ecclesiasticas audiendi sacrum, abstinendi a carnibus vel lacticiniis &c.? Negant S. Antoninus et alii dicentes non teneri statim sed post aliquod tempus . . . Sed haec opinio merito rejicitur communiter.”—S. ALPHONSUS. *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 1, tract ii., *De Legibus*, n. 155.

term of the Lenten Fast—from Ash-Wednesday to Holy Saturday, independently of the six intervening Sundays?

There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the computation embodied in this question. And it may not be uninteresting to note that we find it most circumstantially set forth, almost in the same form, in the Decree of Gratian—the oldest and most venerable portion of the Canon Law:—“*A prima Dominica Quadragesimæ usque in Pascha Domini, sex hebdomadæ computantur . . . ex quibus, dum sex Dominici dies . . . subtrahuntur, non plus quam triginta et sex dies remanent. . . Sed quatuor dies prioris hebdomadæ ad supplementum quadraginta dierum [adduntur].*”¹

But although the Sundays in Lent are not *fasting* days, there can be no question that, by the common law of the Church, they are days of most rigorous *abstinence*. By referring to any theological treatise on the subject, it will be seen that the ecclesiastical law prohibits the use, not only of meat, but even of *eggs and lactinia*, not merely on the forty fasting days of Lent, but on every day during the Lenten time, that is to say, on *Sundays, as well as weekdays*, from Ash-Wednesday to Holy Saturday. “*Ex dictis habetur,*” say the authors of the Salamanca Course, “*omnes utriusque sexus fideles . . . teneri omnibus diebus quadragesimæ, etiam Dominicis, abstinere ab oris et lactiniis, nisi per Bullam aut Pontificis privilegium a dicta obligatione excusentur.*”²

A question, indeed, might, perhaps, be raised as to whether this law is still in force in Ireland so far as regards the abstinence from eggs and lactinia on Sundays. However, the question is scarcely a practical one; for, at least by dispensation of the Bishops, their use is allowed without restriction on Sundays in, probably, every part of Ireland. But there can be no doubt of the obligation to abstain from meat. *Its use, therefore, is allowed solely by virtue of the dispensation which the bishop of each diocese is authorised by the Holy See to grant.* And, of course, the bishop in granting this dispensation, can grant it for one meal, or for several, or without any restriction, according as he considers expedient.

But, it may be asked, if the obligation be removed from any part of the day, is it not thereby removed abso-

¹ Cap. *Quadragesima*, 16, Dist. 5, *De Consecratione*.

² *SALMANTICENSES Cursus Theol. Moral.* Tract. 23, cap. ii., n. 37. See also St. Alphonsus, *De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*, n. 1007.

lutely, since the obligation of fasting is one and indivisible? No. The obligation of *fasting* may indeed be regarded as indivisible:¹ not so the obligation of *abstinence*. "*Obligatio abstinendi*," says Sanchez, "*est dividua: quare potest quis pro parte diei id praeceptum servare, et pro parte diei ejusdem non servare.*"² There is, therefore, no reason why meat may not be allowed during a portion of the day, even though the obligation of abstaining is not removed absolutely from the day as a whole.

Besides, as we shall see, in connection with the next question, the Sacred Penitentiary has expressly decided that the dispensation from abstinence can be thus limited.

We may now proceed to examine the first of the three questions proposed:—

Are persons who are under twenty-one years of age exempt not only from the law of fasting, but also from that of abstinence, so that, for instance, they may take butter at breakfast on fasting days?

I have already remarked that the form in which this question is thus proposed is somewhat misleading. There is indeed, as we have seen from the concurrence of theological opinion quoted above, no room for doubt that, by the common law of the Church, persons over seven, but under twenty-one, years of age, though exempt from the special law of *fasting*, are bound by that of *abstinence*, from the time of their attaining the use of reason.

The practical question, then, as to their being at liberty to take butter at breakfast, is not to be regarded as synonymous with the question of their being exempt from the law of abstinence in the same sense in which they are exempt from the law of fasting. If indeed it were, no room would exist for discussion: no other than a negative answer could possibly be given. The question, in fact, turns altogether upon another point. Persons under

¹ "*Essentia praecepti [jejunii] consistit in unica comestione . . . facta secunda comestione . . . jejunium amplius servari non potest.*" LIGUORI, *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. iv. tract. 6. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*, n. 1030.

"Sicut si praeceptum esset ne limites alicujus loci transires, sola prima transgressione praeceptum contradiceres, non vero ulterius progrediens."—CASTROPALAO, *Opus Morale*. Tract. xxx. *De Virtute Temperantiae*. Disp. iii., punct. 2, sec. ii., n. 8.

"Dispar autem," says St. Alphonsus (*ibid*), "*est ratio praecepti abstinendi.*"

² *Tractatus de Matrimonio*. Lib. 3, disp. xviii., n. 22.

twenty-one years of age are unquestionably subject to the law of abstinence. But, it may be asked, to what extent are they *exempted from it by the Lenten Indult of the bishop*, which allows the use of butter to the faithful generally, on certain days, at the principal meal?

And thus, as is plain, the question may be considered in regard to meat, as well as in regard to eggs and lacticinia.

First, then, considering the question in regard to meat, it is to be laid down as altogether certain that, subject to one restriction which I shall mention, persons exempt *ratione ætatis* from the law of *fasting* are at liberty to eat meat *toties quoties* on any fast day when its use is allowed by the bishop of the diocese to the faithful generally at the principal meal.

The reason is obvious. Those persons are not bound by the law of *fasting*; in other words, they are not restricted as to the number of meals. And although in the absence of a dispensation, the law of *abstinence* would forbid their eating meat at any time during the day, this prohibition is removed by the bishop when he permits the use of meat on that day to the people of his diocese. His Indult no doubt may make reference to the use of meat "at the principal meal;" but it has been decided by the Sacred Penitentiary, even in regard to such a case, that persons under twenty-one years of age can eat meat *toties quoties*. In other words, the approved interpretation of such a clause in the Episcopal Indult is that it merely reminds the faithful generally of the restriction imposed by the law of *fasting*, in consequence of which they may not take meat, for instance, at the collation; and that it imposes no restriction on those who are not bound to fast, but merely to abstain.

The question proposed to the Penitentiary was, whether persons exempt *ratione ætatis* from the law of fasting were at liberty to take meat as often as they eat during the day, on days when meat was allowed by the Episcopal Indult "*pro unica comestione.*" And the answer given "*de mandato P.P. Pii VII.*" is as follows:—"Fideles qui ratione ætatis . . . jejuna non tenentur, *licite posse* in quadra gesima, cum indultum concessum est, omnibus diebus in indulto comprehensis, vesci carnibus . . . *quoties per diem edunt.*"¹

¹ *Decr. S. Pœnitentiariæ* (16th Jan., 1834). See RECORD, vol. i., Dec. 1864) p. 142.

But, as I have already explained, there can be no question as to the *competence* of a bishop, in allowing the use of meat on a fasting day, to allow it under certain restrictions; thus, for instance, to allow it at the principal meal only. Sometimes in the Lenten Indult this is done by a clause *expressly* referring to the case of persons exempt from the obligation of fasting, thus:—"Those who are under age are allowed their usual number of meals, but they are allowed to use flesh meat only at dinner." Or thus:—"We grant to all who are obliged to abstain, permission to use flesh meat at the one principal meal only." A restriction thus imposed is unquestionably binding.

Moreover, the restriction may be imposed by the bishop, even without an *express* statement of his intention to this effect. A few years ago the Sacred Penitentiary issued a decree throwing a good deal of light upon this point, in answer to a question proposed by some Belgian priests regarding the interpretation of the decree of 1834, already quoted. The Congregation was asked whether that decision, allowing the use of meat *toties quoties* in the case of persons exempt from fasting, could be acted upon in a diocese, the bishop of which allowed "meat and eggs to be eaten once a day by the faithful, and eggs more than once by those who are exempt from fasting." The answer was in the negative.¹ It will be observed that this decree fully recognizes the bishop's authority to restrict the use of meat in the case of persons exempt from fasting, and even interprets his concession in this sense in the case proposed, although in that case the restriction was not expressly stated in his Lenten Regulations, but was only a matter of *inference* from the clause in which, after allowing the use of *meat and eggs*, he gave such persons express permission to eat *eggs more than once* in the day.

And it is scarcely necessary to add that, as the question ultimately turns upon the intention of the bishop in granting the Indult, any distinct intimation of his intention, whether derived from the terms of the Indult itself or otherwise ascertained, must be regarded as decisive of the extent and limits of his concession.

On the other hand, it is obvious that unless in the Lenten Regulations, or in some other way, we find an indication of the intention of the Bishop to limit the per-

¹ *Decr. S. Penitentiariæ* (27 Maii, 1863). This Decree may be seen in the *RECORD*, vol. i., No. 3, December, 1864, p. 142.

mission to the principal meal, even for persons who are *ratione ætatis* exempt from fasting, they may eat meat *toties quoties* in accordance with the Decree of 1834.

By way of illustration I would add that there would seem to be no room for questioning that it was the intention of the bishop thus to restrict the permission, if we find that in addition to the use of such an expression as the following, "We allow the use of flesh meat at the one meal of all who are bound to fast," he restricts also to the principal meal the permission to eat meat *on Sundays*. For what plainer indication could be given of an intention to impose a restriction altogether independent of the law of *fasting*, and arising solely from the fact of his removing the obligation of *abstinence* only as regards one meal? To adopt indeed any other view would obviously involve the strange inconsistency of holding that, in the intention of the bishop, the persons whose case we are contemplating should be placed under this close and special restriction on the *Sundays* in Lent, while they were altogether free from it on *weekdays*, when meat was allowed at the principal meal.

On the other hand, if the words of the Indult are in the form sometimes employed, that "the obligation of abstinence is *removed*," on certain days, there can be no doubt that permission to eat meat, and of course, *a fortiori*, eggs and lacticinia,¹ *toties quoties*, is thus granted to all persons under fasting age.

The form usually employed by the English bishops is, if possible, even more explicit to the same effect:—"Flesh meat is allowed at the single meal of those who are bound to fast, *and at the discretion of those who are not so bound*, on all days except, &c. . . . On Sundays, even those who are bound to fast may eat flesh meat at their discretion."

It is well to observe, in reference to the Decree of the Penitentiary of 1834, that it regards not only persons who are exempt from fasting on account of their age, but also those who are exempt on account of being engaged in some laborious occupation—" *ratione ætatis vel laboris*." The Sacred Penitentiary, however, declared in 1863 that

¹ "Concessa facultate comedendi *carnes*, intelligitur pariter concessa facultas comedendi *ova et lacticinia*. Quia cui majus conceditur, censetur etiam minus concessum virtualiter in eo contentum. Si ergo ova et lacticinia virtualiter in carne continentur et sementinam originem ab illa ducunt; ideo dispensatus ad *carnes* . . . censetur pariter dispensatus ad ova et lacticinia."—CATALANI, *Universi Juris Theologico-Moralis Corpus Integrum*. Part. 4, quaest. i., cap. ii., n. 9.

it is not to be extended to the case of persons exempt from fasting on account of *illness*.¹ But of course such persons can be allowed to eat meat *toties quoties* whenever, in the judgment of competent medical authority, the state of their health requires such a relaxation of the law.

From the principles thus explained, it is easy to reply to the special question, regarding the use of butter.

We have already seen that, by the common law of the Church, children over seven years of age, who have come to the use of reason, are bound by the law of abstinence from eggs and lacticinia. But, as is obvious from the explanations already given, *it by no means follows that therefore they must abstain from eggs and butter at breakfast during Lent*. For they are bound also by the law of abstinence from meat, and we have seen that, in the absence of a special restriction imposed by the bishop of the diocese, his permission given to the faithful generally to eat meat at dinner, authorises its use *toties quoties* by all who are under twenty-one years of age.

It is, in fact, a plain inference from the Decree (16th January, 1834) of the Sacred Penitentiary, and also from the principles already laid down, that unless the bishop specially limits the permission of eggs and lacticinia to the principal meal—and in some sufficient way indicates his intention of applying this limitation to the case of persons *ratione ætatis vel laboris* exempt from fasting—their use becomes lawful, without any restriction, to persons who are thus exempt.

For, such persons are under no prohibition as regards the number of meals; and the bishop's dispensation, if given without special restriction, altogether takes away, so far as they are concerned, the obligation of abstaining from eggs and lacticinia. In regard therefore to the use of eggs or lacticinia, such persons are, in such a case, under no restriction whatever.

The plain rule, then, is that *persons under twenty-one years of age*, though bound by the law of abstinence, may eat, *toties quoties*, whatever is allowed to the faithful of the diocese generally as regards the principal meal; provided,

¹ See RECORD, vol. i., No. 3, December, 1864, pp. 142-3, where a letter will also be found from the late Cardinal Barnabo, as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, to the Most Rev. Dr. Grant, the late venerated Bishop of Southwark, in which his Eminence explains the grounds on which this distinction was made.

of course, that the bishop in granting the indult does not restrict his permission to the principal meal, and moreover restrict it so as to apply the restriction not only to those who are bound to *fast*, but also to those who are subject to the obligation of *abstinence* alone.

It is quite certain that the restriction is sometimes so applied in regard at least to eggs, as well as in regard to meat. Plain examples of clauses having such an effect would be the following:—“*Those who are under age* are allowed their usual number of meals, but they are allowed to use *eggs and flesh meat only at dinner.*” Or:—“We grant to *all who are obliged to abstain*, permission to use *eggs and flesh meat at the one principal meal only.*”

So also, in this case, as in the case of meat, the restriction may be *virtually* contained in the form employed, as, for instance, if the bishop, after allowing the use of eggs and lacticinia once a day to the faithful generally, adds, “*and lacticinia more than once, to those who are exempt from fasting.*” The same inference is to be drawn from his restricting to one meal the permission to use eggs *even on Sundays.*

And finally, it may be sufficiently intimated in other ways, altogether independently of the terms of the Lenten Regulations in which the Indult is conveyed.

As lacticinia are invariably allowed without any restriction, so far as regards the law of abstinence, except on two or three days in the first and last weeks of Lent—Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday in all parts of Ireland, and in many dioceses the Wednesday of Holy Week as well—the only question which can arise in reference to them, is whether persons under age can take them on those days.

The common law, binding all children who have attained the use of reason, to abstain from lacticinia, would undoubtedly render it unlawful for them to take lacticinia on any day when the bishop does not allow their use, even at the principal meal. But is this portion of the law binding in Ireland? Many continental theologians, especially German, French, and Belgian writers, state that the obligation of abstaining, even in Lent, from lacticinia, has, in the countries of which they had personal knowledge, long since fallen into disuse. Thus, Laymann, writing in Munich, La Croix in Cologne, Sporer in Passau, and Reiffenstuel in Ingolstadt, testify to the abrogation of this portion of the

law in many parts of Germany.¹ Collet gives similar testimony as regards France,² and Henno for Belgium.³

But in Ireland—and we may add in Belgium⁴ also—there can be no doubt that the obligation of abstaining from lactinia on some days of the first and last weeks of Lent, is still in force as regards the faithful generally. Are all children, therefore, who have attained the use of reason, bound by this obligation?

Bonacina, in his Treatise on Laws, referring to the opinion of several theologians, who held that, by virtue of usage, children were exempt from this obligation, at least for some time after attaining the use of reason, says—
“*Consuetudinem non reprobo, ubi legitime recepta est.*”⁵

Of the existence of such a custom in some parts of Ireland, there can be no reasonable doubt; but whether it exists in any particular district is, of course, a question of fact which must be decided by an actual examination of the usage of the locality or diocese, and not by an exposition of theological principles. It may, however, be useful

¹ “*In quibusdam Ecclesiis permittitur esus ovorum et lacticiniorum, etiam in quadragesima; sicuti in his Germaniae provinciis.*”—LAYMANN. *Theol. Moral.* Lib. 4, tract. viii., cap. i., n. 3.

“*Quod autem attinet ad has partes septentrionales, saltem per consuetudinem, absolute licita sunt lactinia uti et ova per quadragesimam in dioecesi Coloniensi, Monasteriensi, aliisque vicinis.*”—LA CROIX. *Theol. Moral.* n. 1261.

“*Jejunium requirit abstinentiam . . . in quadragesima ab ovibus et lactiniis, secluso privilegio et consuetudine contraria . . . quali de facto gaudemus Germani in omnibus Provinciis superioribus, nimirum ob penuriam ciborum quadragesimalium, praesertim olei et piscium.*”—SPORER. *In Decalogum*, Pars iii., Appendix de Jejunio, sect. i., n. 54.

“*In Germania ex antiqua consuetudine videmus permissa ova et lactinia omnibus jejniis totius anni, idque factum creditur ob defectum olei atque aliorum ciborum quadragesimalium, qui alibi abundare solent.*”—REIFFENSTUEL. *Tract. x. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae.* Dist. ii., n. 10.

² “*En France, on peut manger du beurre et du laitage pendant le carême.*”—COLLET. *Traité des Indulgences et du Jubilé*, chap. v., art. ii., § v., n. 4.

³ “*Etsi prohibeatur ubique ovorum comestio in quadragesima non est idem de lactiniis, ut caseo, lacte, butyro, quae ex consuetudine recepta et juri communi derogante, conceduntur Belgis, et quibusdam aliis.*”—HENNO. *Theol. Moral. et Scholastica.* De Virtutibus et Vitiis. Appendix ad tract. i. quaest. i., concl. 2.

⁴ This is evident from a letter addressed by the Bishop of Namur to our late Holy Father on the 22nd of February, 1858, in reference to the abstinence from eggs and the lactinia required for gaining the jubilee of that year. The bishop says:—“*In dioecesi Namurcensi jejunium rigorosum . . . servatur die Cinerum et feria sexta hebdomadae sanctae.*”

⁵ BONACINA. *De Legibus.* Quaest. i., punct. vi., n. 8.

to observe that the fact of persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis*, making free use of eggs and lactinia on days when the faithful of the diocese are allowed to use them at the principal meal, cannot be regarded as evidence of the existence of a custom exempting such persons from the law of abstinence. For we have seen that in such cases the use of eggs and lactinia is permitted in accordance with the principles which regulate this obligation, and independently of any usage at variance with it. The existence, therefore, of such a usage can be ascertained only by examining whether, in a particular district, a well-established custom has sanctioned the use of eggs or lactinia by such persons *on those days of special abstinence when eggs or lactinia are not allowed even at the principal meal* to those who are bound to fast.

In some instances it may be found that usage has introduced a distinction between the various portions of this obligation; so that abstinence from eggs, for instance, would be regarded as obligatory for all children when they have completed their seventh year, or at least very soon afterwards, whilst the obligation of abstaining from butter would be considered to commence at somewhat later age; and milk would be given without scruple by pious parents to children of twelve or thirteen years old.

But there are probably few parts of Ireland where the obligation of abstinence, even in its more rigorous forms, is not to some extent observed by young persons, for some time at least before they become subject to the law of fasting—a usage in full harmony with the teaching of St. Thomas:—"Conveniens est ut etiam in hoc tempore ad jejunandum se exerceant, plus vel minus secundum modum suæ ætatis."¹

From the exposition of the principles of the law already laid down, the remaining question may be answered without much difficulty. It is as follows:—

All theologians seem to teach that the only abstinence imposed by the law of the Church as regards fasting days

¹ *Summa*. In 2.2. Quaest. 147, art. iv., ad 2. Many reasons are put forward by theologians in support of this counsel:—"Confessarii aut alii quibus adolescentum cura demandata est," says Bonacina, "debent eos ad jejunium *inducere*, prout expedire judicaverint: tum ut adolescentes incipient assuescere jejunii: tum ut turpes illecebras comprimant quibus quamplures saepius succumbunt: jejunium . . . remedium optimum est ad superandas tentationes et ad vitanda luxuriæ peccata." (*De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*. Quaest. i., punct., vii., n. 6.)

outside of Lent is abstinence from meat. How does it occur that in Ireland, on such days, eggs and lacticinia are not allowed at the collation? And how are we to understand the words of the Rescript in reply to the *Postulatum* of the Maynooth Synod on this subject, "that the Holy See had never sanctioned the use of butter at the collation on any fasting day"?

It is obvious from what has already been explained, that the use of eggs, butter, &c., at the collation on fasting days outside Lent, though not prohibited by the special precept of *abstinence*, is nevertheless unlawful. For whilst considering the obligation of abstinence, we must not lose sight of the other portion of the ecclesiastical law—the precept of *fasting*, which restricts the number of meals.

In the early ages of the Church one meal only was allowed on a fasting day. If this obligation were still in force, the use not merely of meat or eggs or lacticinia, but even of *strict fasting fare*, would be unlawful, except at the one meal allowed by the law. Its rigour was, however, modified by a custom which gradually sprang up, and which, in the course of time, rendered it lawful to take moreover a slight repast or collation. But this collation having been introduced by custom alone, theologians teach that, in all respects—and therefore as regards the *quality*, or kinds, of food, no less than as regards its *quantity*, the limits of the relaxation thus introduced are strictly determined by the local usage. Outside those limits the law of fasting is in full force. "*Hoc praecepit advertendum est,*" says La Croix,¹ *quod cum collatio ista sit per consuetudinem introducta, in ea non liceat aliud circa quantitatem, qualitatem, et tempus, quam habeat consuetudo hominum timoratorum in unaquaque patria.*"

Now, in this country, custom has not sanctioned the use of eggs, butter, or cheese, at the collation. And, consequently, they cannot, without a violation of the law of *fasting*, be taken except at the principal meal, even on days when they are not forbidden by the law of *abstinence*. On other fasting days, as in Lent, when they are forbidden by the law of abstinence, they are, as regards the principal meal, forbidden by the law of abstinence alone; outside that meal (except, of course, so far as custom may

¹ Lib. 3, part. 2, *De Jejunio*, n. 1297.

have authorised their use at collation) they are forbidden not merely by the special law of *abstinence*, but also by the law of *fasting*, which, with the limitation above specified, *prohibits the taking of food of any kind* except at the principal meal.

But, it may be asked, do not theologians lay down this distinction between the obligations of fast and abstinence, that the law of abstinence regards the *quality* of food which may be eaten on a fasting day, while the law of fasting merely restricts its *quantity*; if then, the quantity allowed at the collation—eight ounces of solid food—be not exceeded, how can the use, for instance, of butter be a violation of the fast?

This distinction by no means implies that the use of butter at the collation is consistent with the observance of the fast. The law of abstinence regards *quality*, in the sense that its prohibition excludes the use *merely* of *certain kinds* of food. The law of fasting does not, in this sense, regard quality: for the restriction which it imposes regards solid food of *every kind* without distinction. Since, then, it thus prohibits indiscriminately the use of every sort of solid food except at dinner, it plainly follows that without a relaxation of the law of *fasting*, nothing may be eaten—meat, eggs, lacticinia, fruit, bread, or any food whatever—*except at the collation, so far as custom has authorised the use at collation of this special kind of food.*

And thus it is obvious that, even if the limits of quantity were to be maintained, a dispensation from the Holy See authorizing the use of butter at the collation on any fasting day, would be a relaxation not merely in the law of *abstinence*, but also in the law of *fasting*.¹

W. J. W.

¹See some further information on this subject in a paper in the former series of the RECORD, vol. viii. (March, 1872), p. 260, where the question was fully discussed, in connexion with a Lenten indulgence of most unusual amplitude, granted, for special reasons, in that year, by his Eminence the late Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. The words of the indulgence were as follows:—"Whilst the law of *fasting* remains in *full rigour*, the law of *abstinence* is *suspended* until the 17th of March." Many persons—influenced, no doubt, by the view indicated in the third last paragraph above—inferred that the use of lacticinia, of eggs, and even of meat, was thus rendered lawful at the collation, even for persons bound to fast, provided of course, that the customary limit of quantity—eight ounces—was not exceeded. The incorrectness of this inference, however, soon came to be universally recognised.

QUESTIONS ON LITURGY.

WE shall feel it a special duty to our reverend subscribers carefully to examine any liturgical difficulties that may occur to them from time to time, and that they may think well to send to us for solution. We shall not fail, of course, to consult the liturgical works of highest authority to aid us in forming our opinion on each question.

For the present number of the RECORD we have been obliged to form a few questions for ourselves, and it occurred to us that it would be very suitable to confine them to the Liturgy of Holy Week, inasmuch as Holy Week falls, this year, in the present month of March.—ED. I. E. R.

QUESTIONS.

I. The Feast of the Annunciation will occur, this year, on Holy Thursday. The Office and Mass of the Annunciation are transferred to the 5th of April, but the obligation of hearing Mass, and refraining from servile works, remains attached to the 25th of March, that is, to Holy Thursday. In these circumstances the question arises:—

1. Is it allowable for every priest to celebrate privately for the purpose of fulfilling his obligation of attending at Mass?

2. May priests, who are privileged to “duplicate” on Sundays and holidays of obligation, duplicate on the 25th of March, just as if it did not happen to be Holy Thursday?

3. Is the obligation of applying the Mass “*pro populo*” transferred with the Office and Mass to the 5th of April?

4. Are the Indulgences attached to the Feast of the Annunciation transferred?

II. What kind of reverence should be made to the cross of the high altar during the last three days of Holy Week, when the Blessed Sacrament has been removed to another altar? Should the reverence be a genuflection, or only a profound inclination of the body?

III. Is it in accordance with the rubrics and the decisions of the S. Cong. of Rites to celebrate Mass in convent chapels during the last three days of Holy Week?

IV. Are the clergy bound to communicate on Holy Thursday, in obedience to the decree quoted in the Direc-

tory (Fer. V. in Coena Dom., page 28)? To whom does it apply?

V. Is the 9th Lesson of the Tenebrae Matins to be read by the celebrant or presiding priest?

If he reads it, do all in choir stand during the reading?

Where does he read it? Is it at the desk in the middle of the choir or at his seat in choir?

VI. Do the Hebrew letters set before the different paragraphs of the Lamentations form part of the Divine Office? The doubt is suggested by seeing these words printed in italics, that is, in the same type as the rubrics, in the Dublin edition of the Breviary, printed by Coyne, 1844.

FIRST QUESTION.

The Feast of the Annunciation will fall, this year, on Holy Thursday. The Office and Mass of the Annunciation are transferred to the 5th of April, but the obligation of hearing Mass and refraining from servile works remains attached to the 25th of March, that is, to Holy Thursday. In these circumstances the question arises:—

1. Is it allowable for every priest to celebrate privately for the purpose of fulfilling his obligation of attending at Mass?

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3. Is the obligation of applying the Mass "*pro populo*" transferred with the Office and Mass to the 5th of April?

4. Are the Indulgences attached to the Feast of the Annunciation transferred?

The doubts arise from the general prohibition, of which every priest is aware, to celebrate a private Mass on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, or Holy Saturday (see Benedict XIV., Institut. Eccles. Institut. 38, n. 8, 9, 10). Special provision, however, was made by the Cong. of Rites for the occurrence of the Feast of the Annunciation on Holy Thursday. This is its ruling:—"Cum festum SS. Annunciationis incidat in Feriam V. in Coena Domini, per Ordinarium locorum providendum est ut eo die plures Missae privatae, ante Missam conventualem, pro praecepti adimplemento celebrandae non desint, sed tamen propterea antiquus mos communionis cleri in Missa solenni ejus diei, quo Ecclesia SS. Eucharistiae Sacramenti institutionem et memoriam recolit, summa religione haecenus observatus, nullo modo omittatur." 12th Sept., 1716. — Decretum Generale.

It is obvious that this decree allows a deviation from the general law which prohibits private Masses on Holy Thursday, only so far as is necessary to give the people an opportunity of complying with their obligation of hearing Mass. It places on the bishop the obligation of making the suitable arrangements in his diocese, but his privilege of allowing private Masses extends no further than he deems to be necessary to meet the wants of the people.

1. Hence a priest may not say Mass privately on next Holy Thursday; in other words, if his Mass be not necessary for the people in the sense explained, he must hear Mass “more laicorum,” to fulfil his own obligation on the holiday.

2. It follows from what we have said that it is lawful to “duplicate” in all cases in which the bishop deems it necessary on other holidays of obligation. His opinion as to its necessity on this occasion is expressed with sufficient clearness by allowing “duplication” on the other days of obligation throughout the year.

The private or low Masses will be distinguished by no peculiar ceremonies. The priest will not consecrate two Hosts, there is to be no Procession—in a word, he is to celebrate with the usual ceremonies of low Mass.

These private Masses are supposed by the decree just quoted to be concluded before the usual solemn Mass of Holy Thursday begins. They are allowed as an addition, but not to take its place. In the ceremonies of the Solemn Mass there is to be no change from what should be done if the Feast of the Annunciation did not occur on Holy Thursday. Accordingly, if the Host is to be reserved for the Good Friday ceremony, the last Mass on Holy Thursday must be a “Missa Solemnis,” or where priests are wanting for this, a Mass in accordance with the ritual of Benedict XIII.

3. The obligation of applying the Mass “pro populo” is not transferred, but remains attached to the 25th of March, even though it be Holy Thursday. This was decided even for France, where the Feast of the Annunciation is one of the suppressed holidays, by the following decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites:—

“Anno 1869, Festum Annunciationis B.M.V. incidet Feria V. in Coena Domini, et juxta Rubricas quoad Officium et Missam reponendum est in Feria II. post Dominicam in Albis: quaeritur autem an applicatio Missae, quae in hoc Festo debet pro populo fieri, debeat in Coena Domini, vel e contra Feria II. post Dominicam in Albis? Ratio dubitandi

est, quia in Gallia per concordatum diei 9 Aprilis 1802, sublata est obligatio abstinendi ab operibus servilibus et Sacrum audiendi in Festo Annunciationis."

"Sacra Congregatio post accuratam examen rescribere rata est: *Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*"

4. Neither are the Indulgences attached to the Feast transferred to the 5th of April, inasmuch as it is only the Mass and Office, and not the solemnity and public celebration that are deferred. It would be altogether different if the 25th of March happened to be Good Friday or Holy Saturday, for in either of these cases the solemnity of the Feast of the Annunciation with all its obligations and privileges would be transferred.

Touching the question of transferring the Indulgences with the feast to which they are attached, we have a general decree of Pius IX. (9 Aug., 1852), in which the law regulating this matter is clearly laid down. We extract from it the following:—SS. itaque D. N. Pius PP. IX. audita de his omnibus relatione . . . benigne mandavit, ut omnes indulgentiae quae hucusque quibusdam festis concessae fuerunt ac in posterum concedentur vel quae pro iisdem festis aliquibus Ecclesiis et publicis oratoriis pariter concessa fuerunt et in posterum concedentur vel etiam, si libuerit, de consensu Ordinarii illae concessae in S. supplicationibus aut in Novendialibus vel Septenariis sive Triduariis precibus, ante vel post Festum vel ejus Octavario perdurante, translatae intelligantur pro eo die quo festa hujusmodi vel *quoad solemnitatem tantum et externam celebrationem (non tamen quoad Officium et Missam)* in aliquibus locis vel ecclesiis publicisque oratoriis sive in perpetuum sive aliqua occasione sive ad tempus eoque durante, legitime transferuntur. *Cum vero transfertur tantum Officium cum Missa, non autem solemnitas et exterior celebratio Festi, indulgentiarum nullam fieri translationem decrevit.*"

Decretum Urbis et Orbis ex Audientia Sanctissimi,
die. 9 Aug. 1852.

SECOND QUESTION.

What kind of reverence should be made to the cross of the High Altar during the last three days of Holy Week, when the Blessed Sacrament has been removed to the altar of Repose? Should the reverence be a genuflection, or only a profound inclination of the body?

1. To avoid confusion in replying to this question we must begin by distinguishing between those whom the

general rubric, which regards no particular occasion, directs to salute the cross of the High Altar with only an inclination of the body, and those from whom it requires a genuflection in the course of the year. The former are bishops, canons, and the celebrant. These, in the course of the year, make only an inclination—the bishop an inclination of the head, the canons and celebrant a profound inclination of the body—to the cross of the High Altar, according to the clear direction of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, “*Episcopus faciet altari majori reverentiam, caput inclinando*” (cap. xviii. 2.) *Ipsi vero canonici, cum pervenerint ad altare majus simul cum episcopo profunde se inclinant . . . et regulariter quoties ipsi canonici transeunt directe ante altare . . . caput et humeros profunde inclinant*” (IBID. . . . n. 3.) This privilege of only inclining to the cross does not, however, extend to all canons, but only to those in cathedral chapters, as the S. R. Cong. has decided—23rd Sept. 1837.

The celebrant does not genuflect to the altar (Rub. Missae. S. R. C., 8th April, 1808—4357).

All others, *i.e.*, except bishops, canons, and the celebrant, are required by the general rubric to genuflect. “*Beneficiati autem et caeteri de clero genuflectere debent transiendo tum ante altare, quam ante episcopum (dioecesis S. R. C). (Caer. Epis. Ibid.)* Upon this passage De Herdt makes the following commentary:—

“*Beneficiati, capellani, omnesque reliqui cleri non canonici genuflectere tenentur, quoties transeunt ante episcopum (dioecesis) et altare, quoties accedunt vel recedunt, sive pluviali aliisque sacris paramentis sint parati sive non, sive ministrent ad altare sive choro assistant, sive rochetto, vel etiam cappa magna sint induti sive solo superpelliceo, sive episcopus celebret sive canonicus, non obstante consuetudine, nisi celebrent, ut supra dictum est, aut ‘nisi simul incedant eodem ordine et gradu cum canonico parato celebrante, ut in Caer. lib. 2, cap. 3, n. 3, 10, quia tunc nisi et quatenus canonicus genuflexerit, nec ipsi genuflectere debent. Quia alias videretur dissonans et discordans, quod unus vel duo genuflecterent, alias vero non.*” (PRAXIS PONTIF. Tom. i., n. 150 f.)

It follows “*a fortiori*” that ecclesiastics who are not in choir dress, and all who are not ecclesiastics, reverence the cross of the High Altar with a genuflection in the course of the year.

2. It is also very necessary to distinguish between the part of the Triduum which precedes and that which follows

the Adoration of the Cross; that is to say, between Holy Thursday and the morning of Good Friday on the one hand, and on the other the remaining part of Good Friday and the morning of Holy Saturday.

With these preliminary remarks we proceed to answer the question:

1. There can be no doubt that those who are required by the general rubric to genuflect in the course of the year to the cross of the High Altar are also required to do so during the whole Triduum (De Herdt, *Praxis Pontif.*, Tom. iii. n. 3 c.).

2. The S. Cong. decided (31st August, 1839) that the celebrant ought not to genuflect on Good Friday before the cross is uncovered.

3. The Rubrics of the Missal (Fer. vi. in *Parasceve*) order the celebrant, his ministers, and all others to genuflect to the cross in the ceremony of Adoration, and the genuflection is similarly prescribed for the bishop and canons in the *Caer. Epis.*, Lib. ii., cap. 25, n. 25.

4. It was always admitted that all, without exception, were obliged to genuflect to the cross from the time of the Adoration till the None of Holy Saturday—that is, to the beginning of the Holy Saturday function. The S. Cong. has affirmed this.—9 May, 1857.

5. The doubt arose only as to the reverence to be made before the Adoration by those who on other occasions were directed to make only an inclination. Should they genuflect? Rubricists were formerly divided on the point, and even those who held that all except the celebrant should genuflect differed among themselves as to when the genuflection should begin. Thus Merati (Tom. ii., sec. vi., cap. xiii. 5) orders all except the celebrant to genuflect from the Matins of Holy Thursday—that is, from Wednesday evening. “Advertendum est,” he writes, “quod qui transeunt ante crucem, in medio altaris majoris positam, toto hoc triduo, quod incipit a supradicta remotione SS. Sacramenti [he lays it down, n. 1, that the Blessed Sacrament should be transferred from the high altar before the Matins begin] hoc etiam absente, omnes debent genuflectere unico genu, praeter celebrantem paratum, qui solum facit profundam reverentiam, nisi aliter notetur, quia in die Parasceve etiam ipse genuflectit . . . Coram aliis vero crucibus, quae in altaribus reliquis aut locis positae sunt, sola inclinatio ab omnibus est de more facienda.” Cavalieri (Tom. iv., cap. 1, decret. ix. 4) begin: with the Vespers

of Holy Thursday—that is, after the denuding of the altars.

There appeared in 1857 (12th September) a decree of the S. Cong., which fixes what is to be done. The Cong. of Rites decides that those who at other times of the year salute the cross with only an inclination of the body—namely, bishops, canons, and the celebrant—are not obliged to genuflect before the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday. We transcribe the question and answer:—

“*Utrum in officio tridui mortis Christi omnes qui ceteroquin cruci faciunt tantum profundam reverentiam, prout episcopus, canonici, celebrans &c., debeant genuflectere; vel utrum haec genuflexionis regula locum habeat solummodo in die Parasceve post crucis adorationem.*” The S. Cong. replies:—“Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.”

This decision does not reprobate, as we learn from the Votum of the Master of Ceremonies, who was charged to examine these doubts, and upon whose report this decision is founded, the custom of requiring all except the celebrant to genuflect during the whole Triduum. “*Ex quibus omnibus,*” he writes, “*inferri posse videtur, licet improbandus non sit usus ubi viget, genuflectendi cruci vel in toto vel in parte triduo majoris hebdomadae, stricte hanc regulam habere locum in die Parasceve post crucis denudationem.*”

R. B.

[We are obliged to hold over the answers to the other questions for our next Number, which will appear before Holy Week—ED. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

A SPECIAL feature in a Periodical like the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD should be the preservation in a collected form of Documents and authentic Decisions issued in Rome by the Supreme Pontiff and by the various Roman Congregations. We have determined to begin the selection we purpose to make of Papal Documents, from the accession of the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII. We publish, therefore, in this number the Allocution delivered by His Holiness in his first Consistory held on the 28th March, 1878.

In our next number we shall give the text of the Encyclical published on the 21st April of the same year.

LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII ALLOCUTIO
HABITA IN CONSISTORIO SECRETO DIE XXVIII MARTII,
1878.

VENERABILES FRATRES,

Ubi primum superiori mense, Vobis suffragia ferentibus, ad suscipienda Ecclesiae universae gubernacula, et advices in terris gerendas Principis Pastorum Jesu Christi vocati fuimus, gravissima sane perturbatione ac trepidatione, animum Nostrum sensimus commoveri. Nam ex una parte Nos maxime terrebat, tum intima de indignitate Nostra persuasio, tum virium Nostrarum infirmitas tanto oneri ferendo penitus impar, quae quidem tanto maior videbatur, quanto clarior et celebrior Praedecessoris Nostri Pii IX immortalis memoriae Pontificis, sese per Orbem fama diffuderat. Cum enim insignis ille catholici gregis rector pro veritate et iustitia invicto semper animo certaverit, magnisque laboribus in Christiana Republica administranda fuerit in exemplum perfunctus, non modo virtutum suarum splendore hanc Apostolicam Sedem illustravit, sed etiam universam Ecclesiam amore et admiratione sui adeo complevit, ut quemadmodum omnes Romanos Antistites diuturnitate Pontificatus superavit, ita forte prae caeteris amplissima publici et constantis obsequii venerationis testimonia retulerit. Ex altera autem parte nos vehementer angebat asperrima conditio, in qua hisce temporibus poene ubique non modo civilis Societas, sed et Catholica Ecclesia, atque haec praesertim Apostolica Sedes versatur, quae sua per vim temporali dominatione spoliata eo adducta est, ut pleno, libero nullique obnoxio suae potestatis usu perfrui omnino non possit.

At quamquam, Venn. Fratres, hisce de causis ad delatum honorem recusandum movebamur, quo tamen animo obsistere divinae voluntati potuissemus quae tam luculenter nobis enituit, in vestrarum sententiarum consensu, et in ea pientissima sollicitudine, qua Vos Catholicae Ecclesiae bonum unice spectantes, illud assecuti estis, ut quam citissime Summi Pontificis electio perficeretur?

Oblatum itaque supremum Apostolatus munus nobis suscipiendum, et divinae voluntati parendum esse duximus, fiduciam nostram penitus in Domino collocantes, ac sperantes firmiter daturum humilitati Nostrae virtutem, qui contulerat dignitatem.

Cum vero, Venn. Fratres, nunc primum ex hoc loco vestrum amplissimum ordinem alloqui nobis datum sit, illud imprimis solemniter coram vobis profiteamur, nihil unquam Nobis in hoc Apostolicae servitutis officio antiquius fore, quam divina adjuvante gratia eo curas omnes intendere, ut Catholicae Fidei depositum sancte servemus, iura ac rationes Ecclesiae et Apostolicae Sedis fideliter custodiamus, et omnium saluti prospiciamus, parati in his omnibus nullum laborem defugere, nulla incommoda recusare, nec unquam committere, ut animam Nostram pretiosiore quam nos facere videamur.

In his autem partibus Ministerii Nostri obeundis, consilium sapientiamque Vestram Nobis non defuturam confidimus et ut numquam desit, vehementer exoptamus ac petimus; quod quidem ita a Vobis accipi volumus, ut non officii studio, sed pro solemnii testificatione Nostrae voluntatis hoc dictum intelligatis. Alte enim insidet menti Nostrae quod in sacris literis ex Dei iussu Moyses fecisse narratur, qui

gravi pondere universum populum regendi deterritis congregavit sibi septuaginta viros de senibus Israel, ut una cum eo onus ferrent, atque opera consilioque suo in gentis Israeliticae regimine curas eius allevarent. Quod quidem exemplum, Nos, qui totius Christiani populi duces ac rectores, licet immerito, constituti sumus, prae oculis habentes, facere non possumus quin a Vobis septuaginta virorum Israel in Ecclesia Dei locum obtinentibus, laboribus Nostris opem, animoque Nostro levamen conquiramus.

Noscimus insuper, uti sacra eloquia declarant, *salutem esse ubi multa consilia sunt*, noscimus ut monet Tridentina Synodus, Cardinalium consilio apud Romanum Pontificem universalis Ecclesiae administrationem niti, noscimus denique a S. Bernardo Romani Pontificis collaterales et consiliarios Cardinales appellari, ac propterea Nos qui fere vigintiquinque annos honoris Collegii vestri compotes fuimus, in hanc supremam Sedem non modo animum attulimus plenum erga Vos dilectionis ac studii, sed etiam firmam eam mentem, ut quos olim consortes habuimus honoris, eis nunc laborum et consiliorum Nostrorum sociis ac adiutoribus, in expediendis Ecclesiae negotiis maxime utamur.

Nunc autem illud Nobis iucundissimum et peropportunitum accidit, Venn. Fratres, ut dulcem consolationis fructum Vobiscum communicemus, quem ex felici opere ad Religionis nostrae gloriam peracto, in Domino percepimus. Quod enim a Decessore Nostro sanctae memoriae Pio Nono pro eximio suo in rem catholicam zelo fuerat susceptum, et ex sententia eorum ex Vobis, qui in Sacro Concilio Christiano nomini propagando censentur, decretum fuerat, ut nempe Episcopali Hierarchia in illustri Scotiae Regno constituta, Ecclesia illa ad novum decus revocaretur, id Nobis feliciter implere, et ad exitum perducere, Deo iuvante, datum est per Apostolicas litteras, quas die IV. huius mensis hoc eodem anno vulgari mandavimus. Gavisi profecto sumus, Venn. Fratres, quod hac in re contigerit Nobis fervidissimis votis dilectorum in Christo filiorum, Cleri et fidelium Scotiae satisfacere, quos propensissimo in Catholicam Ecclesiam, et Petri Cathedram animo esse, multis iisque praeclarissimis argumentis comperimus; firmiterque confidimus fore, ut opus ab Apostolica Sede perfectum, laetis fructibus cumuletur, et coelestibus Scotiae Patronis suffragantibus, in ea regione in dies magis *suscipiant montes pacem populo et colles iustitiam*.

Caeterum, Venn. Fratres, nulla ratione dubitamus Vos, coniunctis Nobiscum studiis, ad tutelam et incolumitatem Religionis, ad praesidium huius Apostolicae Sedis, ad incrementum divinae gloriae alacriter esse adlaboraturos, animo reputantes communem futuram omnium nostrum in coelo mercedem, si in Ecclesiae rebus adiuvandis communis fuerit labor. Divitem porro in misericordia Deum, interposito etiam Deiparae Immaculatae, sancti Josephi Patroni coelestis Ecclesiae, ac SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli validissimo interventu, humilibus Vobiscum votis obsecrate, ut Nobis iugiter praesens bonusque adsit, consilia actusque nostros dirigat, ministerii Nostri tempora feliciter disponat, ac tandem Petri Navim, quam Nobis gubernandam mari saeviente commisit, domitis ventis fluctibusque compositis, ad optatum portum tranquillitatis et pacis adducat.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I. *A History of the Mass and its Ceremonies in the Eastern and Western Church.* By the Rev. JOHN O'BRIEN, Professor of Sacred Liturgy in Mount St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, Maryland. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co., 9, Barclay-street. 1879.

THOUGH this work comes to us across the Atlantic, the author's name would lead us to claim him as an Irishman. But we are not left to mere conjecture on this subject; for in the *Freeman's Journal* of February 11th we read among the deaths recorded in the first column: "Dec. 5, 1879, Rev. John O'Brien, author of 'History of the Mass,' Professor Mount St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, U.S.A., fourth son of the late Daniel O'Brien, of Ardfinan, county Tipperary, aged 38 years."

In the obituaries published in some American journals we learn that Father O'Brien had gone through his ecclesiastical studies in the United States, and that he had, in spite of continued delicacy of health, applied himself with great diligence for ten years to the compilation of this work on the Mass. Though 1879 is the date of its first publication, and though he died in the last month of that year, he lived long enough to send to the binder the fourth edition of his book; and in the brief interval since then a fifth edition has been issued. Great as is unquestionably the merit of the work, this rapid success surprises us, especially as the volume has been brought out elegantly, and therefore expensively. But it is only at the beginning of a long career of usefulness; for it supplies admirably a want in our literature, giving from authentic sources a full exposition of the literal and mystic meaning of everything that is done in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, together with an account of all the Oriental rites, schismatic as well as Catholic. The authorities on each point are carefully indicated, and much curious and interesting information is condensed into the notes. The style is quite suitable to the nature of the work—clear, simple, and accurate. A carefully compiled index places these stores of learning readily at our disposal.

- II. *Outline of a Course of Natural Philosophy, with Specimen Examination Papers suitable to Intermediate Schools and Colleges.* By GERALD MOLLOY, D.D., Vice-Rector and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Catholic University of Ireland. London: Simpkin, Marshal & Co. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1880.

THE author's official position with regard to Irish education, and his practical experience in the special department to which the above work refers, bespeak for it the attention of those for whose benefit it has been compiled. The present is pre-eminently an examining age. Some people have expressed their gratitude for having been born before nerves were invented; and many may consider themselves lucky in having secured their position in life before this era of competitive examinations. For those, however, who have still to pass through such ordeals, Dr. Molloy has provided a most serviceable guide in one department of their studies. Even readers who do not take this prac-

tical interest in the subject, will find many of these ample pages very interesting ; for instance, the second appendix, which gives an extremely clear account of a new form of Voltaic battery devised by Dr. Molloy, and, on account of its simplicity, cheapness, practical efficiency, and working power, peculiarly suitable for use in Intermediate schools and colleges. Very considerable skill and care have evidently been expended on the printing and material get-up of this book, which is a creditable specimen of Dublin typography.

III. *Solid Virtue: or a Treatise on the Obstacles to Solid Virtue, the Means of Acquiring it, and Motives for Practising it.* By FATHER BELLECIUS, S.J.; translated by a member of the Ursuline Community, Thurles. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.

THE Archbishop of Cashel and Emly introduces this volume with some earnest words of recommendation, expressing his belief that "it is destined to advance numerous souls in the path of Christian perfection, and to produce wide-spread and abiding good in the cloister, within the sanctuary, and among our Catholic people." The reputation of Father Bellecius as an ascetic theologian stands high, and his treatise on Solid Virtue is one of his best known and most valuable works. The good father lived at a time when folios were more in fashion than primers and brochures; and, accordingly, he does not stint himself for room in the full and methodical development of his plan—devoting, for instance, some thirty of these 640 fine, broad pages, to the consideration of Venial Sin in all its phases—so that each chapter is almost a complete little treatise in itself. A cursory examination of the general table of contents will show the reader how thorough and systematic a study is here given of the obstacles and the aids to our progress in the acquisition of true and solid virtue.

IV. *The Lamb of God: or Reflections on the Life of our Divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. T. H. KINANE, P.P., Fethard, Tipperary. Dublin: Gill & Son, 50, Upper Sackville-street. 1880.

IF this book were the first written by its devout author, or if it came to us without the sanction and fervent recommendation of so many and so distinguished ecclesiastical authorities, we should deem it a duty to devote to its praise a considerable portion of our available space.

But, as it has been written by the author of "The Dove of the Tabernacle," "The Angel of the Altar," and "Mary Immaculate, Mother of God," any lengthened notice on our part would be quite superfluous. We offer our sincere congratulations to the truly zealous Archdeacon of Cashel, who, amidst the labours and distractions inseparable from active missionary work, has managed to find time to compose and to publish a book so useful and so profitable to persons of every age and condition who desire to know more of the life and of the love of the "Lamb of God."

No words of ours could add emphasis to the following, which are found in the Preface written by the Archdeacon's illustrious Ordinary—the Most Rev. Dr. Croke:—

"This latest addition to the library of popular devotion is written as it ought to be, in a very simple but pleasing style; it abounds in Scriptural and patristic illustration; breathes through every page a spirit of tender yet intelligent piety; and has been admirably brought

out by the enterprising Catholic publishers, Messrs. Gill and Son, of Sackville-street. I shall only add, that it is offered to the public at a very moderate figure; and, as it deserves to have, I predict for it a most decided success, and bespeak for it a wide circulation."

V. *Directorium Sacerdotale. A Guide for Priests in their Public and Private Life.* By FATHER BENEDICT VALUX, S.J. With an Appendix for the use of Seminarists. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1879.

THIS book, which is meant exclusively for priests and for those who are preparing for the priesthood, and which is sold to no others, is dedicated to the Bishop of Shrewsbury—who, in a letter to the translator, expresses his wish that "every ecclesiastical student had to learn the book by heart." It is undoubtedly an interesting and very useful work, the fruit of much experience, pains, and zeal. In the desire to be very practical, the author enters into very minute details; and many readers will think that some of these might more discreetly have been passed over. A few of the admonitions might have been given, or (when quoted from the Fathers) might have been left, in that language of which Boileau has wickedly said:—

"Le Latin dans les mots brave l'honnêteté."

Some doubt will be felt also as to the expediency of supposing a few of the "Hints on Etiquette" applicable even to beginners preparing for the priesthood; but no such doubt can be entertained as to the diligence and zeal of the English editor in compiling so carefully these and other chapters which he has added to his author. The usual intimation seems to have been omitted on the title page, that the present is a second edition. When a third edition is called for, a less elegant form might judiciously be adopted, in order to make so useful a book cheaper than it can be in the shape in which it is now offered to the ecclesiastical public. The lists of books suggested for private and public libraries might also be somewhat compressed; for, their utility, though great, is hardly proportionate to the space they occupy in this *Directorium Sacerdotale*. In other respects, too, these lists might be rendered more generally useful by careful revision. We notice, for instance, that although a special section is devoted to works on the Church, no mention is made of Dr. Murray's classic Treatise. We also miss from the list of Commentators on the Gospels, the names of the Bishops of Galway and Kerry. The commentary of the former learned prelate is no doubt mentioned (page 393), but we should be glad to see it also in the list specially intended for the guidance of priests (page 355); the more so, as his Lordship's commentary on the Epistles is mentioned there.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SUPPLEMENTARY] *MARCH*, 1880.

[NUMBER.

IRISH CIVILIZATION BEFORE THE ANGLO- NORMAN INVASION.¹

I HAVE chosen for the subject of the lecture, this evening, the comparative civilization of the Celts and the Normans during the two centuries that preceded the Anglo-Norman invasion of our country. It is a theme which has but little merit of novelty to commend it; many of you are already familiar with it, and yet, I trust, it may not be found entirely devoid of interest to you. We pursue the study of history not merely that we may become acquainted with the events of former times, but still more that we may derive from the teachings of the past, some lessons of wisdom to guide us in our future course; and, as in the study of nature, the more profoundly we investigate its laws the more perfect it is found to be, and the more the wisdom of the Divine Creator shines forth in all its minutest parts, even so the more fully we inquire into the facts of history, and the more accurately we investigate their details, the brighter is the light of truth which they present to us, "growing fairer than at first, more strong, far greater," and the more cheering and instructive are the lessons which they impart.

By many writers at the present day it is accepted almost as an axiom, that throughout the centuries that immediately preceded the Anglo-Norman invasion our people were living in a semi-barbarous state, and at the same time we are told that the Anglo-Normans came to us

¹Lecture delivered to the Young Men's Society, Kilkenny, 9th February, 1880, by Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory.

as the heralds of true Christian civilization, bearing with them its blessings and its richest gifts to our benighted shores. You all remember how, a few years ago, a high Protestant dignitary in this city, in an official letter addressed to the supposed descendants of these Anglo-Normans, declared that their forefathers found the Irish people in a state of semi-barbarism. It is more than two hundred years since Sir William Petty made the same assertion, and he further affirmed that it was only with the Anglo-Norman invasion that our learning and civilization began.¹ Since his day a thousand other English writers have enlarged upon the theme, and their statements have been embodied in the pages of Mr. Froude, who has won for himself the unenviable fame of being the most persistent traducer of our country in modern times. He thus writes:—

“The Irish, when the Normans took charge of them, were, with the exception of the clergy, scarcely better than a mob of armed savages. They had no settled industry, and no settled habitations, and scarcely a conception of property . . . The only occupation considered honourable was fighting and plunder . . . The religion of the Irish Celts, which three centuries earlier had burnt like a star in Western Europe, had degenerated into a superstition, and no longer served as a check upon the most ferocious passions . . . Their chief characteristics were treachery, thirst for blood, unbridled licentiousness, and inveterate detestation of order and rule.” As a nation, he adds, “they have done nothing which posterity will not be anxious to forget;” they “have little architecture of their own, and the forms introduced from England have been robbed of their grace;” in fact, they are “unable to boast of one single national work of art.”² Of this semi-barbarous people the Normans came to take charge, thus “fulfilling the work for which they were specially qualified and gifted . . . The true justification of the conquest lay in the character of the conquerors. They were born rulers of men, and were forced, by the same necessity which has brought the decrepit kingdoms of Asia under the authority of England and Russia, to take the management, eight centuries ago, of the anarchic nations of Western Europe.”³

¹ Petty, “Political Anatomy of Ireland,” chap. v., page 25.

² Froude, “The English in Ireland,” i., 14, 22.

³ Ibid. 16, 17.

Such are the views which many who have but little love for Ireland, are only too eager to adopt. Now, there are several ways in which we may test the accuracy of these statements, but there is one which commends itself particularly to me; and, as it not unfrequently happened in days of chivalry, that whilst hostile armies were marshalled face to face in battle array, some chosen champion from either side would enter the lists to decide by personal combat to whom should be awarded the palm of victory, so too I will lead into the arena before you two illustrious champions, each a fitting representative of the race to which he belongs—the Irish monarch Brian, and William, the Norman conqueror. They present to us, indeed, many features in common. Each of them successfully usurped an imperial power; they were wise and prudent in counsel, brave and valorous in the field; victory smiled upon their arms in countless battles, and on the day of their greatest triumph, at Clontarf and at Hastings, they were alike engaged under the banner of religion; so too they have both received from posterity the title of “the Great,” and by their respective races they have been honoured with an uninterrupted chorus of unrivalled applause; and hence, it seems to me that the distinctive merits of their imperial rule may, without the risk of partiality, be fairly accepted as a test of the civilization which they represent.

Brian entered on his career, pledged to free Ireland from the oppressive yoke of the Danes. Wave after wave of these northern barbarians had swept over the fairest territories of Erin, and long and painful was the bondage which they imposed upon our people. The richest shrines and sanctuaries were plundered, and the whole country was laid waste. The leaders of these pagan bands even assumed the title of kings of Ireland; and, indeed, more than once they seemed to have secured for themselves almost a complete mastery over a great part of the island. The chieftains of the subjugated districts were led away to work as slaves for the Danish lords; a Danish soldier was billeted not as a guest, but as a master in every household; each church and monastery had a pagan chieftain appointed to it, and a heavy tax was imposed as well on those who administered, as on those who received the sacred rites of religion. Wherever the invaders went the schools were closed and the teachers slain, and it was an imperative command that all books which were met with should be burned or carried away.

In sadness, the annalists add : " No Irish chief was able to give deliverance from the foreigner because of the excellence of their armour, the greatness of their prowess, their strength and valour, and the excess of their thirst for the fruitful, grassy lands of Erin."¹ Together with material conquest they sought to ensure the triumph of Paganism. Their leader, Thorgils (who is better known by his Latinized name, Turgesius), caused himself to be proclaimed in Armagh the head of the religion of Ireland, whilst his wife, Otta, was enthroned on the high altar of the great church of Clonmacnoise, and proceeded to deliver thence her pagan oracles. Some of you will, I have no doubt, anticipate me when I say that this tyranny of the Danes has found its counterpart and its perfection in later times ; and that the ambitious designs of Thorgils and Otta only foreshadowed in part the irreligious aspirations of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

The Dalcassians of Munster were among the foremost and bravest in resisting this tide of invasion. They had vowed that their battle-axes would know no repose so long as Ireland was not entirely free from the Danish thralldom, and they were faithful to their vow. With the chieftaincy of the Dalcassians Brian had inherited that vow ; its fulfilment was the one great purport of his life ; and he lived long enough to see it crowned by a glorious triumph. But let us examine somewhat in detail the chief features that marked this monarch's career.

The first great feature of Brian's rule that presents itself, is his wonderful disinterestedness. Though victory after victory attended his arms, we nowhere find that riches or plunder or personal aggrandisement were his aim. When a decisive battle forced the Danes of Munster to submit to his authority, the one condition of peace imposed was that every Irishman held by them in bondage should be set at liberty ; and the annalists add that thousands of captives were at once seen joyfully returning to their homes. So, too, when as Monarch of Ireland he again broke the Danish power, his decree went forth that every Irishman held in bondage throughout Erin should be free, and once more thousands of noble captives were restored to their homes and to freedom.

Though Brian had vanquished the Danes, he took no steps to exterminate them or to banish them from the

¹ Wars of the Gaedhil, p. 49.

kingdom. On the contrary, he recognized the element of strength which, as faithful subjects, they would add to his power, and he permitted them to remain in the chief seaports, thus to promote commerce and to develop the resources of the country. He made use of them too to carry the war into the enemy's camp. He gathered together a mighty fleet from all the Danish harbours, and, accompanying it with a chosen band of his own Dalcassian heroes, sent them to pursue the marauding Vikings and to ravage the islands off the Scottish coast and the more northern islands which they had made their resting-place. The fleet returned laden with an immense booty; the Vikings were forced to acknowledge the superior sway of the victor, and Brian was now able to assume the proud title of Chief Monarch of Ireland and of all the Danish isles.

Brian was also renowned for his hospitality. The Danes of Dublin were compelled to supply to his palace at Kinkora 360 butts of wine every year, and a proportionate quantity was exacted from the Limerick Danes. Each Irish chieftain paid so many head of cattle as his tribute, and whatever was thus received was devoted to enhance the hospitable fame of the royal residence. Its halls were open to all, and rich and poor, chieftains and pilgrims, were welcome to the hospitality of the Irish monarch.

He applied himself in a special manner to repair the material ruin that had followed on the Danish invasions. The bridges were everywhere repaired, the causeways were restored, new roads were made, the residences of the Irish chieftains were rebuilt, and his own palace at Kinkora was adorned with a magnificence befitting the abode of Ireland's monarch.

In his reverence for the Church and her clergy, the Irish king proved himself to have at heart the true interests of his people. There is no surer test of a monarch's merits in the work of Christian civilization than his dealings with the Church. All the nations of the civilized world are indebted to her in this, that by her they have been lifted up from the mire of pagan barbarism, and have received at her hands the crown of religious and social blessings that adorns them. The truths of heaven are upon her lips; her mission is divine. She does not seek to intrude her authority into the secular domain, but nevertheless her beneficent influence permeates the whole body of the State. Whosoever seeks to fetter the Church whilst she guides her children in their heavenward course, is an enemy of civili-

zation, and it matters but little that these fetters be of steel or of gold. True civilization gives freedom to the Church of God, and aids and sustains her in that wondrous mission of beneficence which has been confided to her by her Divine founder. Such was the freedom given by the monarch Brian to the Irish Church, such the generous aid with which he strengthened her and encouraged her to achieve her glorious work. At his visit to Armagh he offered twenty ounces of gold at the altar of our Apostle, and when a few years later he again visited the same shrine, he repeated the same rich gift. Guarded by his protecting hand, religion went forth arrayed in heavenly comeliness, and her blessings were multiplied throughout the land. Her schools and institutes of piety were revived, the poor were protected, councils were held, strict discipline was enforced, and distant nations began once more as of old to look with delight towards our tranquil shores, and to repeat rejoicing the Prophet's words, "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord." And this hallowed influence of the Church continued throughout the whole period of which we treat down to the Anglo-Norman invasion of our country; the monasteries of Ireland flourished, her cloisters were adorned with the maturest fruits of virtue, and peace poured out its richest blessings upon our people. We find a St. Celsus in Armagh, a St. Gillibert in Limerick, a Malchus in Lismore; there was St. Malachy, the bosom friend of St. Bernard, and St. Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh; and last not least, there was St. Lawrence O'Toole, the fearless champion of the liberty of the Church, aye and of the liberty of his nation too; and together with these there were a thousand other saints and learned men forming a galaxy of bright and glorious names, of which the greatest nations of Christendom would be justly proud.

The contemporary writer of Brian's life attests that, besides restoring the religious houses which the Danes had plundered, he founded seven new monasteries. Everywhere the churches were clothed with new splendour, the deserted shrines were adorned, and the deserted chancels resounded once more to the praises of God. He erected no fewer than thirty-two round towers,¹ those characteristic monuments of Irish architecture which, whilst as beacon lights they served to guide the weary pilgrim to the sanc-

¹ Mac Liag, in the Irish MS. Life of Brian:—"By him were founded cells and churches . . . It was Brian that gave out seven monasteries, both furniture and cattle and land, and thirty-two cloiteach."

tuary wherein he would find repose, offered at the same time, in case of any sudden irruption of the barbarians, a safe retreat and a secure defence for the inmates of the monasteries, and the relics and the shrines of their holy founders and the other sacred treasures which have been at all times so dear to the piety of our faithful people. So, too, the schools of Ireland in a particular manner engaged the attention and the solicitude of the Irish monarch. And allow me to add that, after the Church, there is no more powerful factor in the work of civilization than the school; for, religious education enlightens the mind and strengthens the will; it teaches man his duties, and disciplines him to be faithful to them; it makes known to him his rights, and enables him to assert and defend them. The schools of Ireland flourished during Brian's reign, and throughout this period of our country's history the Universities of Armagh and Bangor and Lismore won for themselves a world-wide renown. It is recorded that no fewer than 7,000 students' names were inscribed on the roll of Armagh. There is one special feature of Brian's patronage of science to which I may particularly refer, for it teaches a great lesson which many of the rulers of the world at the present day, notwithstanding all our boasted civilization, have not wisdom enough to learn. Wherever throughout Ireland a youth was found whose talent gave promise of being suited for the higher branches of learning, it was the monarch's wish that he should be trained to science, and his education was provided for from the royal revenues. But better than any words of mine the ancient chronicler will set before you the boundless munificence which thus distinguished the reign of the Irish monarch. In the old English translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under the year 1002, we read :—

“The whole realme was overrun and overspread by the foreigners. The churches, abbeys, and other religious places were by them quite razed and debased, or otherwise turned to vile, base, servile, and abominable uses. . . . But King Brian was a meet salve to cure such festered sores; in a small time he banished the Danes, made up the churches and religious houses, restored the nobility to their antient patrimony and possessions, and in fine brought all to a notable reformation.”

Again, “The Wars of the Gaedhil” records that :—

“By him were erected in Erin noble churches and their sanctuaries. He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge, and to buy books beyond the sea and the great ocean, because the writings and books in every church and sanctuary had been destroyed by the plum-

derers ; and Brian himself gave the price of learning and the price of books to every one separately who went on this service. Many churches were built and repaired by him, bridges and roads were made, the fortresses of Munster were strengthened . . . He continued in this very prosperous, peaceful, hospitable, just-judging, venerated—with law and rule among the clergy, with honour and renown among the laity—powerful, secure, for fifteen years in the chief sovereignty of Erin.” (Page 139.)

We cannot be surprised that under such munificent patronage the arts and sciences should once more have flourished amongst us; they even attained a high perfection, and added new lustre to Ireland’s ancient fame. The art of illuminating was cultivated with particular care. So perfect were the Irish copyists in this beautiful branch of art, and so wonderful was their skill, that the first Norman invaders could find no words sufficient to express their admiration ; and Giraldus Cambrensis, contemplating one of their masterpieces, cried out in astonishment that it was the work not of men, but of angels. Several illuminated MSS., dating from the period of which we treat, are still preserved in the Continental libraries, and not long ago a distinguished German writer pronounced the following judgment on them :—

“ The ornamented pages, borders, and initial letters exhibit so correct an architectural feeling in the distribution of the parts, such a rich variety of beautiful and peculiar designs, so admirable a taste in the arrangement of the colours, and such an uncommon perfection of finish, that one feels absolutely struck with amazement.”¹

It is a constant tradition that the monarch Brian cultivated the study of music, and was himself skilled in the harp. Certain it is at least that music was at this period highly prized among our people. Polydore Virgil and other chroniclers attest that the Irish people were “ *musica peritissimi*.” The Normans were enraptured with the strains of the Irish harp, and Giraldus Cambrensis, of whom we have just now spoken, did not hesitate to write that “ Irish musical skill was incomparably superior to that of any other nation. For their modulations are not slow and morose, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are habituated ; but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful that the musical proportion is preserved amidst such precipitate velocity of the fingers, and that the melody is rendered full and perfect by an undeviating art, amidst such trembling modulations,

¹ Waagen in *German Art Journal*. No. 11.

such organic tones so infinitely intricate, possessed of such pleasing swiftness, such unequal parity, such discordant concord . . . They commence and close their modulations with so much subtilty, and the tinklings of the slender strings sport so freely with the deep tones of the bass cords, so delicately pleasing, so softly soothing, that the perfection of their art lies in concealing art."

In gold and silver work the Irish schools attained a high perfection, as may still be seen in the cross of Cong, the shrine of St. Manchan, and other precious fragments that happily escaped the ravages of later times; and in this matter I may be permitted to cite the words of Dr. Stokes, who in our own day has proved himself second to none in labouring to restore the study of ancient art amongst us. In his *Life of Petrie* he thus writes:—

"It is in the variety of form and the exquisite tracery in metal work that the skill and taste of the old artificers is mainly shown. The jewelled shrines of the consecrated bells, as well as many of the earlier and even of the later croziers down to the fifteenth century, exhibit great power both in design and execution. To him whose sense of beauty and of excellence is not narrowed or tied down by formulæ, it has in all the qualities of proportion, variety, and gracefulness, a singular and unapproachable beauty. If it be true that the characteristic of a savage art is its want of progression, the rule does not apply to that of Ireland. Incontestable evidences of the rise, progress, and final decay of art in this country were long ago pointed out by Petrie, and it seems to have culminated in the latter part of the twelfth century. From this time, the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, it gradually declined until, after more than three centuries of anarchy and war, it died away, leaving its old monuments, its beautiful shrines, its sculptured crosses, decorated churches, and illuminated MSS. to tell of its former lustre." (Page 271.)

To the munificent patronage of Brian, and to the impulse given by him to restore the monuments of our country, we are indebted that the architecture of our churches was at this period developed to a wonderful degree. Need I name for you St. Cormac's chapel at Cashel, the chancel arch of Tuam, the churches of Clonfert, Roscrea, Inishmain, and Kilmacduagh, all of which date from this period, and which, so beautiful even in their ruins, are admitted to be some of the noblest monuments that the twelfth century presents to us. And yet, forsooth, architecture was unknown in Ireland till the Anglo-Normans came amongst us. The twelfth century was, indeed, a period of great architectural revival in England and throughout the continent, yet, the ablest writers on the subject are now agreed that in richness of ornament, and

in perfection of minute detail, the architectural remains which Ireland still preserves are unsurpassed and unrivalled by any contemporary monuments. And here I would wish to recall to your mind two of those groups of monuments, Clonmacnoise and Glendalough, which, though they belong in part to a much earlier age, yet, received at the period of which we treat, that crown of loveliness which even in their desolation and decay, they have never ceased to wear. It is not very long ago that an illustrious statesman of England, who for years had been familiar with all the great monuments of England, visited Glendalough, and declared that, as a group, he had seen nothing in Great Britain to surpass it. And what shall I say of Clonmacnoise, standing as it does on the banks of the lordly Shannon, its majestic stone crosses, its lofty towers, its causeways, its churches and sanctuaries, all leading back our thoughts to those days when its monastery was the chief retreat of learning and piety, when the bells of those towers gave joy to the distant traveller, and those churches resounded to the praises of the Most High? "There is not, perhaps, in Europe a spot where the feeling heart would find more matter for melancholy reflection than among the ancient churches of Clonmacnoise. Its ruined buildings call forth national associations and ideas. They remind us of the arts and literature, the piety and humanity, which distinguished their time, and are the work of a people, who, in a dark age, marched among the foremost on the road to life and civilization, but who were, unfortunately, checked and barbarized by those who were journeying in the same course, and ought to have cheered them on." (PETRIE.)

Such were the schools of Ireland, such the wonderful development of every branch of art which bespeaks the refinement and civilization of our people. By the invasion of the Anglo-Normans all this was undone, and from the period of their arrival amongst us precisely dates our nation's decline. But on this growth of art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and its rapid extinction subsequent to the landing of the Anglo-Normans on our shores, you will permit me to cite two authorities whose testimony is beyond reproach:—

"It is a remarkable fact," writes Dr. Stokes, "that as Ireland was in the vanguard of progress in religion and art, in Western Europe, from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, so also does it seem to have been foremost in decline; and though in other countries mediæval art

touched its finest point in the thirteenth century, Celtic art had reached its full perfection a hundred or two hundred years before. This art sprang from the heart and instinct of the native population, and drew its indescribably minute perfection of execution from the intense devotion of the holy men who carried it to its highest point, and so for the secret of its premature decay, the student of her history will not long search in vain. Ireland became the scene of intestine war, her monasteries were rifled, her libraries burned, her precious reliquaries robbed or destroyed, . . . her native energies were paralyzed, and her inspirations chilled, by the long years of suffering thus entailed."

Not less explicit is Petrie's testimony :—

"The progressive decline of the fine arts in Ireland from the end of the twelfth century is as yet an unwritten chapter in the history of our country. Nevertheless, there are few circumstances in our annals, that more strongly depict the debasement which it was the unhappy fate of Ireland to have suffered in those troubled times, or that more strikingly indicate the indissoluble connexion which ever exists between the cultivation of the fine arts, and the civilization, greatness, and happiness of a people. If, in such a state of barbarism as Ireland was then reduced to, genius had arisen, it would have died like a flower of the desert—unnoticed and unknown, for it was not the warrior's rude and bloody hand that could preserve and cherish it, nor his yet ruder mind that could appreciate its excellence and beauty; the seed should be wafted to some more genial clime before it could be nurtured into vigour."

There was another feature in the Irish monarch's rule which must not be omitted; this was, his firm repression of crime and the even-handed justice which he meted out to all. Order and contentment and social happiness followed in the train of this just rule, and the annalists relate, not as a matter of poetic imagery, but as a stern fact, that in those times of peace, a fair maiden decked out with precious jewels, and bearing rich treasures in her hands, could traverse the whole island from shore to shore, without injury or insult being offered to her.

And now we come to the closing scene. If, during his reign, Brian displayed the wisdom of a Christian monarch, the close of his career was one which merited for him the aureola of a Christian hero. The Danes had resolved to make a last effort for the conquest of Ireland, determined that one spot at least should remain in Europe where triumphant Paganism would enjoy an undisturbed control. From the Isle of Man, and the Scottish coasts, and the northern islands, the Vikings gathered together their bravest troops, and left nothing undone to ensure their success. The chief figure in the confederation was the apostate Viking, known in our annals by the name of Brodir. He is thus described in one of the northern

sagas :—" He had been a Christian man, and was a deacon by ordination, but he had thrown off his faith and became God's dastard, and now he worshipped heathen fiends, and was, of all men, the most skilled in sorcery. He had on him that coat of mail which no steel could bite. He was both tall and strong, and had such long black locks, that he tucked them under his belt." This apostate leader, fired with hatred of the Christian faith, rallied all the Northmen's strength to secure the triumph of paganism. So manifest and so terrible were his dealings with the evil one, that his brother Ospak, at length, declared, "the Christian faith must be true which the demon thus assails," and quitting Brodir he hastened to receive the waters of Baptism, and bore to Brian the first intelligence of the imminent danger that now threatened him. The Irish monarch, on his part, lost no time to summon his forces around him, and all that was best and bravest in the land hastened to his standard to ensure the victory of the Cross. On Good Friday, the 23rd of April, in 1014, at morning's dawn, the pagan troops and their allies stood marshalled in battle array on the plain of Clontarf. Their mighty fleet rode tranquilly beneath the shelter of the Hill of Howth, and besides furnishing them with supplies, offered them a safe retreat should disaster attend their arms. The city of Dublin did not then extend beyond the district around Christ Church: all that now is Abbey-street, and Sackville-street, and thence down to Ballybough-bridge, was covered by the sea shore. Along the valley of Clonliffe the Danish armies extended their lines towards Dublin, and, as the day advanced, the battle seems to have grown warmest there, for the Danes left nothing undone to maintain, whilst the Irish troops spared no effort to cut off, their communications with the city. Foremost among the Danish confederates was a picked band of 2,000 men, encased from head to foot "in polished, strong triple-plated armour"; the raven banner, their enchanted standard, was borne before them, and Brodir took their command. But neither the raven banner nor the coats of armour could save them from the Dalcassian battle-axe, and at sunset on that eventful day, every one of that chosen band lay lifeless on the plain. The whole number of the invading army is supposed to have been about 80,000, and so sure were they of success that they had brought with them their families, resolved to make Ireland their adopted home; "the Northmen," writes Adhemar,

"came at that time to Ireland with an immense fleet, conveying even their wives and children, with a view of extirpating the Irish and occupying in their stead that very wealthy country."¹

The Irish monarch formed his troops into line of battle, along the rising ground where All Hallows College now stands. He addressed only a few words to them, telling them to hold in mind that it was on Good Friday they were called upon to fight for their religion and their country. The Cross was their banner, and Brian's son their leader. The aged Monarch himself, now in his 87th year, retired to his tent, and there, like Moses of old, with eyes and hands uplifted towards heaven,² remained in prayer whilst the battle raged around him. As evening came on, it became apparent that the Irish troops were victorious along the whole line, whilst the high tide that had set in rendered the escape of the invaders to their ships impossible. Thousands of them were driven into the sea, and found there a watery grave. The contemporary annalist gives the total Danish loss in this battle as no less than 66,000. But whilst the power of Danish Paganism was thus broken for ever, Brodir, with a few companions, had cut his way through the Irish lines, and, passing by the royal tent, espied the aged Monarch wrapt in prayer. Full of Satanic rage he rushed in, and dealt him his death-blow.

Thus closed the heroic career of Brian, laying down his life, in the moment of victory, for his country and for the Christian faith. The day after the battle, the Abbot of Swords, with his religious brethren, conveyed the Monarch's body with religious pomp to that monastery, and thither the Archbishop of Armagh and the clergy from all parts of Ireland came, and they paid him all honour as a true Christian hero, and conveyed his remains, in triumphant procession, to the Cathedral of Armagh. There, after seven days' vigils, his body was laid in the tomb close to the sanctuary of our Apostle, which, during life, he had so loved.

I have thus endeavoured to sketch for you the distinctive features of the rule of the Irish King. They do not bear with them the impress of a semi-barbarous condition of things; on the contrary, it seems to me that if we lay aside preconceived prejudices, and take the witness of history as our sure guide, we must consider the Monarch

¹ Apud Labbe, "Nova Biblioth. MSS.," tom. ii., page 177.

² *Marianus* in *Chronico*, "manibus et mente ad Deum intentus."

Brian as a sovereign of whom any nation in Christendom might be justly proud.

And now we may turn our attention to the champion of Norman civilization, and see what were the distinctive features of his rule. I need not dwell on the valour shown by William the Conqueror in the field of battle, of his prowess in arms, or of the vast resources of the kingdom which he won by the sword; for, such material strength and such success are not the surest tests of civilization that history presents to us. Like the Irish Monarch, he too had usurped a crown which was not his of right, and his chief battle was won under the banner of religion. Yet, even here, there is a great disparity between both princes. Brian grasped the sovereignty of Ireland for his country's good, to combine its strength against its Danish oppressors; but William seized the English crown as a matter of selfish aggrandizement and personal ambition. Brian at Clontarf was, in truth, the champion of religion, and his victory was the triumph of the Faith; but William had procured from the Pontiff by intrigue and by false representations the religious banner under which he fought, and thus from the outset he made a mere pretext of religion the better to further his political aims.

But to enter more particularly on our inquiry into the distinctive traits of the Norman monarch's rule, the first great feature that presents itself is the cruelty with which he exercised his irresistible power to extirpate those who had shown themselves bravest in defending their country and their homes against him. The Northumbrians were reckoned among the most valiant of the English race, and more than once they had made the armies of William dread their assault. On the approach of Christmas in the year 1069 William entered York, the Northumbrian capital, in triumph. The North was at length hushed before him, the Northumbrians had returned to their own firesides, and there was no longer an army to oppose his progress. How did he use his victory? I will not detail to you in any words of mine his dealings with the unhappy men who had thus accepted him as sovereign. I will rather read for you the words of Mr. Freeman, who, by his historical researches on this period of English history, has won for himself immortal renown. He thus writes:—

“The king took the work of destruction as his personal share of the conquest of Northumberland. He left others to build his castles in York, but he himself went through the length and breadth of the land,

through its wildest and most difficult regions. That all who resisted were slain with the sword was a matter of course: Harold had done as much as that in his great campaign against Gruffydd. But now William went to and fro over points a hundred miles from one another, destroying, as far as in him lay, the life of the earth. It was not mere plunder, which may at least enrich the plunderer; the work of William at this time was simple unmitigated havoc. Houses were everywhere burned with all that was in them; stores of corn, goods, and property of every kind were brought together and destroyed in the like sort; even living animals seem to have been driven to perish in the universal burning

The long-abiding traces of the destruction which was now wrought were its most fearful feature. The accounts of the immediate ravaging are graphic and terrible enough, but they are perhaps outdone in significance by the passionless witness of the great Survey, the entries of "waste," "waste," "waste," attached through page after page to the Yorkshire lordships, which seventeen years after had not recovered from the blow. Indeed we may be inclined to ask whether Northern England ever fully recovered from the blow till that great development of modern times which had reversed the respective importance of the North and the South. For nine years at least no attempt was made at tilling the ground; between York and Durham every town stood uninhabited; their streets became lurking places for robbers and wild beasts. Even a generation later the passing traveller beheld with sorrow the ruins of famous towns, with their lofty towers rising above the forsaken dwellings, the fields lying untilled and tenantless, the rivers flowing idly through the wilderness. Men, women, and children died of hunger; they laid them down and died in the roads and in the fields, and there was no man to bury them. There were those who did not shrink from keeping themselves alive on the flesh of their own kind. Before the end of the year Yorkshire was a wilderness. The bodies of its inhabitants were rotting in the streets, in the highways, or on their own hearthstones; and those who had escaped from sword, fire, and hunger, had fled out of the land."

Such was the devastation of Northumbria, and yet amid such harrowing scenes, William did not hesitate to keep the Christmas feast with solemn pomp at York.

Another feature of William's reign was his selfishness; that is to say, his readiness to sacrifice the country's weal to gratify his own thirst for amusement and pleasure. There was no lack of hunting grounds in England; hunting had been a favourite pastime of its royal princes for centuries before William's conquest. All these, however, did not suffice for William's amusement. He wished for some new theatre of pleasure reserved entirely to himself and his favourite courtiers, and he marked out Hampshire for such a hunting ground. Hampshire was at this period "the most civilized and best cultivated part of the kingdom. To find room, therefore, for William's sport, a fertile district, thirty miles in extent, was deliberately laid waste. In the days of Edward and the kings before him it ha

been a flourishing land, full of the habitations of men, and thick set with churches, where the worship of God was duly paid. At William's bidding men were driven from their homes, their houses were pulled down, their churches were rooted up, and the fruitful land became a wilderness. The historians of both races raise their indignant wail over the homes of men which were changed into the lairs of wild beasts. The great Survey calmly gives us the names of the Englishmen who were driven forth from their wasted homes, and shows how a few of them were allowed to retain some small scraps of land beyond the limits of the sacred precincts of William's sport. There, we are told, amid the desolation which he had wrought, the Conqueror would gladly have spent his life, rejoicing in the slaughter of the lower animals during the short intervals of the slaughter of mankind. But we are told also that the scene of William's greatest crime was the scene of the heaviest blows which were dealt upon his house. A curse seemed to brood over the region from which man had been driven to make room for the wild beasts. The wilderness which William had made was fatal to his sons, and to his sons' sons." (*Freeman*, "Norman Conquest," vol. iv., p. 613.) I may add the testimony of a contemporary writer, otherwise a eulogist of the King, but who thus complains of the selfishness of the Monarch :—

"He took great sums, both by right and also with much unright, from his people, and for little need; he was fallen on covetousness, and greediness he loved altogether. He made great deer chases, and therewith laid down laws, that whoso slew hart or hind he should be blinded . . . His great men complained of it, and the poor men murmured, but he recked naught of them all, and they must altogether

Follow the king's will

If they would live or have land—

Land or goods, or even a quiet life.

Wo, wo! that any man should be so proud,

Should so lift himself up, and reckon himself above all men."

The dealings of a sovereign with the Church are perhaps one of the best tests of true civilization. William showed but little reverence towards the Church, except when it was the purpose of his policy to make her an instrument in accomplishing his designs. Abbots and Bishops not subservient to his interests were set aside: if some of them received rich gifts, it was done to bind them the better with golden fetters to his throne. The Churches and Monasteries had hitherto been regarded as inviolable sanctuaries, and several of the nobility had deposited their family treasures

in them. "But the thresholds of the English Saints proved no safeguard against the Norman King. Early in the year 1070, in the course of Lent, William caused all the monasteries of England to be searched, and all deposits of this kind to be carried to the royal treasury."¹ The historian compendiates in one short sentence the systematic policy of William towards the Church: "The Prelacy of England was to be used as a means for rivetting the fetters of England." (iv. 131.) It is true that Lanfranc and St. Anselm shone as brilliant stars in the English Church during this period, but they were foreigners, Lanfranc was a Lombard from Pavia, and when he entered the Norman monastery of Bec, which was to become so famous under his guidance, he found that the brethren were "neither well lettered, nor much trained in religion." Anselm, too, was an Italian, a native of "wild Aosta, lulled by Alpine rills." The name of St. Thomas of Canterbury alone remains, a name which indeed must not be forgotten. It was not, however, as an Apostle or as Confessor that he adorned the Church. His aureola is that of Martyr, and it is no proof of Norman civilization that the chief agents in his martyrdom were the English monarch and his Norman courtiers.

It is set forth in eulogy of William's reign that every crime against property was inexorably punished, so that a theft or robbery was a thing unheard of throughout England. The law of justice, however, is not one-sided: it teaches that property has its duties as well as its rights, and it is particularly by the fulfilment of these duties that true civilization is made known. William had distributed to his Norman knights almost the whole property of the kingdom, and they had made themselves secure in their strong castles against every attack. From time to time William extorted large sums of money from the knights whom he had thus enriched, and they in their turn extorted still larger sums from the unfortunate natives subject to them. Thus the significant word *unlaw* was for the first time introduced into the annals of England: it implied, as the historian of the Conquest writes, "a state of things where law was on the mouths of men in power, but where law itself became the instrument of wrong." (iv. 621.) The contemporary chronicler records that all classes shared in the general corruption, and that "little righteousness was in this land amid any men: and as man spake more of right law, so man

¹ *Freeman*, iv. 328.

did more of *unlaw*. All that was abominable to God and oppressive to man, was common in William's time." (Chron. of Peterborough, written in 1087.) The system of feudal extortion thus introduced by William, long continued to bear its bitter fruits. I will read for you one passage from the Saxon chronicle under the year 1137: "Every powerful man made his castles and held them against the king; and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men. Then took they those men that they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; for never were martyrs so tortured as they were. . . Wretched men died of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one while were rich men; some fled out of the land. Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land, nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church and all together."¹

This was the feudal system which the Normans a few years later introduced into Ireland, and can we be surprised that it should have produced the same sad fruits of iniquity and oppression? The brave chieftain O'Melaghlin fully appreciated this feature of Norman rule, when he sent the remarkable message to Henry the Second: "Notwithstanding his promise of supporting me in the possession of my wealth and dignities, he has sent robbers to invade my patrimony. Avaricious and sparing of his own possessions, he is lavish of those of others, and he thus seeks to enrich libertines and profligates who have consumed the patrimony of their fathers in debauchery."

We now come to the closing scenes of William's reign. To none more truly than to princes can the motto "*Qualis vita, finis ita*" be applied: their end is too often the picture of their career. We have seen how the death of the monarch Brian was in every way worthy of the Christian hero. He died in the moment of triumph over the enemies of the Cross, adding the martyr's crown to the many laurels of a glorious reign. Strange indeed is the contrast that the death of William presents.

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, published, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by Benjamin Thorpe, ii. 231.

In the beginning of August, 1087, he sailed for the coast of France to avenge some words of insult that had been uttered by the French king. "When the corn was in the fields, and the grapes in the vineyards, and the apples in the orchards, he led forth his troops to gather in the rich spoil of the fruitful season. All was laid waste : the thought of mercy passed utterly away from William's mind."¹ At last he reached the city of Mantes ; and he resolved to make that city an example of utter ruin. On the 15th August, the gates were opened to him, and he issued the order that the city should be burned to the ground. "On that day all was destroyed ; the houses and goods of the citizens perished ; the churches were burned, and holy recluses, who deemed it a crime to leave their cells even at such a moment, were burned with them. William's heart was gladdened at the sight : he rode, and bade his men heap on fuel to make the flames burn yet more bravely." Whilst thus engaged his horse stumbled on the burning embers, and the king, unwieldy in his weight, received his death wound.

The dying king was carried to Rouen, and there on his death-bed he openly acknowledged the many faults of his iniquitous career ; he had won England by no right, by no claim of birth ; he had treated the sons of the English soil with harshness ; he had cruelly wronged nobles and commons alike ; he had despoiled many wrongfully of their inheritance ; he had slain countless multitudes by hunger, or by the sword. The harrying of Northumberland rose up before his eyes in all its blackness. He told how cruelly he had burned and plundered the land, what thousands of every age and sex among the noble nation which he had conquered had been done to death at his bidding.

On the 9th September, 1087, King William died. The knights and nobles who had hitherto attended him, without delay mounted their horses and hastened homeward with all speed, not knowing what deeds of lawlessness might now be witnessed. The servants and other followers set to work at once to make spoil of the royal chamber : "they stripped the deserted house and the very corpse of the dead, of all that they could lay hands upon, and made off with their prey : weapons, clothes, vessels, the royal bed and its furniture, were carried off, and for a whole day the body of the Conqueror lay well nigh bare on the floor of the room in which he died."²

¹ *Freeman*, iv., 701.² *Freeman*, iv. 713.

Well indeed might the contemporary Ordericus Vitalis cry out : “ O magnificence of the world, how worthless thou art, and how vain and frail : like the rain bubbles of the shower, swollen one moment, burst into nothing the next. Here was a most mighty lord, whom more than a hundred thousand warriors just now eagerly served, and before whom many nations feared and trembled ; and now by his own servants, in a house not his own, he lies foully stripped, and from the first to the third hour of morning is left deserted on the bare floor.”

None but a plain Norman gentleman named Herlwin, was found to convey the king's remains to Caen, where William had expressed a wish to be interred. At Caen a numerous body of clergy and nobility awaited the remains and formed a solemn funeral procession. As the procession was on its way, flames were seen to issue from a house, and in a little time a great part of the town was on fire. Clergy and laity alike hastened to check the flames, and a few religious men alone kept on their way bearing the body to St. Stephen's minster. Everything seemed to conspire that he who had received during life such court and homage, should be treated with dishonour and contempt in death. The horrors, however, of that funeral are not yet complete.

On the interment day, all the great knights and nobles of Normandy, with the bishops, and abbots, and clergy, had assembled in St. Stephen's minster. The Bishop of Evreux delivered the funeral harangue, and at its close called on all who were present to forgive the deceased monarch anything he might have sinned against them. At once a knight named Ascelin arose amid the vast assembly, and declared that he forgave him not : “ This ground where ye stand,” he said, “ was the site of my father's house, which the man for whom ye pray, while he was yet but Count of Normandy, took away by force from my father, and, in spite of law and justice, built this church upon it by his might. I therefore claim the land : I forbid that the body of the robber be covered with my mould, or that he be buried within the bounds of mine inheritance.” (iv. 719.) Terrible indeed were these words, and yet the justice of this bold claim was admitted by the assembled nobles and clergy ; and before the ceremony was proceeded with, the ground was purchased from Ascelin.

One misfortune more was still in store for William's remains. The corpse was moved with royal state from the bier in the centre of the minster to the stone coffin which

was to be its last resting-place. But by the unskilfulness of the workmen the stone coffin was too small for the unwieldy corpse of William. "In the efforts which were made to force it into its narrow room the body burst; a fearful stench filled the church, which the burning of incense and of all sweet savours could not overcome." Such is Mr. Freeman's narrative (iv., 720). Sir F. Palgrave still more vividly describes the last terrific scene: "The debt was paid, the price of that narrow plot of earth, the last bed of the Conqueror. Ascelin withdrew his ban; but as the swollen corpse sank into the ground it burst, filling the sacred edifice with corruption, The obsequies were hurried through, and thus was William the Conqueror gathered to his fathers, with loathing, disgust, and horror."

Such was the inglorious end of William's eventful reign. Selfishness and personal aggrandisement and the oppression of his subjects were the most prominent features of his rule. You will probably conclude with me that they merited the dishonour and ignominy which marked its close.

I have endeavoured thus briefly to set before you the chief events that in a distinctive way marked the reigns of two monarchs, to each of whom posterity has awarded the title of "the Great." One of these rulers presents to us Celtic life as it was before the Normans set foot upon our Irish shores; the other exemplifies the Norman customs, and the habits of those whose mission, forsooth, it was to bring the blessings of civilization to our island. It seems to me most clear, and unless I have entirely misconceived the testimony of the documents to which I have referred, it will be your judgment also, that the verdict of authentic history pronounces William, notwithstanding his mighty power, to have been little better than a semi-barbarous prince, whilst it awards to Brian the palm and the crown of a true Christian Monarch.

CELTIC" IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

PART I.—THE OSSIANIC TALES.

WE have seen in the first place, that the early part of the tale of Dermid and Grania serves to make us familiar with the chief characters, that fix our view upon themselves, with surprising power, at the close. But it does a great deal more than that. It exercises our imaginations on the old poets' magic world, and prepares us for the marvellous power attributed finally to Finn. That which really rouses the disgust at the introduction of the marvellous, to which Horace alluded in his well known words, "Incredulus odi;" is not the untrue; otherwise men could never enjoy a novel by their firesides, or a play upon the stage; it is the introduction of the marvellous where it is out of keeping, it is the requiring of the imagination to suddenly contradict itself that makes the imagination refuse to perform its natural office of easy belief, and grow very incredulous, and feel disgust. Shakspeare introduces his witches at the beginning of his "Macbeth," and there is an unearthly shadow cast over the whole play, which is assuredly no taint. Had he allowed several acts to be played without the preter-human, he could not introduce it properly at the end of all. His Macbeth would then be a kind of Richard III., and Shakspeare understood the difference. Both to Richard III. and to Macbeth their victims appear as ghosts, but Shakspeare ventures to allow Richard to see ghosts, only in his sleep; they are then plainly only the flitting forms of a simple dream. Macbeth has no dream, but a vision; he sees the spectre of Banquo in his waking hours, at the commencement of a feast, he sees it clearly visible to him, and to him alone, amid a crowd of astonished lookers-on. For, the tragedy of Macbeth is a play of weird mystery throughout: that of Richard is without any preparation for the supernatural.

We do not venture to say that the magic Irish druid atmosphere of the tale of Dermid and Grania is faultless, but we have no difficulty in maintaining that it is sufficient to make the introduction of the magic power of Finn at the end perfectly in place, and indeed almost gladly welcomed, as a peculiarly pleasing specimen of druidical belief and mystery. The early part of the tale, as much as is appointed for Intermediate Junior Students, is we think, hardly of a very high order of merit in itself. We are inclined to rate it

aesthetically, as of pretty much the same value, as the second book of the *Iliad*, between which and Homer's magnificent opening canto there is an immeasurable abyss. In other ways too this first portion of our tale may be ranked with the aforesaid second book. Both are full of interest for the historian of manners, though somewhat dreary for the purely literary student. And the dreariness in both has a little of the same cast, there is a great deal of repetition, and a great deal of unentertaining stupidity, exhibited, (the reader is apt to think, needlessly) in both. There is no great passion displayed in either case, but the might of Zeus is put forth in the Greek, and the powers of magicians are exerted in the Celtic, to produce results that after all look trifling.

The Homeric poet, towards the end of the action of the second book, seems to grow desperate in his hopes of beautifying the work on which he is engaged, and as a last resource, overwhelms his astonished readers or hearers, with a succession of lengthened similes suddenly piled on top of one another without a break or pause; so that it becomes really a relief, to find the laboured effort after fine poetry, subsiding at last into the prosy catalogue of the Greek Fleet.

Long similes are not a device of Irish writers; even in the *Ossian* published by Macpherson, Blair remarked that the similes were generally short, and Macpherson himself writes a note about the unwonted length of the simile at the beginning of the last canto of *Temora*; the author of *Dermid* and *Grania* does nothing in this way, but he certainly seems to feel at the end of the portion of his work assigned to our Junior Grade, that he ought to break new ground, do something to enliven his flagging narrative; and after a very modest catalogue of his own of the forces on each side in a wonderful hurling match, he guides us indeed into a new land of adventure, where we have something more than a flight across Ireland with Finn pursuing, and than an invading army of Finn's foreign allies, lured to destruction by Dermid's audacious gymnastic challenges.

In the portion of the tale now set apart for the Middle Grade students, we find Dermid conversing with some other outlaws, who have like himself to fear Finn's vengeance, but who unlike him have had means of reconciliation indicated to them, namely either to present Finn with enchanted berries from a quicken tree, guarded by a giant, as the golden fruit of the *Hesperides* was protected by the dragon *Ladon*, or else to slay Dermid himself. Dermid, the

ever genial, uncareworn Dermid, is not in the least put out on finding that his new acquaintances are full of the desire of cutting off his head.

Before proceeding to try his strength with them, he coolly entertains them with a long story about Finn's want of faith on a former occasion, when there was question of reconciliation as the reward for slaying a very terrible antagonist. This story is still more wonderful than the one about the berries and the giant, which had just before been fully set forth, at great length, to the outlaws. In this new story, we meet with a monster worthy to be set as a model to the dragons and hydras of old myths. The whole thing is omitted by Dr. P. W. Joyce in the "Dermot and Grania" of his "Old Celtic Romances;" he calls it "an excrescence." An episode it certainly is, like the most beautiful part of the *Æneid*, the Fall of Troy. Unlike Virgil's delicate, and yet magnificent Second Book, this Irish hydra story bears upon it the impress of fresh, genuine, barbarian ways of thought and action, more strongly marked than any other part of the tale; and we can easily understand that it appeared horrible to Dr. Joyce, who to all his enthusiasm for ancient Irish legends, unites the sensibility of modern cultivated taste. Yet in the first place, as an episode in this tale, it does not come in ill. It occurs, as the author or arranger is busily heightening interest, after the history of the enchanted quicken-tree, and leading up to the recital of Dermid's two great close encounters with magic beings, his fight with the giant of the quicken-tree and his last deadly conflict, his combat with the terrible enchanted boar.

We certainly prefer this plan of episodes to a bundle of similes, and a long catalogue. But in the second place, considered in itself, this episode or excrescence is to us beyond all price. It is the one passage where we find a dragon or hydra-monster looking really alive.

All the mythic beasts referred to in our classical dictionaries, appear almost to be subjects for the dissecting room. When we see them, they are almost always at the last gasp, sinking under the pangs of death, inflicted by a skilful operator, such as Theseus or Hercules. If at other times we hear of them, we hear of them as shut up from view in a labyrinth, or dwelling in some other strangely secluded spot. Their ways are not familiar to us. The creature's life and character are not before our eyes. But the life and character of our Irish hydra are unrolled completely to our view; it is

a true beast of wonderfully depicted brute nature, without a spark of the false humanity of the animals of Esop and Lafontaine, no mediæval "Reynard Fox," but a monster wholly irrational; such as a modern German philosopher might be proud to evolve from his inner consciousness, and which barbarian Celtic genius constructed almost as a kind of Platonic ideal, out of lower forms of life.

The monster was originally a small grub, born in the wen on the neck of an infant prince. This prince was the famous Kian, from whom O'Garas and O'Haras, O'Meaghers and O'Carrolls used to boast of illustrious descent. He appears in this tale a very Turk, as terrible to his barbers as the monarch of the Arabian Nights was to his queens. The wen and the terrible grub within, grew with his growth. Impatient of his deformity, the barbarian concealed it by wrappings round his head, which he removed only to be shaved. But once shaved, he was always careful to put to death the barber who had been permitted to look upon his shame. The fate of his poor barbers was well-known, and at last it became a terrible threat in Kian's mouth to declare that any one should shave him. One daring barber, however, cut open the wen, and the now largely developed grub, disturbed in its old home, sprang forth with more than the force of the grass-hopper, and lighted on the point of Kian's spear. There it settled down with all the sluggishness and tenacity of polype life. The young barbarian prince regarded it as a sort of brother. His more than Dacian mother, Sava, daughter of Con of the Hundred Fights, and ancestress of all the elder Milesian clans, had a strange and superstitious kind of maternal regard or anxiety about the hydra grub, whose death as well as whose life might be connected with her son's. It was allowed to live, and it grew like an enormous zoophyte, it developed into a polypidom, colossal in every part. Naturalists could scarcely describe it better: "It grew and increased up to the end of a year, so that there were a hundred heads upon it, and that it mattered not into which head came the food that was sent to it." We are told that "it would swallow a hero or a warrior with his arms and his armour in each of its greedy ravening heads;" it outgrew the first palisading that was erected round it, a larger enclosure had to be formed to keep it in.

There the hydra dwelt slothfully enough for a time, in a kind of zoological garden. But it had a true serpent nature. A king on a visit to Kian, went to see the curiosity,

and to see it better, ventured to stand on the top of the wall that was built round its shed. The hundred-headed monster sprang at the unfortunate monarch, and one of its mouths carried off his leg. Then it was settled that the creature must be burned out. At the approach of flame, the hydra leaped forth, it rushed wildly into the open country, it took up its abode in a cave, and made the land about it desolate, till it was at last slain by one who had been promised reconciliation with Finn for such a deed, and who to obtain the reconciliation found himself obliged to do still more.

There is a life about this story which we find in no records of the Labours of Hercules. This shows us what those Labours, properly narrated, ought to have been, for the simpler generation that preceded the Homeric age. There are assuredly the marks of deep observation of nature, of powerful idealization, of bold descriptive genius, in this rough story of men whose manners must have been rude, but whose minds were clearly not undisciplined. Nothing, we imagine, can better bring home to us a conception of primeval philosophy and poetry, as it may exist in times when idolatry like that of Ancient Egypt becomes possible, when Man and the Invisible do not wholly absorb the imaginative interest of life, when there is even what may be called some charm and spell attaching to the brute creation, and when some real poetry, some succession of really forcible images that must have a hold for ever on our fancy, are derived from the contemplation of the manifestly Irrational in action.

But to return from our episode: Dermid having told his story, tries his strength against the other outlaws, in a combat that is not deadly, and completely overcomes them. They abandon all designs upon his life, and the generous Dermid has no thought of taking theirs. But the selfish Grania, who has heard of the enchanted berries, insists on having some, and Dermid to please her must engage in combat with the giant. He does so as he does almost everything, with no will of his own, with good-will in some degree towards every body else, with careless bravery. He rouses the giant from sleep to fight, he seeks no unfair advantage, he needs none either. For he slays the giant, gives Grania the berries she desires, and establishes himself with her in the dead giant's old resting place at the top of the enchanted quicken tree, tolerably hidden in its foliage from the eyes of men below.

Magnanimous as ever, he even gives some of the precious berries to the outlaws that have lately been hoping in vain to take his life, and allows them to go to Finn, to boast of having themselves slain the giant, and to claim the promised reconciliation. The attempt to deceive Finn is in vain. He recognizes the scent of Dermid and hurries with all his forces to the quicken tree. We have here a new brilliant scene of great variety. Finn surrounds the tree on all sides, and having made his dispositions, beguiles the time by playing chess. Dermid, for ever the same, enjoys himself throwing down berries to guide the moves of Finn's antagonist, and soon discovers himself boldly to Finn himself. Angus, a fairy protector of Dermid, offers to bear Grania safe away. He has already reason to know that Dermid is firm upon one point, the only one it is pretty evident on which he never yields; he will not flee from the immediate presence of his foe. He will now fall or fight his way through his enemies. The fairy-man, Angus, has to be satisfied with carrying Grania safe off. Dermid after a furious encounter, assisted by Finn's own grandson Oscar, is able to rejoin them. Yet Finn does not for a long time abandon the pursuit. But at last convinced that it is vain, he agrees that Dermid shall keep Grania in peace, and marries himself her sister Ailne. Dermid and Grania now enjoy some years of great prosperity. The end is not yet come.

[To be continued.]

THE FOUR GOSPEL NARRATIVES OF OUR LORD'S PASSION: THEIR DISTINCTIVE FEATURES.

THERE are few sections of Scriptural study on which the painstaking labours of modern commentators have shed more abundant light than on that which deals with the investigation of the distinctive features of the four Gospel narratives of the Life and Ministry of our Lord. And there are few portions of that narrative in which this investigation, interesting under every aspect, is more deeply interesting than in those chapters, so familiar to us all, which depict the closing scenes of that Ministry—His Passion and Death.

For the full appreciation of this aspect of the writings of the Evangelists, two things must be borne in mind: (1) the special purpose in view of which each Gospel was written; and (2) the special circumstances in which it was written, as regards time, and place, and other incidents more or less personal to the individual writer.

In regard to both points, but especially in regard to the former, a singular unanimity of opinion prevails among commentators. There is, indeed, no one aspect of our Lord's life or personality, on which any of the Evangelists dwells so as to exclude all others. But there can be no doubt that each Evangelist—guided, of course, by Divine inspiration—has written so as to give special prominence to some special feature of our Lord's life or character; a circumstance which has necessarily exercised no small influence on the general character of each Gospel, as regards not only the incidents recorded, but also the special circumstances of each, to which a place has been given in the narrative.

Thus St. Matthew sets before us "the son of David, the son of Abraham,"—the Messiah, foretold in prophecy—the long expected King of Israel.¹ The special aim of St. Mark is rather to present our Lord as "the wonder-working Son of God, living and acting among men, and by His mighty works making good His claim to be accepted as their Teacher and their Guide. Again, St. Luke portrays Him as the Priest and Saviour, visiting His people, working out their redemption, lightening their burdens of affliction, and full of compassionate

¹ "The genealogy with which St. Matthew's Gospel opens, sets our Lord forth in His kingly character, as the heir of the throne of David. . . . As we advance we find His birth hailed, not by lowly shepherds as in St. Luke, but by wise men coming to wait on Him with royal gifts, inquiring, 'Where is He that is born King of the Jews?' In the Sermon on the Mount the same majesty and authority appear. . . . The awful majesty of our Lord's reproofs in His teaching in the temple, and His denunciations of the Scribes and Pharisees, also evidence the authority of a king and lawgiver, . . . which may also be noticed in the lengthened discourses that mark the close of His ministry, in which 'the King' and 'the Kingdom of Heaven' come forward with so much frequency. Nor can we overlook the remarkable circumstance, that in the parable of the marriage feast [xxii. 2], so similar in its general circumstances with that in St. Luke [xiv. 16], instead of "a certain man," it is "a king" making a marriage for his son, and in kingly guise sending forth his armies [xxii. 7] and binding the unworthy guest."—KITTO. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, Art. MATTHEW.

tenderness and mercy. St. John, in fine, completes the picture, putting plainly before us the mysterious lesson that Jesus,—the Messiah, the Wonder-worker, the Messenger of mercy to mankind,—was no less truly the uncreated and eternal God.

Coming, then, to consider the minute differences of detail, we find that, as the result, partly of the great leading characteristics thus enumerated, partly of some special circumstances or incidents more or less personal to the writer, the narrative of each Evangelist is characterized by many distinctive features, for the most part unmistakable as to the influence to which they are to be traced.

Thus, in St. Matthew's Gospel, in which, as we have seen, our Lord is portrayed as the Messiah and King foretold by the Prophets of Israel, we find recorded with special frequency and fulness, (1) those incidents of His life that had been thus foretold; with (2), of course, special reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies; (3) the incidents in which His kingly dignity was most prominently displayed, or the occasions on which He most strikingly asserted His claim to it; (4) the discourses in which, correcting the carnal notions of the Jews, He so fully explained in what His "Kingdom of Heaven" and its majesty truly consist; correcting their Jewish notions especially in this, (5) that whereas they looked forward to a restoration of the ancient glories of Judea, He taught them that His kingdom was to be confined within no such narrow boundaries, but was to embrace within it all the nations of the earth; and (6) in fine—as might naturally be looked for in a Gospel thus written mainly for the instruction of Jewish readers—we may observe the frequent references to Jewish usages, personages, and institutions, as familiar objects of knowledge or of thought, needing no explanatory comment from the Evangelist.

In St. Mark's narrative, in reading which, as has been well observed, "we do not so much sit at the feet of the Divine Teacher as follow His footsteps," no reader can fail to be struck (1) by the graphic fulness of detail with which the events are depicted. This Gospel is the shortest of the four, but it is so by reason solely of its many omissions. St. Mark leaves out almost all the discourses of our Lord, but in his narrative of the miracles and other events that he records, a recent writer¹ has remarked that "there is

¹ WESTCOTT. *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels.*

not perhaps one narrative which he gives in common with St. Matthew and St. Luke to which he does not contribute some special feature ; " nowhere else are we permitted so clearly to behold His very gesture and look, to see His very position, to hear His very words," as he spoke them in the Aramaic dialect of the day ;¹ here too are brought before us minute particulars of person, number, time, and place, unnoticed by the other Evangelists ; and, most striking perhaps of all, in the vividness which they impart to the narration, we find recorded, sometimes by a word, but always with marvellous terseness of expression, circumstance after circumstance revealing to us how deep was the impression produced by His works of wonder on the crowds that thronged and pressed around Him.² Moreover, (2) in this Gospel, written as it was for the Gentile world, or at least not mainly for the Jews, we miss the frequent references to Jewish institutions so prominent in St. Matthew's narrative ; and we observe that, when such references are made, an explanation, intelligible to Gentile readers, is almost invariably appended. Again (3), it is usually noted by commentators that the close personal relations between the Evangelist and St. Peter, under whose guidance ancient tradition represents this Gospel to have been written, have impressed upon it two strongly marked features ; (a) in the numerous instances in which St. Peter's name is mentioned, while it is omitted by the other Evangelists ;³ and (b) the omission— ascribed by many of the Fathers to the modesty of the Apostle—of incidents, recorded by the other Evan-

¹ More than one of the features thus enumerated is illustrated in St. Mark's narrative (vii. 32-35) of the miraculous cure of the deaf and dumb man : " And they bring to Him one that was deaf and dumb, and they besought Him to lay His hand upon him. And taking him aside from the multitude, He put His fingers into his ears ; and spitting, He touched his tongue, and looking up to heaven, He groaned, and said to him, *Ephpheta*, that is, Be opened. And immediately his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed ; and he spoke right."

² " And it was heard that He was in the house ; and many came together, so that there was no room, no, not even at the door" (ii. 2). " And they come to a house, and the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread" (iii. 20). " And He said unto the Apostles : Come ye apart into a desert place, and rest awhile. For there were many coming and going ; and they had not so much as time to eat" (vi. 31).

³ Of this we shall notice some instances in the narrative of the Passion.

gelists, which specially redound to his honour.¹ In fine (4) the circumstance that this Gospel, as ancient tradition again records, was written at Rome, is not to be overlooked in considering the many instances of Latin modes of thought and expression with which it abounds.

Of St. Luke's Gospel, it is scarcely necessary to add anything to what has already been observed regarding (1) its main characteristic of setting forth the tender and compassionate aspect of our Lord's life.² It may, however, be noted (2) that, like St. Mark's, this Gospel was written not so much for the Hebrew Christians as for the Church at large; and (3) that the technical professional knowledge of its author, "the beloved physician," affords a not unnatural explanation of his recording certain incidents unnoticed by the other Evangelists, and of his describing with special fulness of detail certain others that have been recorded by them in the language of ordinary observers.³

In fine, as to the special features of St. John's Gospel, these have been determined mainly of course (1) by its special object of setting forth the Divinity of Christ; but also (2), in a scarcely less degree, by its supplementary

¹ Compare, for instance, Mark viii. 29-30, with Matthew xvi. 13-20. In the condensed narrative of St. Mark the passage closes thus:—"Peter, answering, said to Him, Thou art the Christ. And He strictly charged them that they should not tell any man of Him."

"To the momentous question, St. Peter . . . made the ever-memorable reply: 'Thou art the Christ.' But in the Gospel written under his eye, the great announcement respecting his own memorable confession, and the promise of peculiar dignity in the Church the Lord was about to establish, find no place." The Gospel according to St. Mark (Cambridge Bible for Schools). Edited by Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D.

² St. Luke is the Evangelist who records the Parables of the Good Samaritan and of the Prodigal Son; and it is in his Gospel we read of the miracle at Naim, when our Lord was "moved with mercy" at the sad sight of the young man borne to the grave, "who was the only son of his mother, and she was a widow."

³ "Evidens est in libris sacris elocutionis et styli diversitas respondens diversae *indoli et eruditioni* scriptorum. 'De Isaia sciendum,' inquit S. Hieronymus, 'quod in sermone suo disertus est, *quippe* (en rationem) *ut vir nobilis et urbanae eloquentiae, nec habens quidquam in eloquio rusticitatis admistum.*' Contra 'Jeremias sermone . . . Isaiae et Osee . . . videtur esse *rusticior*, sed sensibus par, quippe qui eodem Spiritu prophetaverit. Porro simplicitas eloquii *a loco ei in quo natus est* accidit. Fuit enim Anatholites, qui est usque hodie viculus' (Hieronym. Praef. in Is. et Jerem.)." FRANZELIN, *De Divinis Scripturis*. Sect. 1. cap. i. thes. 3.

character;¹ and (3), as we shall see, in one or two remarkable instances, by the fact that it was not written until long after the events recorded in it had occurred, and the Jewish State had ceased to exist.

We are now in a position to examine the special features of the four narratives of the Passion, as they are read in our Liturgy of Holy Week. It may be well to begin with the Supper at Bethany, which, it is scarcely necessary to observe, is inserted out of chronological order both by St. Matthew and St. Mark.²

ST. MATTHEW.

1. The Supper at Bethany (xxvi. 6-13). The reticence of St. Matthew and of the other Synoptical³ Evangelists in regard to Lazarus and his sisters Mary and Martha, both in the narrative of this supper and elsewhere throughout their Gospels, is noteworthy. Those three Evangelists do not, indeed, record the striking miracle by which the power

¹ "St. John's Gospel touches the others only at one single point before he comes to the last few days of our Lord's Life, and even as to those, nine-tenths of what he relates are altogether supplementary . . .

"Anyone who reads St. John's account of the Passion with the idea in his mind that it is a series of notes which add largely to our knowledge as to points on which the other Evangelists have touched but slightly, will find it a most intelligible history, whereas if it be considered in the same plane, so to speak, as the former narratives, it will certainly engender a considerable number of difficult questions."

To these remarks of F. Coleridge (*Life of our Life*, vol. i., Preface, pp. xxix. lvii.) I would add that, as it seems to me, the forms of typographical arrangement usually adopted in setting forth the Harmony of the Gospel Narratives fail precisely in this respect, that they do not represent to the eye, with sufficient distinctness, this special feature of the supplementary relation of St. John's Gospel to the other three.

² "St. Mark's Gospel might be made the stem, so to speak, on which all that the other Evangelists have related, and which he does not relate, might be ingrafted. He seems to have put nothing out of its order except, for an obvious reason, the Supper at Bethany." F. Coleridge, *Life of our Lord*, vol. i. Preface, p. xxiv.

I have elsewhere (*Harmony of the Gospel Narratives of the Passion*, &c. Notes, p. 129) set forth the view usually taken of the reason of this displacement.

³ "Quatuor Evangelistae in hoc conveniunt quod omnes aliquem referunt delectum ex Christi gestis et dictis, quodque ejus passionem, mortem, et resurrectionem, narrant.

"Tres vero priores . . . in eo a Joanne discrepant, et inter se conveniunt, quod, ceteris fere omissis . . . describunt quae Jesus post suum . . . baptismum in Galilaea egit et dixit usque ad ultimum in Judaea iter immediate ante passionem: conveniunt praeterea in eo quod saepe eosdem Christi sermones, eadem miracula narrant; unde *Synoptici* vocantur." LAMY. *Introductio in Sacram Scripturam*. Part. 2, cap. ii., n. 12.

of our Lord was so signally displayed in the raising of Lazarus from the dead. In that case, however, the reason of the omission is not far to seek. For, the miracle occurred in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and the Synoptical writers confine themselves, for the most part, to the narrative of our Lord's ministry in the northern province of Gallilee. But, obviously, the same explanation is not available here. The events of the Supper at Bethany are narrated by St. Matthew and St. Mark, as well as by St. John; but in the narratives of the earlier writers we cannot fail to notice a special reticence. Mary is not mentioned by name, but is spoken of merely as "a certain woman;" Lazarus, whose name comes so prominently forward in this portion of St. John's narrative, is not mentioned by them at all. It may be noticed too that St. Luke, when referring (x. 38) to this household, speaks of Bethany as "a certain village;" though elsewhere (xix. 29) he mentions it distinctly by name. Bearing in mind the depth of Jewish malice revealed to us by the statement of St. John (xii. 9, 10), that the Jews sought to kill, not only our Lord, but "Lazarus also," "whom He had raised from the dead," we should be slow to reject as improbable the conjecture of many commentators that the earlier Evangelists were unwilling to bring into a prominence that might have been dangerous, the household of one who was still alive, and of whom the Jews had sought to get rid as a living evidence of Christ's wonder-working power. At all events, to use the words of Canon Farrar, something seems to have sealed the lips of those Evangelists—an obstacle which had been removed when St. John's Gospel first saw the light.

2. "Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached *in the whole world*, &c." (xxvi., 13). This passage, given also by St. Mark, may be noticed here as an instance of the teaching, so frequently recorded by St. Matthew, of the universality of the Kingdom of Christ, in which many are to come "from the east and from the west," and to "sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob" (viii. 11). See also the closing words of this Gospel (xxviii. 19, 20).

3. The Triumphal Entry to Jerusalem. Here we may remark (a) St. Matthew's noting (xxi. 4) the fulfilment of prophecy; (b) the special fulness of detail with which he sets forth (ib. 14, 15) the joyous welcome of the "Son of David" in the Temple courts; and (c) his recording (ib. 16) our Lord's notice of the fulfilment of prophecy in this incident also.

4. The Last Supper. "On the first day of the Azymes" (xxvi. 17). We shall afterwards see how the other Evangelists, whose gospels were not written, as St. Matthew's was, mainly for the use of Jewish readers, sub-join to this note of time an explanation rendering it intelligible to Gentiles as well as Jews.

5. "All of you shall be scandalized in Me this night" (vers. 31). In the following words of this verse the fulfilment of prophecy is once more referred to.

6. The Seizure in the Garden of Gethsemani. Three points may be noted here: (*a*) St. Peter's name is not mentioned by St. Matthew, or by any of the synoptical writers, in the narrative of his cutting off the ear of the High Priest's servant (vers. 51): but it is mentioned by St. John (see a similar instance, No. 1, above); (*b*) in obvious illustration of one of the characteristic features of St. Matthew's Gospel already noted, we find recorded here the emphatic assertion of kingly power, made by our Lord when, in the very crisis of His apparent helplessness, He proclaims, in presence of His captors, that even the hosts of Heaven are subject to His will: (*c*) no less characteristic are the references in the following verses (54, 56) to the fulfilment of prophecy.

7. "They led Him to Caiphas, the High Priest" (vers. 57). The other Evangelists, in describing this incident, naturally omit the *name* of the Jewish functionary. The contrast thus presented is rendered even more striking by the fact that St. John, although, in a somewhat later portion of the narrative he introduces the name of Caiphas, does so merely in explanation of a reference that might have been unintelligible in the absence of the information which he thus sets forth; and he sets it forth, not by embodying it in his narrative as a matter already known to his readers, but by the *direct statement* that "Caiphas was the High Priest of that year" (St. John, xviii. 13).

8. Our Lord questioned by Caiphas. Here also commentators note, (*a*) as characteristic of the general scope of St. Matthew's narrative, the record of our Lord's open proclamation of His sovereign power, and of His being the Christ or Messiah, put forth in His answer to the High Priest (xxvi. 64). Immediately afterwards (*b*) He is mocked by the servants and the guards, calling upon Him to "prophesy" who had struck Him; and, although this incident is mentioned by the three Synoptical Evangelists, it is only in St. Matthew's narrative that we find recorded the taunting

expression which tells us that this mockery was in derision of His claim as Messiah. "Prophecy¹ unto us, *O Christ!*" (vers. 68).

9. St. Peter's Denials. "Thy speech doth discover thee" (vers. 73). A singularly interesting illustration of the Jewish character of St. Matthew's Gospel. The other Evangelists are content with stating that St. Peter was confronted by the bystanders as a Galilean: St. Matthew alone records their statement of the grounds on which their judgment was based. To Jewish readers, but scarcely so to others, it was interesting to learn that the Apostle was recognised to be a Galilean, from his Galilean "provincialism" of speech. This peculiarity is known to have consisted chiefly in the mispronunciation of certain letters, among which was the consonant *sh*, pronounced by the inhabitants of Galilee as *th*. And, inasmuch as St. Peter had but just before asseverated that he knew not "the Man," the conjecture of some commentators that the peculiarity was noticed in his pronounciation of the word *ish*—the Hebrew word for man—can scarcely be regarded as altogether fanciful or farfetched.

10. The Purchase of the "Field of Blood" (xxvii. 8–11). Another incident recorded by St. Matthew alone. Note the usual reference to the fulfilment of prophecy.

11. The Dream of Pilate's Wife (vers. 19). In illustration of his remark that "in the form, as well as in many of the details, of St. Matthew's narrative, there is something of an Old Testament complexion," Professor Westcott observes that the mention of this incident carries us back in imagination to the early history of the Jews, when the fortunes of the nation were fashioned by the dreams of heathen princes—of Abimelech, of Pharaoh, of Nebuchodonosor.

12. "His blood be upon us, and upon our children" (vers. 25). Another incident peculiar to St. Matthew, and not recorded by him without special significance, as pointing forward to the terrible fulfilment of the imprecation so recklessly uttered. For, as had been elsewhere foretold (viii. 12), it was not merely that many were to come "from the east and from the west," to sit down in the Kingdom of heaven with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob," but "the children of the kingdom" were to be "cast out into exterior darkness," the place of "weeping and gnashing of teeth."

¹ "The word '*prophecy*' signifies, not merely to predict future events, but also to disclose secret and hidden things, in which latter sense the word is employed here." Commentary of Most Rev. Dr. McEvilly, *in loc.*

13. The Casting of Lots for His Garments (vers. 35). St. Matthew, as usual, notes the fulfilment of prophecy. In this instance, the prophecy is quoted also by St. John (xix. 23, 24), but—in conformity with the usual supplementary character of his gospel—apparently only for the sake of recording the special circumstance, so full of mystic significance, that the “garment” for which the lots were cast, as foretold by the Psalmist, was “seamless.”

14. The Dead appearing in “the Holy City” (vers. 53). It is almost superfluous to direct attention to the obvious appropriateness of this passage, and of its phraseology, in a narrative written mainly for Jewish readers.

15. Precautions against the Resurrection (vers. 64). It may be noted that in recording this incident, as well as in the subsequent passage (xxviii. 15), in which he sets forth the true facts of the case, in refutation of the Jewish calumny about the bribing of the guards, St. Matthew keeps in view the evidence of our Lord's Messiahship, furnished in this as in so many other instances, by the fulfilment of prophecy.

ST. MARK.

1. The Supper at Bethany (xiv. 3–9). St. Mark is the only Evangelist who mentions the *breaking* of the alabaster vase. “As in the breaking through the roof in Mark ii. 4, the vivid touch that brings the manner of the act distinctly before our eyes is found in St. Mark only. The Greek word implies not so much the breaking of the neck of the costly flask, but the *crushing* of it in its entirety with both her hands.”¹

2. “And they murmured against her” (xiv. 5). “*Et fremebant in eam.*” Another characteristic addition, peculiar to St. Mark.

3. “For *more than three hundred pence*” (vers. 5). No less characteristic in its minuteness of detail. St. Matthew gives the vague expression “sold for *much*.” St. John, the only other Evangelist who narrates the incident—his mention of it, in conformity with the supplementary character of his gospel, being made apparently for the sake of mentioning some personal traits of Judas—retains the more definite form of expression, “sold for *three hundred pence* :” but even in this case we cannot fail to be struck by the closer definiteness of St. Mark's narrative, “for *more than three hundred pence.*”

¹ Plumptre, Commentary on St. Mark, *in loc.*

4. The Preparation for the Triumphal Entry to Jerusalem (xi. 1-7). St. Mark's fulness of detail is most noteworthy in the statement, peculiar to his narrative, that the disciples found the colt, for which our Lord had sent them, "tied, before the gate, without, in the meeting of two ways." It has been suggested that the special minuteness of this description, unusually precise even for this Gospel, points naturally to the inference that one of the "two disciples" sent upon this errand was St. Peter (see No. 7 below), so that in this, as probably in many other instances, the Gospel of his disciple sets forth the information derived from him as a personal observer of the scene described.

5. The Evening of the Day of the Triumphal Entry (xi. 11). St. Mark, in closing his narrative of the events of this eventful day, writes that our Lord "*having viewed all things round about,*" went out to Bethany, "*when now the eventide was come.*" Two obvious instances of the leading characteristic of St. Mark's narrative.

6. The Preparation for the Last Supper. "On the first day of the Azymes or unleavened bread" (xiv. 12). In explanation of this note of time, used, as we have seen, without explanation or comment by St. Matthew, the explanatory clauses "when they kill the Pasch," "when it is necessary that the Pasch should be killed," are added by St. Mark and St. Luke, writing, as they did, for Gentile readers.

7. "He sendeth *two* of His disciples" (xiv. 13). Here we find the number specified: St. Matthew's narrative gives merely the vague statement, "*the disciples* came to Jesus, saying, &c. But Jesus said, *Go ye* into the city, &c.": St. Luke is even more definite than St. Mark, for he supplies even the *names* of the two disciples who were sent, "Peter and John." But, as has been observed in the introductory remarks, it is quite in keeping with St. Mark's manner, to omit the name of St. Peter on occasions such as this, when there is reference to a selection implying special trust or distinction.

8. The Betrayal Foretold (xiv. 18-20). As characteristic instances of fuller detail, we have here the expressions, "*one that eateth with me,*" "*one of the twelve,*" not found in St. Matthew's narrative of this incident. Commentators also note as a further instance of pictorial detail, the statement (vers. 19) that the Apostles questioned our Lord "*one by one.*"

9. The Eucharistic Chalice (vers. 23). St. Mark supplies the statement,—so important in a controversial point of view, in fixing the meaning of the expression “*Bibite ex eo omnes*,”—“*Et biberunt ex illo omnes*,” “and *they all* drank of it.”

10. The Denials of St. Peter. Bearing in mind that in this Gospel, we have to so large an extent the Gospel teaching of St. Peter himself, it is deeply significant of the intense fervour of his repentance that we should find in it the fullest statement of the circumstances that enhance the force of the warning he had received, and consequently the guilt of his denial of his Master. In the account of our Lord's prophetic warning, St. Mark alone mentions that the cock was to crow *twice* (vers. 30): he alone, in his narrative of the actual denials, mentions (vers. 68) the crowing of the cock after the first denial; and he emphasizes this circumstance by his use of the expression (vers. 72), used by himself alone, that after the third and last denial, the cock crew “*again*.” It may also be noted here, as to some extent illustrative of St. Peter's influence, that St. Mark,—of whose narrative it is so strongly marked a characteristic to record the manner and circumstances of the events narrated—should, in recording St. Peter's repentance, confine himself to the statement merely that “he began to weep.” How significantly, in the circumstances, this contrasts with the statements of St. Matthew and St. Luke, both of whom record that the repentant Apostle “wept *bitterly*.” It may not be out of place in fine to mention here the characteristic statement of detail in St. Mark's account (vers. 66) of the second denial, that “Peter was in the court *below*.”

11. The Prayer in the Garden. “*Abba*, Father (xiv. 36). An illustration of St. Mark's usage of placing before us the very words of our Lord, as He spoke them, in the Aramaic dialect of the day. Other instances are *Boanerges* (iii. 17), *Talitha cumi* (v. 41), *Corban* (vii. 11), *Ephpheta* (vii. 34). See also No. 22 below.

12. “Simon, sleepest thou?” (xiv. 37). The *personal* reference to St. Peter, as indeed the *singular* form of our Lord's reproachful question, are peculiar to St. Mark.

13. “And they knew not what to answer Him” (v. 40). Another characteristic addition, peculiar to this Gospel. Here also we may note, as further illustrating the fulness of detail of the narrative, (a) the statement (vers. 41) that our Lord came to the Apostles “*the third time*,” and (b) the clause

in the directions given by Judas (vers. 44) “and *lead Him away carefully.*”

14. The young Man who followed our Lord when all had forsaken Him (vers. 51). Some have conjectured that this was one of the Apostles:¹ others that it was Lazarus:² others that it was St. Mark himself. It is a usual remark of commentators that the minuteness of the detailed narrative of this incident seems to point to the personal knowledge of an eye-witness.

15. The False Witnesses before Caiphas (xiv. 56, 59). St. Mark alone makes the observation—and he makes it *twice*—that “their testimony did not agree.”³ The fulness of detail, in this portion of the narrative, as compared with St. Matthew’s, is specially noteworthy. “And some *rising up . . . I will destroy this temple made with hands*, and . . . *I will build another not made with hands.* And the High Priest *rising up in the midst,*” &c.,

¹ The Most Rev. Dr. McEvilly, in pointing out the improbability of this view (in his Commentary on St. Matthew, xxvi. 56) relies on three circumstances mentioned in St. Mark’s narrative:—(1) the person of whom the incident is narrated is described as “a young man;” (2) he had merely “a linen cloth cast about his naked body,” whereas the Apostles, who had come from the Last Supper not long before, must in all probability have been dressed in their ordinary garments; and (3) of the Apostles it is said that “they *all fled.*”

² Professor Plumptre’s note (commentary on St. Mark, *in loc.*) on this conjecture is worth transcribing:—“A careful examination of the facts suggests [this conclusion] as probable . . . (1). He had apparently been sleeping, or, it may be, watching, not far from Gethsemane, with the linen sheet wrapped round him, and had been roused by the approach of the officers and the crowd. This suggests one who lived somewhere on the Mount of Olives, and so far points to Lazarus or Simon of Bethany as the only two conspicuous disciples in that neighbourhood . . . (3). He was one who so loved our Lord that he went on following Him when all the disciples forsook Him and fled, and this also was what might be expected from Lazarus. (4). He was one whom the officers . . . were eager to seize, when they allowed all the disciples to go their way, and this agrees with the command which had been given by the priests that they should take and kill Lazarus also (John xii. 10). (5). As the linen sheet, or *σινδών*, was especially used for the burial of the dead, it is conceivable on this supposition, that what had been the winding-sheet of the dead Lazarus had been kept and used by him in memory of his resurrection. (6). On the hypothesis thus suggested, the suppression of the name stands on the same footing as that of the name of the sister of Lazarus, who poured the precious ointment on our Lord’s head at Bethany (Matt. xxvi. 7, Mark xiv. 3), whom the Evangelists must have known, but whom they describe simply as ‘a woman.’ Their lips were sealed as to the family of Bethany until the circumstances, whatever they may have been, that called for silence had passed away.”

³ See the Commentators, *in loc.*

16. The Mocking in the High Priest's Palace. St. Mark alone records the incident of the "veiling of His face," (vers. 65), so necessary for the explanation of the taunting challenge, "*Prophesy* unto us . . who hath struck Thee."

17. Barabbas preferred to our Lord. St. Mark's narrative here presents several distinctive features: (a) he alone tells us (vers. 7) that Barabbas was in prison "with other seditious men," (b) that the multitude (vers. 8) "came up," "and began to desire that Pilate would do, as he had ever done unto them:" (c) in stating that the Chief Priests "*moved* the people" (vers. 11), he uses one of those singularly graphic expressions that form so striking a feature in his narrative; the Greek verb which he employs, (*ἀνασείω*) being one that primarily signifies "to shake to and fro," "to threaten with," "to brandish:" (d) in his statement (vers. 15) that Pilate wished "to *satisfy* the people," we find a distinct "Latinism" of phrase—τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι.

18. The Mocking in Pilate's Court (vers. 19). Here again St. Mark supplies a characteristic addition to the narrative, "and *bowing their knees* they adored Him."

19. On the way to Calvary (vers. 21). Simon the Cyrenian is described as "the father of Alexander and Rufus." In addition to (a) the minuteness of personal description, it is interesting to note (b) that a Rufus is mentioned by St. Paul (Romans xvi. 13) as a prominent member of the Church at Rome. Bearing in mind the evidence that connects St. Mark's Gospel with that Church, and the likelihood that the personal references here were such as would specially interest those for whom the Evangelist wrote, we can scarcely reject as improbable the conjecture of those who infer that the Rufus in both texts was one and the same person.

20. The Crucifixion (vers. 25). St. Mark alone specifies the hour. "It was the third hour, and they crucified Him."

21. The Quotation from Isaias (vers. 28). The reference to the fulfilment of prophecy made here by St. Mark, and not by St. Matthew, may seem at variance with much that has been said regarding the characteristics of the two Gospels. It is therefore important to note that there is some reason for regarding the verse as spurious: it is not found in the MSS. of the highest authority—the Vatican, the Sinaitic, or the Alexandrian. Many, not improbably, conjecture that it was originally a marginal note made by some transcriber, and subsequently transferred to the text.

22. "Eloi, Eloi," (vers. 34). Here again we have the

reproduction of the Aramaic words used by our Lord. St. Matthew gives the Hebrew form, in which the words are found in the 21st Psalm.

23. The Centurion (vers. 39). Here two points call for notice: (a) St. Mark describes the very position of the centurion, he stood "over against" the cross: (b) the Greek word used here and in vv. 44, 45, is *κεντυρίων*, an obvious Latinism; St. Matthew and St. Luke use the more purely Greek expression *ἐκατόνταρχος*.

24. The Pious Women (vers. 40). Observe the characteristic definiteness of the expression, James "*the Less*." St. Mark is the only New Testament writer by whom it is used.

25. The Taking down from the Cross (vers. 42). Here we may note (a) the explanation, necessary for Gentile readers, why the Body should be removed, "because it was the Parasceve": (b) the further explanation, equally necessary, of the Jewish calendar term "the Parasceve," as "the day before the Sabbath."

26. Joseph of Arimathæa (vers. 43). In this Gospel, as in St. Luke's, it is noted, (a) that he was a "*councillor*," or member of the Sanhedrin; and (b) that he was one of those who were expecting "*the Kingdom of God*." The former point, St. Matthew may have regarded as unnecessary to note for his Jewish readers; the latter is an instance of a curious distinction of phrase between St. Matthew's and the two other Synoptical Gospels. St. Matthew uses the expression "*the Kingdom of Heaven*" 32 times, and "*the Kingdom of God*," but 4 times: St. Mark and St. Luke have "*the Kingdom of God*" 54 times, and "*the Kingdom of Heaven*" not at all. Surely this difference of phrase, in the expression of the same idea, cannot be regarded as accidental. Some writers account for it on the principle that inasmuch as the Jews invariably spoke of anything *great*, as a thing "of God," the expression "*Kingdom of God*" would have been likely to foster their erroneous notions of the temporal splendour of the Messiah's reign, or at least would not have been so directly calculated to correct their error, as the expression used by St. Matthew, which points out the spiritual and "heavenly" character of His Kingdom. On the other hand, to Gentiles, trained up in the belief that there were Gods of the earth, and of the sea, and even of hell, as well as of heaven, the phrase "*Kingdom of Heaven*," so appropriate in St. Matthew's Gospel, might perhaps have conveyed an erroneous impression,

and at all events would not have tended to instruct them, as the expression employed by the other Evangelists unquestionably did, in the great truth, so familiar to the Jews, of the unity and universality of the Deity. Here also we may note (*c*) that St. Mark (vers. 43) describes Joseph as going in "boldly" to Pilate; and (*d*) adds the circumstantial statement of Pilate's inquiring of the centurion, to satisfy himself that our Lord was really dead.

27. The Preparation for the Burial (vers. 46). From St. Mark's detailed statement we learn that Joseph of Arimathæa "bought" the fine linen for the winding sheet.

28. The Pious Women at the Tomb (vers. 47). Here in fine we may note a characteristic contrast between the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Mark. Both Evangelists speak of Mary Magdalen, and another Mary, whom they have previously described as Mary the mother of James and Joseph. St. Matthew now mentions her as "*the other Mary*;" but St. Mark, with his favourite closeness of description, repeats the personal designation, "Mary" the mother "of Joseph."

ST. LUKE.

The length to which the indication of the distinctive features of two of the Gospel narratives has extended obliges me to defer to some other suitable occasion the completion of this essay, when it may be possible to examine similarly in detail the narratives of St. Luke and St. John. But it may not be well to bring my present paper to a close without at least briefly indicating a few of the more striking and characteristic features of their Gospels also.

1. It has been already pointed out that St. Luke's narrative brings into special prominence the gentleness, and mercy, and compassionate tenderness of our Lord, especially to the outcast and the sinner. And, strikingly as this feature is displayed throughout this Gospel, it would be difficult to name any more striking illustrations of it than those that occur in the narrative of the closing scenes of His mortal life.

Thus we find that St. Luke alone records (*a*) the moving incident (xix. 41-44) of our Lord's weeping over the Holy City as it came in view on the day of His triumphal entry: (*b*) the discourse (xxii. 25) in which He instructs His apostles that the spirit of those who are to rule in His church must not be as the spirit of the "Kings of the Gentiles," "lording

it" over their brethren: (*c*) the miraculous healing of the servant (xxii. 51) whose ear St. Peter had cut off: (*d*) the touching lament (xxiii. 28) over the daughters of Jerusalem; (*e*) the prayer (ibid. 34) so full of tender mercy, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do": and (*f*) the repentance of the dying thief, and the words of mercy addressed to him by our Lord upon the cross.

2. As to the personal influence of the Evangelist, it is hard to reject as over-strained the suggestion made by more than one commentator, that, as the record of the sweat of blood—that marvellous testimony to the intensity of our Lord's anguish in the Garden of Gethsemani,—was to be preserved for us in one gospel only, the narrative of St. Luke, "the physician" (Col. iv. 14), is surely the one in which we should most naturally expect to find it.

ST. JOHN.

For a full elucidation of the extent to which the form of St. John's narrative has been determined by its supplementary character—the circumstance to which its special features are so largely due—it would almost be necessary, as it surely would be sufficient, to transcribe the luminous expositions of this topic, for which all future students of the Gospel Harmony must acknowledge their indebtedness to the learned author of "The Life of our Life."¹

Satisfied then, with a general reference to the illustrations of this subject with which F. Coleridge's work abounds, I shall select for the purposes of this paper a few instances—curious, if not otherwise interesting—of another feature of St. John's narrative, the form and phraseology of his personal references, as compared with those of the other Evangelists.

1. The Supper at Bethany (xii. 1–7). St. John's freedom in mentioning the names of Lazarus and his sisters Martha and Mary has been already noticed. Here it may further be observed that almost immediately after the narrative of the Supper, three distinct references to Lazarus occur. Thus we read (*a*) that the crowds came out from Jerusalem, partly to see Lazarus (xii. 9); (*b*) that the chief Priests sought the life of Lazarus (ib. 10); and (*c*) that on the day of the Triumphal Entry to Jerusalem, the multitude gave testimony that our Lord had raised Lazarus from the

¹ See *The Life of our Life*, by the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. vols. i. and ii. *passim*.

dead (xii. 18) On all this, the synoptical Evangelists are profoundly silent.

2. The Servant, Malchus (xviii. 10). The incident of the cutting off the ear of one of the servants of the High Priest, by "one of those that were with our Lord," is mentioned by the four Evangelists. But St. John, moreover, (a) mentions St. Peter as the person thus vaguely designated in the earlier Gospels, and (b) gives also the name of the servant, "Malchus." As to the former point, it may be regarded¹ as a further illustration of the unwillingness of the earlier Evangelists to bring into special prominence in the narrative those who might thus be specially exposed to the vindictive malice of the Jews. The latter is interesting especially from the light thrown upon it by a personal statement of St. John's regarding himself. If, in accordance with the general view of commentators, we suppose that he was the "other disciple" mentioned (xviii. 15) as accompanying St. Peter, we learn from his own narrative that he was sufficiently acquainted with the High Priest, and known to the servants of the household, not merely to obtain for himself admission to the Palace at a time when the followers of our Lord would naturally be excluded, but also to overcome the unwillingness of the doorkeeper, and to gain admittance for St. Peter also. The name of the servant, Malchus, would therefore most naturally be known by St. John, and probably by him alone among the Evangelists. In further illustration of this view it is interesting to note that in another incident also, St. John's narrative implies a personal and special knowledge of the Members of the High Priest's household. He alone records, in his account of St. Peter's denials, that the servant who taunted the Apostle with being a disciple of our Lord, was "a *kinsman* of him whose ear Peter had cut off."

3. "The Jews." (St. John's Gospel, *passim*.) Except in the expression "King of the Jews," *this term scarcely occurs in the other Gospels*. We find it but once in St. Matthew (xxviii. 15): once in St. Mark (vii. 3): and once in St. Luke (vii. 3). *It occurs 64 times in St. John*. The explanation is not far to seek. When St. John's Gospel appeared, the Jewish State had ceased to exist: the people, then, among whom our Lord had lived and taught had need to be thus specially designated. Moreover, it is to

¹ See the Commentary of the Most Rev. Dr. McCarthy on St. Matthew xxvi. 51.

be observed that St. John most frequently uses the term as indicating the *opponents* of our Lord. "To a writer standing within the boundary of the Christian age, the name appears to be the true antithesis to Christianity."

W. J. W.

QUESTIONS ON LITURGY.

WE proceed to answer the remaining questions regarding the Liturgy of Holy Week, which were proposed in our last number, but the answers to which we were obliged to hold over for this present RECORD.

THIRD QUESTION.

Is it in accordance with the rubrics and the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to celebrate Mass in convent chapels during the last three days of Holy Week?

Before answering directly the question proposed, it will be useful to state briefly some of the most important conclusions relating to the celebration of Mass on the three last days of Holy Week, expressed in the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs and the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on this subject.

In 1710 Pope Clement XI., enforcing the repeated decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, forbade, through his Cardinal-Vicar, all priests, regular and secular, to celebrate private Mass on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, or Holy Saturday, whether in churches or in private oratories. Clement XIV., when appealed to for his decision by a bishop in whose diocese the canons were wont to celebrate private Mass on Holy Thursday, issued a brief, dated 30th January, 1771, in which he commanded, in virtue of holy obedience and under threat of punishment, the dignitaries, canons, and all the clergy of the diocese, not to say private Mass on Holy Thursday, and declared that they were bound to attend at the Solemn Mass, and receive the Blessed Eucharist from the hand of the celebrant.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites has given the following decisions:—

(a) It is not lawful to celebrate Mass and erect a sepulchre or altar of repose for the Blessed Sacrament in churches

where the Blessed Sacrament is not regularly preserved. — S. R. C., 14th June, 1659.

(b) A private Mass (*Missa lecta*), is not to be said on Holy Thursday in churches where the ceremonies of Holy Week cannot be carried out (31st Aug., 1839). This decree states the general prohibition, but is to be qualified by the exceptional cases which the Congregation itself recognises.

(c) Besides the Solemn Mass, a second and private Mass is allowed on Holy Thursday, with the permission of the Bishop (*arbitrio Episcopi*), for the purpose of consecrating the Viaticum for the sick (*propter infirmos*). S. R. C., 27th March, 1773.

(d) A superior of a religious community is allowed to say a private Mass (*Missa lecta*) on Holy Thursday, for the purpose of enabling his subjects to fulfil the paschal precept. This Mass must be said in the private oratory of the house, and, if there is no private oratory, in the church "*januis clausis*." S. R. C., 31st August, 1839.

(e) A private mass, said by the parish priest, may be allowed by the Bishop on Holy Thursday, "*ob populi commoditatem*," even though the ceremonies of Holy Week cannot be carried out in the church, but under these two conditions—1°, that not even the provisions of the ritual of Benedict XIII. can be observed, and 2°, that the permission of the Bishop is asked and obtained from *year to year*. The bishop of the diocese is charged to encourage the observance of the ritual of Benedict XIII. in such parishes; and it cannot, even "*ob populi commoditatem*" be dispensed with, unless with his permission. We believe we ought to give in full this question and answer.

"An toleranda sit consuetudo vicens in quibusdam parocciis praesertim ruralibus, celebrandi per parochum Missam lectam Feria V. in Coena Domini, quin peragi valeant eadem feria et sequenti caeterae Ecclesiasticae functiones praescriptae, ob clericorum defectum, vel potius abolenda?"

"Emi. PP. eidem praepositi nedum consuluerunt parocciis praesertim ruralibus, quae clericis omnino destituuntur; verum etiam solliciti ut sacrae functiones quae ex Ecclesiae instituto ad recolendam memoriam Passionis, Mortis et Resurrectionis D. N. J. C. peragi debent in majori hebdomada non omittantur in minoribus Ecclesiis et signantur parochialibus in quibus tres saltem, quatuorve clerici haberi possunt, excitantur Episcoporum vigilantiam, qui in id sua conferant studia, sequenti responso. *Affirmative et ad mentem.* Mens est: ut locorum ordinarii quoad paroecias, in quibus haberi

possunt tres quatuorve saltem clerici, sacras Functiones Feriis V. et VI. ac Sabbato majoris Hebdomadae peragi studeant, servata forma parvi Ritualis S. M. Benedicti XIII., anno 1725, jussu editi: quoad alias Paroecias quae clericis destituuntur indulgere valeant ob populi commoditatem ut Parochi (petita quotannis venia) Feria V. in Coena Domini Missam lectam celebrare possint, prius quam in Cathedrali vel Matrice Conventualis incipiat.—S. R. C. 28 July, 1821.

(f) It was decided by the Sacred Congregation, 22nd July, 1848, that a parochial church, in which are wanting a sufficient number of priests for the usual Solemn Mass, is obliged to perform the function of Holy Saturday in accordance with the *Memoriale Rituum*—*juxta parvum Caeremoniale Ben. Papae XIII.* Manifestly, the decision applies equally to the whole Triduum. The Congregation was asked only about Holy Saturday, and confines its answer, as is its custom, to the question proposed.

There can be very few parishes in which the provisions of the “*Memoriale Rituum*,” or ritual of Benedict XIII., cannot be complied with. It requires only one priest, and three, or at most four, clerics, for the performance of the ceremonies of Holy Week. We may presume that it is not the intention of the Congregation to insist on having the attendants enrolled in the rank of clerics, seeing that lay persons are allowed to serve Mass and to minister as acolytes and thurifer—duties which, according to the strict letter of the rubrics, belong exclusively to clerics. Consequently, in every parish the clerics required by the “*Memoriale*” can be had. But it will take from the priest of the parish some time to prepare these boys in what they will have to do. It is needless to say that it is the priest’s duty to undertake the labour of this instruction. Here are the words of the preface to the Ritual:—“*Exactissimam praescriptorum Rituum cum perstrictissimo clericorum numero exhibet praxim. Ut plurimum tres tantum requirit: vix quartum desiderat. Parocho tamen curae erit designatos clericos, quasi manu ducens, praecedenter in actionibus peragendis instruere, ut in eisdem attente et expedite se gerant, neque oscitanter, quo se vertant, nesciant. Eosdem insuper clericos modulari aequa vocum concordia, ea quae in processionibus recitanda precipiuntur, edoceat: quacque, ut inoffenso percurrantur pede, suis locis, in ipso hoc Memoriali per extensum inserere, consonum visum est, ut unus idemque libellus et quae agenda et quae recitanda, suppeditet.*” We have printed in italics the word “*recitanda*,” to call attention to

the fact that the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII. does not require music or singing, but only that the prayers, &c., be *recited or read*. Here the priest is charged to teach the boys who act as clerics on the occasion not only how to perform the ceremonies exactly and becomingly, but also *how to read the prayers, &c, correctly and in unison*—"aequa vocum concordia."

The ceremonies, as prescribed by the "*Memoriale*" for small churches, are explained in all the ordinary books, such as the English translation of Baldeschi, that treat of the Holy Week ceremonies.

But, to come to our question. Is it in accordance with the decisions of the S. Congregation to celebrate Mass in the convent chapels during the three last days of Holy Week? In considering this question, reference is made throughout to the convent *chapel*, which is blessed as such by the authority of the bishop, where is reserved the Blessed Sacrament, and where daily Mass is celebrated. Of course, under no circumstances could the Holy Week ceremonies be allowed in the *private oratory* of the convent.

The inquiry may regard either private Mass (*Missa lecta*) in which the Holy Week ceremonies are not carried out according to the ritual of Benedict XIII., or the Mass as ordered by this ritual, or, finally, Solemn Mass in which a deacon and sub-deacon minister.

1°. It is not lawful to celebrate a Mass of any kind in convent chapels during the Triduum without the leave of the bishop.

2°. A private Mass (*Missa lecta*) in the sense of the distinction cannot be celebrated in convent chapels during the Triduum without a Papal Indult. This follows from the general legislation on the subject of private Masses, and most clearly from the decision of Gregory XVI. in the case that was submitted to him by the Archbishop of Baltimore in 1838. For many years there existed in Baltimore the custom of saying a private Mass on each of the three last days of Holy Week in the convent chapel of the Carmelite nuns and of the nuns of the Order of the Visitation. In the statement of the case it is alleged that the Master of Ceremonies of the metropolitan church of Baltimore knew that this proceeding was in opposition to the rubrics, but that it was adopted from real necessity on account of the want of priests and clerics, and with the consent of the Archbishop "*in vera necessitate ob defectum cleri et clericorum qui desiderantur, de consensu, immo annuente ipso Reverendissimo*"

Archiepiscopo." In these circumstances they petition the Sacred Congregation to allow the archbishop to appoint a priest to say a private Mass (*Missa lecta*) during the Triduum in the chapels of these convents, and to extend the Indult to the chapels of the Sisters of Charity residing in the diocese of Baltimore, for so long as they were unable, owing to the causes already stated to observe in these chapels the provisions of the ritual of Benedict XIII.

The S. Cong. of Rites referred the case to the consideration of the Pope himself, and Gregory XVI., after hearing a full statement of the peculiar circumstances, granted the request "*that the Indult would continue, but only until these ceremonies can be carried out in accordance with the Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII., and for those nuns only who cannot leave the convent enclosure." See DOCUMENTS, page 118.

From this case and its response we infer—1°, that it requires a Papal Indult to justify the performance, in a convent chapel, of the Holy Week ceremonies at a *Missa lecta*, in which the provisions of the "*Caeremoniale parvum*" are not observed; and 2°, that it is an Indult which is most likely not to be granted, except in cases of real necessity.

II. If the question regard a Mass celebrated in conformity with the ritual of Benedict XIII., it seems to be quite certain that the bishop can authorize such a celebration in convent chapels during the Triduum.

This the Baltimore case, to which we have just referred, supposes. In the statement of the petition they take for granted that no fault could be found by the Sacred Congregation with the Archbishop if he were to approve of a Mass for these convents, the ceremonies of which would be in accordance with the *Memoriale Rituum*. They ask for an Indult only for such time as must elapse before they are able to observe this Ritual; and the Pope, in his answer, confirms this assumption. He grants the Indult "*solum quousque illae functiones peragi nequeunt juxta dispositum supradicti Memorialis Rituum*."

This power of the Bishop is recognized still more plainly in a decision of the Sacred Congregation, dated 7th Sept., 1850. In this year the Abbé Marette, of the diocese of Rochelle, petitioned for a relaxation in the rubrics regulating three points which were not observed in France. The third point on which he asked for some relaxation was this of allowing Mass during the Triduum in public oratories and chapels. He referred to the usage in France of celebrating Mass, at least on Holy Thursday, in public oratories and

chapels where the procession to the sepulchre is conducted "cum pompa et populi concursu." Finally, he prayed for a decision as to what was to be done on these days in the oratories or chapels of nuns who cannot leave their convent. The Cong. of Rites answered, "spectare ad episcopum," that is to say, it sends him to the bishop as to the person who has power to decide what is to be done, whose approval or disapproval of the practice which the Abbé reports to exist, will form the safe rule of action. We then believe that there can be no doubt as to the power of the Bishop to allow Mass according to the ritual of Benedict XIII. in convent chapels during the Triduum of Holy Week.

III. Lastly, if the question refer to the Missa Solemnis, it is for the Bishop in his prudence to allow it or not. The general law supposes that there is but one Solemn Mass in a church on these days, but it does not prohibit the celebration of another Solemn Mass in another church, especially when the Bishop of the diocese deems it to be useful.

All doubt is removed on this point, we believe, by the decision of the Congregation of Rites, 13 Jan. 1783. The case is briefly this:—The ceremonies of Holy Week were solemnly celebrated in a certain convent while the parish church was undergoing repair. When the parish church was again open, the parish priest attempted to prohibit the Holy Week ceremonies in the convent chapel. The case was carried to Rome, and the Sacred Congregation sent it back to the tribunal of the Bishop, who was to use his discretion in granting or withholding the favour. "*S. Congregatio, opponente parochio, gratiam arbitrio episcopi remisit.*" Jan. 13, 1753.

To sum up:—

1. It is not permitted to celebrate a private Mass (Missa lecta) in convent chapels during the Triduum of Holy Week without a Papal Indult.

2. The Bishop may allow in convent chapels on these days a Mass ordered in accordance with the ritual of Benedict XIII.

3. The bishop may allow the Missa Solemnis.

By the kindness of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, we are allowed to print in this place the circular letter addressed by the late Cardinal Cullen to his clergy in 1857, in which his Eminence describes the observances to be faithfully followed in the celebration of the Holy Week ceremonies in the diocese of Dublin. We believe that the

publication of this document just now cannot fail to be generally useful:—

PAULUS,

Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, etc., Venerabili Clero Dublinensi tam Saeculari quam Regulari.

Maximi momenti esse ut leges ecclesiasticae ad sacras caeremonias peragendas spectant, accuratissime observentur, nemo est qui ignoret. Itaque cum Nobis relatum fuerit in quibusdam hujus dioecesis Ecclesiis quasdam leges rituales praecipue ad hebdomadam sanctam spectantes, diversam et variam interpretationem accipere, adeoque in omnibus eandem disciplinam non vigere, cumque maximopere optandum sit ut non tantum idem spiritus sed et eadem agendi ratio ubique servetur, nostri muneris esse existimavimus pauca quaedam, quae ad unitatem promovendam opportuna videntur, in omnium memoriam revocare, non quasi nova aliqua decernentes, sed eo tantum fine ut quam accuratissime Ecclesiae leges jam latae observentur. Haec vero sunt quae ab omnibus servari volumus:—

1mo. In oratoriis domesticis, missa celebranda non est in Feria Quinta in Cœna Domini, neque in duobus sequentibus diebus, neque in die Paschatis.

2do. In Feria Quinta praedicta, unica tantum celebranda est Missa in singulis Ecclesiis, quae solemnis aut conventualis esse debet. In ea vero Missa clerus qui ad ecclesiam spectat, Communionem inter Missarum solemniam a manu celebrantis recipere debet, juxta veterem et constantem Ecclesiae usum.

3tio. Altare in quo reponendum est SS. Sacramentum, quod Feria Sexta in Missa Praesantificatorum sumi debet a celebrante, omni cura ornandum est. Caeterum, Sacra Hostia includenda est in Capsula, seu in sepulcro, ut vulgo dicitur, quod clave a sacerdote custodienda claudi debet, nec licet sacram Hostiam ita exponere ut videatur a fidelibus.

4to. In die Sabbati Sancti unica tantum celebrari potest Missa, quae solemnis esse debet, vel celebrata ad normam Ceremonialis Benedicti XIII.

5to. Monendi sunt fideles a confessariis et a Concionatoribus praecceptum, quo tenentur sacram communionem tempore paschali recipere, adimpleri non posse nisi in propria cujusque Ecclesia Paroeciali, excepto casu quo habeatur dispensatio ab episcopo, vel proprio parrocho.

6to. Die Paschatis, in Ecclesiis quae paroeciales non sunt, vetitum omnino est Sacram Communionem fidelibus dispensare, sive privatim, sive publice.

7to. Quod vero spectat ad eos qui vivunt in communitate, ut, e.g., in Conventibus et Monasteriis, in Collegiis et Seminariis ecclesiasticis, Communionem Paschalem tam ipsi quam eorum famuli, in propriis sacellis aut ecclesiis sumere possunt.

8to. In singulis Ecclesiis paroecialibus Sabbato Sancto benedicendi sunt fontes baptismales secundum ritum in Missali Romano praescriptum.

9to. Vetera Olea ad eos benedicendos adhibenda non sunt; quare omnibus cavendum est, ut nova olea die antecedente, ad eum finem petant. Olea vero sacra a laicis deferenda non sunt, sed a Sacerdotibus, a quibus etiam diligenter in loco tuto et clavo obserrato semper custodienda sunt.

10to. Si qua in Ecclesia plures sacerdotes ad sacras caeremonias peragendas haberi non possint, et unicus tantum adsit, servari debet, in hac hebdomada sancta Caeremoniale editum jussu Benedicti XIII., pro minoribus ecclesiis, quod nuper in hac urbe in lucem prodiit ex typographia Domini Jacobi Duffy.

11mo. Organa quae pulsantur dum cantatur Gloria in excelsis in Missa Feriae Quintae in Coena Domini, silere postea debent donec initium fiat ejusdem hymni angelici in Missa Sabbati Sancti.

12mo. Campana silere eodem temporis spatio omnino debent.

Cacterum, omnes Parochos et Ecclesiarum Regularium Superiores in Domino rogamus ut, ea quae hic praescripta sunt, quam accuratissime observari curent, atque eo zelo quo pro gloria Dei et disciplinae ecclesiasticae observantia flagrant, operam diligentissime navent, ut non solum in hac Sacra Hebdomada, verum etiam per totius anni curriculum, omnes sacrae caeremoniae et ritus ab ecclesia sanciti, ea quae convenit dignitate et decore, qui domum Dei decet, peragentur.

Dat. Dublini, Die 5 Aprilis, 1857.

✠ PAULUS CULLEN.

FOURTH QUESTION.

Are the Clergy bound to communicate on Holy Thursday? It is stated in the Directory (FERIA V. in *coena Domini*, page 28), "Fit de praecepto Communio generalis cleri," and we are referred to a decree of the Congregation of Rites relating to this subject.

The decree to which reference is made in the question, and which is quoted at length as a foot note in the Directory is as follows:—"Quum ex rubrica feriae quintae in Coena Domini, pateat omnes de clero, dicto die, communionem sumere debere de manu celebrantis, nihilominus nonnulli sacerdotes non dubitant asserere haec dicta esse ob merum consilium, non vero de praecepto; hinc quaeritur an revera omnes de clero inservientes Missae pontificali et praesertim sacerdotes diaconi et subdiaconi Sacrorum Oleorum consecrationi adstantes teneantur Sacram communionem sumere de manu celebrantis?

"S.R.C. rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*, seu jam provissum per Decretum Generale diei 12 Sept. 1716; et dentur decreta in Seguntina 19 Sept. 1654, et 19 Mart. 1675.

23 Sept. 1837. in Mutinen."

Now the general decree of the 12 Sept., 1716 is one which makes provision for the occurrence of the Feast of the Annunciation on Holy Thursday, and in which all are reminded that the "antiquus mos communionis cleri in *Missae solenni* ejus diei, quo Ecclesia SS. Eucharistiae Sacramenti institutionem et memoriam recolit, summa religione hactenus observatus, *nullo modo omittatur*. The decree of the 19th of September, 1654, in *Seguntina* orders, "omnino servandum esse Caeremoniale Episcoporum et pro ejusdem observantia posse ab episcopo cogi Canonicos et alios quoscunque *de gremio Ecclesiae*." The Sacred Congregation decided on the 15th Sept., 1657, in *Seguntina*. "Sacerdotes qui non sunt de gremio Ecclesiae cathedralis, vocatos tamen ad ministrandum in consecratione sacrorum oleorum, Feria

V. in Coena Domini teneri Sacram Eucharistiam accipere e manu Episcopi celebrantis."

There remains one other decree to which it is of importance to refer. It decides "servandam esse regulam praescriptam in libro Caeremoniali . . ut scilicet Feria V. in Coena Domini . . omnes presbyteri, tam Dignitates quam Canonici et mansionarii communionem sumant de manu Episcopi vel alterius celebrantis." 27. Sept., 1608, in *Civitate*.

It obviously follows from these decrees that some at least of the clergy are bound to communicate on Holy Thursday. This obligation extends

1° To the priests, deacons, and subdeacons who assist the Bishop in the ceremony of consecrating the Holy Oils.¹

2° To the clergy who are present at the Solemn Mass, and are attached to the church (*ecclesiae adscripti*) in which the Mass is celebrated.² Those are said to be "*ecclesiae adscripti*" who are appointed by the competent authority, by which is meant in our country the Bishop, to administer Sacraments, to preach and to exercise the other pastoral functions *in the church*.³ Hence *parish priests and their coadjutors* are "*ecclesiae adscripti*."

3° The clergy not attached to the church in this sense are not, in the opinion of De Herdt (*Sac. Liturg. Praxis*. Tom. iii. 36) included in this obligation, unless they are among the priests, deacons, or subdeacons assisting at the consecration of the Holy Oils.

FIFTH QUESTION.

1. Is the 9th lesson of the Tenebræ Matins to be read by the celebrant or presiding priest?

2. If he reads it, do all in choir stand during the reading?

3. Where does he read it? Is it at the desk in the middle of the choir, or at his place in choir?

1. In Solemn Matins the celebrant ought to read the ninth Lesson. This is clearly ordered in the *Caer. Epis.* (Lib. ii., cap. v., n. 9) for the Bishop, and, in the absence of the Bishop, for him who presides at the office (Lib. ii., cap. vi., n. 18.)

But the rubric of the *Caer. Epis.* which refers to the Lessons of the Tenebræ office is very different. It does not direct the celebrant to say the ninth Lesson; nay more, it assigns to others the reading of the Lessons without any exception. "*Lectiones secundi et tertii nocturni cantant vel ipsi cantores, vel canonici pro more ecclesiarum incipiendo a junioribus, singuli singulas*" (Lib. ii., cap. xxii., 10).

¹ DE HERDT. *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*. Tom. iii., n. 227. ² *Ibid.*

³ DE HERDT. *Sac. Liturg. Praxis*. Tom. ii., n. 277.

Upon this passage De Herdt (Prax. Pontif.) remarks:—
 “Episcopus igitur *non cantat nonam lectionem*, sed omnes, ut hic dicitur, cantant cantores vel canonici.”

Accordingly we find it to be the common opinion of rubricists that the priest presiding does *not* read the ninth Lesson of the Tenebrae Matins.

Martinucci writes:—“Caeremoniarius invitabit secundae lamentationis cantorem, et prorsus ut in prima omnia peragantur, *idque observabitur* in tertia et in lectionibus secundi et tertii nocturni.”

“Celebrans non dicit ultimam (lectionem),” says Bauldry, who, however, points to two cases of exception, “nisi sint pauci clerici aut alia sit consuetudo (Pars. iii., c. viii., n. 17).

Accordingly, in reply to the question, we say—

The celebrant does not read the ninth Lesson of the Tenebrae unless there exists a custom of doing so in the church, or unless there are present only a few clerics.

2. If the celebrant read the 9th lesson, do all in choir stand during the reading?

The Caer. Epis. expressly orders all to stand while the Bishop is reading the 9th Lesson in the Solemn Matins (Lib. ii., cap. v., n. 9). But there is no such direction when it describes the reading of the 9th Lesson *even in Solemn Matins* by one who is *not* a Bishop.

Hence, De Herdt (Prax. Pontif. Tom. III., n. 68) writes, “Ad nonam lectionem, si sit homilia, certum est omnibus standum esse, sub textu evangelii: extra hunc casum S. R. Cong. (15 Feb. et 24 May, 1659) declaravit omnibus sedendum esse sub nona lectione quam cantat officium faciens: auctores autem dicunt pro celebrantis reverentia omnibus standum esse. Caeremoniale vero hoc tantum praescribit in matutinis pontificalibus. Sed quidquid sit, dicendum *omnibus sedendum esse*, nisi *adsit consuetudo surgendi, aut officium solemniter cantetur.*”

Rubricists commonly direct all to stand while the celebrant is reading the 9th Lesson, *propter reverentiam ejus*, but as the writer in the *Revue Theologique* remarks, they always suppose the celebrant to be “paratus”—vested in cope. Now, the cope is not worn at Tenebrae, and we can find no rubricist who, when explaining the ceremony of Tenebrae, states that all should rise with the celebrant at the 9th Lesson.

It seems, then, to be more correct that those in choir should not rise with the celebrant should he read the 9th

Lesson at Tenebræ, unless there is an established custom to the contrary.

3. Where does he read it? Is it at the desk in the middle of the choir, or at his place in choir?

The Cæremoniale (Lib. ii., cap. xxii., n. 4) directs the chanters and canons who read the lamentations and lessons to come to the desk, which is prepared "in the middle of the choir or in its usual place." When the celebrant reads a lesson, his usual place is at his seat in choir, and if the custom exists of assigning the 9th lesson to the celebrant, we think he may recite it from his usual place, more particularly as the Cæremoniale speaks of reading "ad locum consuetum."

On this question we are, then, of opinion:—

1°. That the celebrant ought not to read the 9th Lesson of the Tenebræ Matins, unless there exists the custom of doing so in the church, or unless there are present only a few clerics.

2°. That, in case the celebrant reads the 9th Lesson at the Tenebræ, those in choir should not rise at the time unless there is a custom to the contrary.

3°. That the celebrant, if he reads the 9th Lesson, may stand, when reading it, in his usual choir place.

SIXTH QUESTION.

Do the Hebrew letters which are prefixed to the different paragraphs of the Lamentations form part of the Divine Office? The doubt is suggested by seeing these words printed in italics, that is, in the same type as the rubrics, in the Dublin edition of the Breviary, printed by Coyne, 1844.

The Hebrew letters form part of the Divine Office. This is supposed by all rubricists. Some make special mention of the fact, as CATALANI (*in Cærem. Episp.* lib. ii., cap. 22. n. 10), FORNICI (*Instit. liturg.* page 293), BOUVRY (*Tom.* 1, p. ii., sec. iv., art. iv., 4. *note*), and many others; while no one calls it in doubt. The "Directorium Chori" puts the matter beyond the region of discussion, by setting the words to music to be sung as part of the Office. These letters are also prefixed to the Lamentations as printed in the Vulgate.

Fornici explains how and why these Hebrew letters come to hold this place. In the original Hebrew the first word of each verse, which corresponds to the Latin paragraph, begins with the successive letters of the alphabet, that is to say, the first word of the first verse begins with *Aleph*, the first word of the second verse with *Beth*, the

first word of the third verse with *Gimel*, and so on in succession. Sometimes, as in the third chapter, three verses in succession begin with the same letter, observing throughout the order of the alphabet. In each chapter there are twenty-two verses to correspond with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, except the third, in which there are sixty-six verses, because each letter is repeated in three verses. Fornici also tells us that the Jews were wont to have recourse to this literary artifice in canticles which were expressive of great joy or grief. And it is with the view of marking this peculiarity of the original text, and indicating by a somewhat similar device to that of the Jews, the sorrowful subject to which the Lamentations of Jeremias are applied, that the Church inserts in the Latin translation the Hebrew letters in alphabetical order before each verse or paragraph.

The Dublin Breviary prints the words incorrectly, but it is not the only edition of the Breviary that does so. They are similarly printed in Tours edition of 1858, and are actually all in *red* type in the large quarto Turin edition of 1844. In the Mechlin edition of 1858 they are printed correctly, in the same type as the text of the Lamentations.

R. B.

The inquiry of our respected subscriber, as to whether he was under an obligation of saying Mass "*pro populo*" on the transferred Feast of St. Andrew, reached us as we were going to Press with our Supplemental Number. We shall gladly give his letter and our reply in the ordinary April Number of the Record.

We regret that other inquiries also regarding the Liturgy of Holy Week came to us too late for an answer in this Number.

DOCUMENTS.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII. EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS
PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS
CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOS-
TOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIB ET
EPISCOPIB UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM
CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.—
Inscrutabili Dei consilio ad Apostolicae Dignitatis fastigium licet
immerentes erecti, vehementi statim desiderio ac veluti necessitate
urgere Nos sensimus, Vos litteris alloquendi, non modo ut sensus
intimae dilectionis Nostrae Vobis expromeremus, sed etiam ut Vos in
partem sollicitudinis Nostrae vocatos, ad sustinendam Nobiscum horum

temporum dimicationem pro Ecclesia Dei et pro salute animarum, ex munere Nobis divinitus credito confirmaremus.

Ab ipsis enim Nostri Pontificatus exordiis tristis Nobis sese offert conspectus malorum quibus hominum genus undique premitur : haec tam late patens subversio supremarum veritatum quibus, tamquam fundamentis, humanae societatis status continetur ; haec ingeniorum protervia legitimae cuiusque potestatis impatiens ; haec perpetua dissidiorum causa, unde intestinae concertationes, saeva et cruenta bella existunt ; contemptus legum quae mores regunt iustitiamque tuentur ; fluxarum rerum inexplabilis cupiditas et aeternarum oblivio usque ad vesanum illum furorem, quo tot miseri passim violentas sibi manus inferre non timent ; inconsulta bonorum publicorum administratio, effusio, intervorsio ; nec non eorum impudentia qui, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut patriae ut libertatis et cuiuslibet iuris propugnatores esse videntur ; ea denique quae serpit per artus intimos humanae societatis lethifera quaedam pestis, quae eam quiescere non sinit, ipsique novas rerum conversiones et calamitosos exitus portendit.

Horum autem malorum causam in eo praecipue sitam esse Nobis persuasum est, quod despecta ac reiecta sit sancta illa et augustissima Ecclesiae Auctoritas, quae Dei nomine humano generi praest, et legitimae cuiusque auctoritatis vindex est et praesidium. Quod cum hostes publici ordinis probe noverint, nihil aptius ad societatis fundamenta convellenda putaverunt, quam si Ecclesiam Dei pertinaci aggressionem peterent, et probrosis calumniis in invidiam odiumque vocantes quasi ipsa civili veri nominis humanitati adversaretur, eius auctoritatem et vim novis in dies vulneribus labefactarent, supremamque potestatem Romani Pontificis everterent, in quo aeternae ac immutabiles boni rectique rationes custodem in terris habent et adsertorem. Hinc porro profectae sunt leges divinae Catholicae Ecclesiae constitutionem convellentes, quas in plerisque regionibus latas esse deploramus ; hinc dimanarunt Episcopalis potestatis contemptus, obiecta ecclesiastici Ministerii exercitio impedimenta, religiosorum coetuum disiectio, ac publicatio bonorum, quibus Ecclesiae administri et pauperes alebantur ; hinc effectum ut salutari Ecclesiae moderamine publica instituta, caritati et beneficentiae consecrata, subducerentur ; hinc orta effrenis illa libertas prava quaeque docendi et in vulgus edendi, dum ex adverso modis omnibus Ecclesiae ius ad iuventutis institutionem et educationem, violatur et opprimitur. Neque alio spectat civilis Principatus occupatio, quem divina Providentia multis abhinc saeculis Romano Antistiti concessit, ut libere ac expedite potestate a Christo collata, ad aeternam populorum salutem uteretur.

Funestam hanc aerumnarum molem Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, commemoravimus, non ad augendam tristitiam Vestram, quam miserrima haec rerum conditio per se Vobis ingerit ; sed quia intelligimus ex ea Vobis apprimè perspectum fore, quanta sit gravitas rerum quae ministerium et zelum nostrum exposcunt, et quam magno studio nobis adlaborandum sit, ut Ecclesiam Christi et huius Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem, tot calumniis lacessitam, in hac praesertim iniquitate temporum pro viribus defendamus ac vindicemus.

Clare innotescit ac liquet, Venerabiles Fratres, civilis humanitatis rationem solidis fundamentis destitui, nisi aeternis principiis veritatis et immutabilibus recti iustique legibus innitatur, ac nisi hominum voluntates inter se sincera dilectio devinciat, officiorumque inter eos vices ac rationes suaviter moderetur. Iamvero equis negare audeat Ecclesiam esse, quae diffuso per gentes Evangelii praeconio, lucem veritatis inter efferatos populos et foedis superstitionibus imbutos adduxit, eosque ad divinum rerum auctorem agnoscendum et sese respiciendos excitavit ;

quae servitutis calamitate sublata, ad pristinam naturae nobilissimae dignitatem homines revocavit; quae in omnibus terrae plagis redemptionis signo explicato, scientiis et artibus adductis aut suo tectis praesidio, optimis caritatis institutis, quibus omnis generis aerumnis consultum est, fundatis et in tutelam receptis, ubique hominum genus privatim et publice excoluit, a squalore vindicavit et ad vitae formam, humanae dignitati ac spei consentaneam, omni studio composuit? Quod si quis sanae mentis hanc ipsam qua vivimus aetatem, Religioni et Ecclesiae Christi infensissimam, cum iis temporibus auspicatissimis conferat, quibus Ecclesia uti mater a gentibus colebatur, omnino comperiet aetatem hanc nostram perturbationibus et demolitionibus plenam, recte ac rapide in suam perniciem ruere; ea vero tempora optimis institutis, vitae tranquillitate, opibus et prosperitate eo magis floruisse, quo Ecclesiae regiminis ac legum sese observantiores populi exhibuerunt. Quod si plurima ea quae memoravimus bona, ab Ecclesiae ministerio et salutari ope perfecta, vera sunt humanitatis civilis opera ac decora, tantum abest ut Ecclesia Christi ab ea abhorreat eamve respuat, ut ad sese potius altricis magistrae et matris eius laudem omnino censeat pertinere.

Quin immo illud civilis humanitatis genus, quod sanctis Ecclesiae doctrinis et legibus ex adverso repugnet, non aliud nisi civilis cultus figmentum et abs re nomen inane putandum est. Cuius rei manifesto sunt argumento populi illi, quibus evangelica lux non affulsit, quorum in vita fucus quidam humanioris cultus conspici potuit, at solida et vera eius bona non viguerunt. Haudquaquam sane civilis vitae perfectio ea ducenda est, qua legitima quaeque potestas audacter contemnitur; neque ea libertas reputanda, quae effreni errorum propagatione, pravis cupiditatibus libere explendis, impunitate flagitiorum et scelerum, oppressione optimorum civium cuiusque ordinis, turpiter et misere grassatur. Cum enim erronea, prava et absona haec sint, non eam vim profecto habent, ut humanam familiam perficiant et prosperitate fortunent, *miseros enim facit populos peccatum* (*Prov. xiv., 34*); sed omnino necesse est, ut mentibus et cordibus corruptis, ipsa in omnem labem pondere suo populos detrudent, rectum quemque ordinem labefactent, atque ita reipublicae conditionem et tranquillitatem serius ocuis ad ultimum exitum adducant.

Quid autem, si Romani Pontificatus opera spectentur, iniquius esse potest, quam inficari quantopere Romani Antistites de universo civili societate et quam egregie sint meriti? Profecto Decessores Nostri, ut populorum bono prospicerent, omnis generis certamina suscipere, graves exantlare labores, seque asperis difficultatibus obicere nunquam dubitarunt: et defixis in coelo oculis neque improborum minis submisere frontem, neque blanditiis aut pollicitationibus se ab officio abduci degeneri assensu passi sunt. Fuit haec Apostolica Sedes, quae dilapsae societatis veteris reliquias collegit et coagmentavit; haec eadem fax amica fuit, qua humanitas christianorum temporum effulsit; fuit haec salutis anchora inter saevissimas tempestates, quibus humana progenies iactata est; sacrum fuit concordiae vinculum quod nationes dissitas moribusque diversas inter se consociavit: centrum denique commune fuit, unde cum fidei et religionis doctrina, tum pacis et rerum gerendarum auspicia ac consilia petebantur. Quid multa? Pontificum Maximorum laus est, quod constantissime se pro muro et propugnaculo obiecerint, ne humana societas in superstitionem et barbariem antiquam relaberetur.

Utinam autem salutaris haec auctoritas neglecta nunquam esset vel repudiata! Profecto neque civilis Principatus augustum et sacrum illud amisisset decus, quod a religione inditum praefererat, quodque unum parendi conditionem homine dignam nobilemque efficit; neque

exarissent tot seditiones et bella, quae calamitatibus et caedibus terras funestarunt: neque regna olim florentissima, e prosperitatis culmine deiecta, omnium aerumnarum pondere premerentur. Cuius rei exemplo etiam sunt Orientales populi, qui abruptis suavissimis vinculis, quibus cum Apostolica hac Sede iungebantur, primaevae nobilitatis splendorem, scientiarum et artium laudem, atque imperii sui dignitatem amiserunt.

Praeclara autem beneficia, quae in quamlibet terrae plagam ab Apostolica Sede profecta esse illustria omnium temporum monumenta declarant, potissimum persensit Italia haec regio, quae quanto eidem propinquior loci natura extitit, tanto uberiores fructus ab ea precepit. Romanis certe Pontificibus Italiam acceptam referre debet solidam gloriam et amplitudinem, qua reliquas inter gentes eminuit. Ipsorum auctoritas paternumque studium non semel eam ab hostium impetu texit, eidemque levamen et opem attulit, ut catholica fides nullo non tempore in Italorum cordibus integra custodiretur.

Huiusmodi Praedecessorum Nostrorum merita, ut caetera praetereamus, maxime testatur memoria temporum S. Leonis Magni, Alexandri III., Innocenti III., S. Pii V., Leonis X. aliorumque Pontificum, quorum opera vel auspiciis ab extremo excidio, quod a barbaris impendebat, Italia sospes evasit, incorruptam retinuit antiquam fidem, atque inter tenebras squaloremque rudioris aevi scientiarum lumen et splendorem artium aluit, vigentemque servavit. Testatur Nostra haec alma Urbs Pontificum Sedes, quae hunc ex iis fructum maximum cepit, ut non solum arx fidei munitissima esset, sed etiam bonarum artium asyllum et domicilium sapientiae effecta, totius orbis erga se admirationem et observantiam conciliaret. Cum harum rerum amplitudo ad aeternam memoriam monumentis historiae sit tradita, facili negotio intelligitur non potuisse nisi per hostilem voluntatem indignamque calumniam, ad hominum deceptionem, voce ac litteris obtrudi, hanc Apostolicam Sedem civili populorum cultui et Italiae felicitati impedimento esse.

Si igitur spes omnes Italiae Orbisque universi in ea vi communi utilitati et bono saluberrima, qua Sedis Apostolicae pollet auctoritas, et in artissimo nexu sunt positae, qui omnes Christi fideles cum Romano Pontifice devinciat, nihil Nobis potius esse debere cognoscimus, quam ut Romanae Cathedrae suam dignitatem sartam tectamque servemus, et membrorum cum Capite, filiorum cum Patre coniunctionem magis magisque firmemus.

Quapropter ut in primis, eo quo possumus modo, iura libertatemque huius Sanctae Sedis adseramus, contendere nunquam desinemus, ut auctoritati Nostrae suum constet obsequium, ut obstacula amoveantur, quae plenam ministerii Nostri potestatisque libertatem impediunt, atque in eam rerum conditionem restituamur, in qua divinae Sapientiae consilium Romanos Antistites iampridem collocaverat. Ad hanc vero restitutionem postulandam movemur, Venerabiles Fratres, non ambitionis studio aut dominationis cupiditate: sed officii Nostri ratione et religiosis iurisiurandi vinculis quibus obstringimur; ac praeterea non solum ex eo quod principatus hic ad plenam libertatem spiritualis potestatis tuendam conservandamque est necessarius; sed etiam quod exploratissimum est, cum de temporali Principatu Sedis Apostolicae agitur, publici etiam boni et salutis totius humanae societatis causam agitari. Hinc praeternittere non possumus, quin pro officii Nostri munere, quo Sanctae Ecclesiae iura tueri tenemur, declarationes et protestationes omnes, quas. sa. me. Pius IX. Decessor Noster tum adversus occupationem civilis Principatus, tum adversus violationem iurium ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinentium pluries edidit ac iteravit, easdem et Nos hisce Nostris litteris omnino renovemus et confirmemus. Simul autem ad

Principes et supremos populorum Moderatores voces Nostras convertimus, eosque per nomen augustum Summi Dei etiam atque etiam obtestamur, ne oblatam sibi tam necessario tempore opem Ecclesiae repudiant, atque uti consentientibus studiis circa hunc fontem auctoritatis et salutis amice coeant, Eique intimi amoris et observantiae vinculis magis magisque iungantur. Faxit Deus, ut illi, comperta eorum quae diximus veritate, ac secum reputantes doctrinam Christi, ut Augustinus aiebat, *ma nam, si obtemperetur, salutem esse reipublicae*¹ et in Ecclesiae incolumitate et obsequio suam etiam ac publicam incolumitatem et tranquillitatem contineri, cogitationes suas et curas conferant ad levanda mala, quibus Ecclesia eiusque visibile Caput affligitur, atque ita tandem contingat, ut populi quibus praesunt, iustitiae et pacis ingressi viam, felici aevo prosperitatis et gloria fruantur.

Deinde autem ut totius catholici gregis cum supremo Pastore concordia firmior in dies adseratur, Vos hoc loco peculiari cum affectu appellamus, Venerabiles Fratres, et vehementer hortamur, ut pro sacerdotali zelo et pastoralis vigilantia Vestra fideles Vobis creditos religionis amore incendatis, quo propius et arctius huic Cathedrae veritatis et iustitiae adhaereant, omnes eius doctrinas intimo mentis et voluntatis assensu suscipiant; opiniones vero etiam vulgatissimas, quas Ecclesiae documentis oppositas noverint omnino reiiciant. Qua in re Romani Pontifices Decessores Nostri, ac demum sa. me. Pius IX., praesertim in oecumenico Vaticano Concilio prae oculis habentes verba Pauli: “*Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi et non secundum Christum,*”² haud praetermiserunt, quoties opus fuit, grassantes errores reprobare et apostolica censura confodere. Has condemnationes omnes, Decessorum Nostrorum vestigia sectantes, Nos ex hac Apostolica veritatis Sede confirmamus ac iteramus, simulque Patrem luminum enixe rogamus, ut fideles omnes perfecti in eodem sensu eademque sententia idem Nobiscum sapiant, idemque loquantur. Vestri autem muneris est, Venerabiles Fratres, sedulam impendere curam, ut caelestium doctrinarum semen late per Dominicum agrum diffundatur et catholicae fidei documenta fidelium animis mature inserantur, altas in eis radices agant et ab errorum contagione incorrupta serventur. Quo validius contendunt religionis hostes imperitis hominibus, ac iuvenibus praesertim, ea discenda proponere quae mentes obnubilent moresque corrumpant, eo alacrius adnitendum est, ut non solum apta ac solida institutionis methodus, sed maxime institutio ipsa catholicae fidei omnino conformis in litteris et disciplinis vigeat, praesertim autem in philosophia, ex qua recta aliarum scientiarum ratio magna ex parte dependet; quaeque non ad evertendam divinam revelationem spectat, sed ad ipsam potius sternere viam gaudet ipsamque ab impugnatoribus defendere, quemadmodum nos exemplo scriptisque suis Magnus Augustinus et Angelicus Doctor, caeterique christianae sapientiae Magistri docuerunt.

Optima porro iuventutis disciplina ad verae fidei et religionis munimen atque ad morum integritatem a teneris annis exordium habeat necesse est in ipsa domestica societate; quae nostris hisce temporibus misere perturbata, in suam dignitatem restitui nullo modo potest nisi iis legibus, quibus in Ecclesia ab ipsomet divino Auctore est instituta. Qui cum matrimonii foedus, in quo suam cum Ecclesia coniunctionem significatam voluit, ad Sacramenti dignitatem evexerit, non modo maritalem unionem sanctiorem effecit, sed etiam efficacissima tum parentibus tum proli paravit auxilia, quibus, per mutuorum officiorum observantiam, temporalem ac aeternam felicitatem facilius assequerentur. At

¹ Ep. 138. alias 5. ad Marcellinum n. 15.

² Ad Coloss. 2, 8.

vero postquam impiae leges, Sacramenti huius magni religionem nil pensi habentes, illud eodem ordine cum contractibus mere civilibus habuerunt, id misere consecutum est, ut violata christiani coniugii dignitate, cives legali concubinatu pro nuptiis uterentur, coniuges fidei mutuae officia negligerent, obedientiam et obsequium nati parentibus detrectarent, domesticae charitatis vincula laxarentur, et, quod deterrimi exempli est publicisque moribus infensissimum, persaepe malesano amoris perniciosae ac funestae discessiones succederent. Haec sane misera et luctuosa non possunt, Venerabiles Fratres, vestrum zelum non excitare ac movere ad fideles vigilantiae vestrae concreditos sedulo instanterque monendos, ut dociles aures doctrinis adhibeant quae christiani coniugii sanctitatem respiciunt, ac pareant legibus quibus Ecclesia coniugum natorumque officia moderatur.

Tum vero illud optatissimum consequetur, quod singulorum etiam hominum mores et vitae ratio reformentur: nam veluti ex corrupto stipite deteriores rami et fructus infelices germinant, sic mala labes, quae familias depravat, in singulorum civium noxam et vitium tristi contagione redundat. Contra vero, domestica societate ad christianae vitae formam composita, singula membra sensim assuescent religionem pietatemque diligere, a falsis perniciosisque doctrinis abhorre, sectari virtutem, maioribus obsequi, atque inexhaustum illud privatae dumtaxat utilitatis studium coercere, quod humanam naturam tantopere deprimit ac enervat. In quem finem non parum profecto conferet pias illas consoactiones moderari et provehere, quae magno rei catholicae bono nostra maxime hac aetate constitutae sunt.

Grandia quidem et humanis maiora viribus haec sunt, quae spe et votis Nostris complectimur, Venerabiles Fratres; sed cum Deus sanabiles fecerit nationes orbis terrarum, cum Ecclesiam ad salutem gentium condiderit, eique suo se auxilio adfuturum usque ad consummationem saeculi promiserit, firmiter confidimus, adlaborantibus Vobis, humanum genus tot malis et calamitatibus admonitum, tandem in Ecclesiae obsequio, in huius Apostolicae Cathedrae infallibili magisterio salutem et prosperitatem quaesiturum.

Interea, Venerabiles Fratres, antequam finem scribendi faciamus, necesse est ut Vobis declarem gratulationem Nostram pro mira illa consensione et concordia, quae animos Vestros inter Vos et cum hac Apostolica Sede in unum coniungit. Quam quidem perfectam coniunctionem non modo inexpugnabile propugnaculum esse contra impetus hostium arbitramur; sed etiam faustum ac felix omen quod meliora tempora Ecclesiae spondet; ac dum eadem maximum solatium affert infirmitati Nostrae, etiam animum opportune erigit, ut in arduo, quod suscepimus, munere omnes labores, omnia certamina pro Ecclesia Dei alacriter sustineamus.

Ab hisce porro spei et gratulationis causis, quas Vobis patefecimus, seiungere non possumus eas significationes amoris et obsequii, quas in his Nostri Pontificatus exordiis Vos, Venerabiles Fratres, et una cum Vobis exhibuere humilitati Nostrae ecclesiastici viri et fideles quamplurimi, qui litteris missis, largitionibus collatis, pergrinationibus etiam peractis, nec non aliis pietatis officiis, ostenderunt devotionem et charitatem illam, qua meritissimum Praedecessorem Nostrum prosecuti fuere, adeo firmam stabilem integramque manere, ut in persona tam imparis non tepescat heredis. Pro hisce splendidissimis catholicae pietatis testimoniis humiliter confitemur Domino quia bonus et benignus est, ac Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque Dilectis Filiis, a quibus ea accepimus, gratissimos animi Nostri sensus ex intimo corde publice profiteamur, plenam fidentes fiduciam nunquam defuturum Nobis, in his rerum

angustiis et temporum difficultatibus, hoc Vestrum ac fidelium studium et dilectionem. Nec vero dubitamus quin egregia haec filialis pietatis et christianae virtutis exempla plurimum sint valitura, ut Deus clementissimus, officiis hisce permotus, gregem suum propitius respiciat et Ecclesiae pacem ac victoriam largiatur. Quoniam autem hanc pacem et victoriam, ocius et facilius Nobis datum iri confidimus si vota precesque constanter ad eam impetrandam fideles effuderint, Vos magnopere hortamur, Venerabiles Fratres, ut in hanc rem fidelium studia et fervorem excitetis, conciliatrice apud Deum adhibita Immaculata Coelorum Regina, ac deprecatoribus interpositis Sancto Iosepho Patrono Ecclesiae caelestis, sanctisque Apostolorum Principibus Petro et Paulo, quorum omnium potenti patrocinio humilitatem Nostram, cunctos ecclesiasticae hierarchiae ordines ac dominicum gregem universum supplices commendamus.

Caeterum hos dies, quibus solemnem memoriam Iesu Christi resurgentis recolimus, Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres et universo dominico gregi faustos salutare ac sancto gaudio plenos esse exoptamus, adprecantes benignissimum Deum ut Sanguine immaculati Agni, quo deletum est chirographum quod adversus nos erat, culpa quas contraximus deleantur, et iudicium quod pro illis ferimus clementer relaxetur.

Gratia Domini Nostri Iesu Christi et charitatis Dei et communicatio sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis, Venerabiles Fratres; quibus singulis universis, nec non et Dilectis Filiis Clero et fidelibus Ecclesiarum Vestrarum in pignus principuae benevolentiae et in auspicium caelestis praesidii Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die sollemni Paschae, XXI Aprilis, Anno MDCCCLXXVIII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo

LEO PP. XIII.

INDULT OF HIS HOLINESS GREGORY XVI. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, REGARDING THE CEREMONIES OF HOLY WEEK IN CONVENT CHAPELS.

Multis ab hinc annis usus invaluit apud Sanctimoniales tum Ordinis Carmelitarum, tum Visitationis B. M. Virginis Dioecesis Baltimorensis, ut in illarum Oratoriis Triduo majoris Hebdomadae Missa lecta celebretur. Quod advertens Magister Caeremoniarum Metropol. Ecclesiae Baltimor. factum contra Rubricarum dispositionem quidem, sed ex vera necessitate ob defectum cleri et clericorum qui desiderantur, de consensu immo annuente ipso Revmo. Archiepiscopo, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi exposuit, ac humillime supplicavit, ut quousque praedictis in Oratoriis eodem Triduo pro Functionibus peragendis servari nequeat dispositio Memorialis Rituum Benedicti Papae XIII. typis editi, benigne concedatur alicui Sacerdoti, quem Revmus. Archiepiscopus designaverit, Sacrum privatim facere praedicto in Triduo iisdem in Oratoriis, quod Indultum extendi etiam valeat ad Oratoria Puellarum Charitatis in eadem Archidioecesi commorantium. S. R. Cong. censuit. "Ad Dominum Secretarium cum Sanctissimo."

Super quibus omnibus facta postmodum SS. Domino Nostro Gregorio Papae XVI. fidei relatione, Sanctitas Sua, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis, summaque pietate ac religione ipsarum Sanctimonialium, de speciali gratia benigne annuit juxta petita, quod Indultum duraturum edixit solum quousque illae functiones peragi nequeunt juxta dispositum supradicti Memorialis Rituum, et pro iis tantum Asceteriis quorum Sanctimoniales extra Clastra non pergunt. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. 7 Sept., 1838

GARDELLINI, No. 4691.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Pilgrim's May-Wreath, interwoven with sweet Memories of our Forefathers' devotion to the Mother of Jesus and our Mother.
By REV. F. THADDEUS, O.S.F. London: Burns and Oates.
1880.

THIS charming little book comes to us at a seasonable time, and with very strong recommendations. It has received the Imprimatur of his Grace the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, as well as the approbation of the Bishop of Salford and of the Provincial of the Franciscans, Fr. Victorinus Cartuyvels. Its special object is thus briefly stated by the author in his address to the pious reader:—"Although several manuals of devotion for the month of May have been published in English, it has frequently occurred to me that in this line something was still wanting—namely, a thoroughly English Month of Mary. I felt sure that, by proposing examples and giving illustrations of native piety, the minds of the people would be more deeply impressed, and the devotion to the Holy Mother of God would be, as it were, brought home to them. For the visits I have selected some ancient places of pilgrimage, and some conspicuous churches or chapels built in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose very foundation was due to a miracle, or connected with some wonderful occurrence, wherein the Mother of God intervenes. These visits are followed by short meditations on the virtues of Mary, and by examples taken from reliable sources." These visits to ancient places of pilgrimage, and these examples and manifestations of the power that Mary exercises, and of the love she shows towards her devoted clients, make the book very interesting and very devotional.

"Though every example be not perfectly authenticated from not having undergone a canonical examination," says the learned Bishop of Salford in giving his cordial approbation to the *Pilgrim's May-Wreath*, "the interest in the mere human testimony as to Mary's love and power must always be very great." "I trust," he adds, "that this little book, which might be called 'England's Month of Mary,' will be widely circulated and largely blessed."

The national character of the book will make it more acceptable to English than to Irish readers, but the tender devotion to our Blessed Lady which breathes through every page will recommend it to all her English speaking children as very appropriate reading during the coming month of Mary.

Pietas Mariana Britannica. A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Marye Mother of God, with a Catalogue of Shrines, Sanctuaries. Offerings, Bequests, and other Memorials of the Piety of our Forefathers. By EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A., Knight of the Order of Christ, Rome. London: St. Joseph's Catholic Library, 48, South-street, Grosvenor-square.
1879.

No one can take up this book and fail to be deeply interested in its varied and most valuable contents. It contains, as the title indicates, two parts. In the first part (comprising 265 pages) we have the history of English devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and in the second (consisting of 320 pages) we find a full catalogue of the most celebrated

shrines, sanctuaries. &c., dedicated to her honor both in England and Ireland. This second part is reprinted from the *Month and Catholic Review*. The whole work is the fruit of much patient and devoted research. "In 1852," the author writes in his preface, "I formed the idea of writing a book of popular devotion to our Ladye; . . . in the original design it had been intended that England should receive special but not exclusive attention, and for many years I continued to collect materials to illustrate the popular devotion of all Christian nations. It was only in 1870, at the suggestion of the learned Bollandist, Father Victor de Buck, whose loss we so much deplore, that I determined to set apart for a separate volume my notes on England and English sanctuaries, and from him I accepted the title as it now stands."

To Irish readers the chapter on "Our Blessed Ladye's Litanies" (p. 168, part i.) will be specially interesting. "But the Irish have a very ancient Litany of our Blessed Ladye, which is preserved in the Leabhar-Mor, now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy. Professor O'Curry believes this Litany to be as old at least as the middle of the eighth century. No earlier Litany of our Ladye seems to be known; therefore to the Island of Saints is due the glory of having composed the *first* Litany of their Immaculate Queen." Again, the account given in the second part (pp. 305-12) of the statues and images of the Blessed Virgin at Dame's Gate, and at St. Marye's Abbey, Dublin, at Drogheda, Kilcorbain, Limerick, Muckross (formerly Irrelagh), Navan, and Trim, will serve to show that in ancient as well as in modern times tender and childlike devotion to the Mother of God was a special feature of the piety of the Irish people. The most celebrated of the Irish images was the image of our Ladye of Trim. The author tells us that it shared the fate of the image of our Ladye of Walsingham. This serves to remind us of the exhaustive account—including the memorable visit of Erasmus in May, 1511—of this most celebrated of the English sanctuaries, which we find given with many curious particulars in the second part (pp. 155-220). But where all is so entertaining and so instructive, it is scarcely fair to direct special attention to particular events or to particular passages. We strongly recommend the *Pietas Mariana Britannica* as a book full both of instruction and of devotion.

IV. *The Miracle of the 16th September, 1877, at Lourdes.* Translated from the French of M. Henri Lasserre. By A LADY. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.)

WERE it not for M. Lasserre's name, this title page would not prepare us to find here so lively and entertaining a little work. But Henri Lasserre is now widely known, even outside France, as one of the most vigorous and interesting of French writers. Of late years he seems to have devoted his literary talents to the service of Our Lady of Lourdes, laying on her altar many offerings, from his magnificent illustrated folio on the history of the devotion, to miniature tomes like the present which chronicles one of the recent miracles. The circumstances preceding and attending it are very striking, and are charmingly narrated, with a grace of style of which very little is lost in the process of translation. The account of the late Curé of Lourdes, M. Peyramale, is extremely edifying.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1880.

LATITUDINARIAN CHRISTIANITY.

I.

"I commit my soul to the mercy of God, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; and I exhort my dear children humbly to try to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament, in its broad spirit, and to put no faith in any man's construction of its letter here or there."—*Extract from the Will of Charles Dickens, dated May 12th, 1869.*

OF the many dangers which have assailed the Church of Christ during the long centuries of her existence, not one, perhaps, has been more insidious in its action, or more fruitful of disastrous consequences, than the pet heresy of our own times, which, for want of a more expressive name, I must term *Latitudinarian Christianity*. For, the great heresies of the past, mostly, stood out in their true colours, so that they might be easily identified, and could not mislead any, save such as deliberately embraced them ; while, on the other hand, this darling error of the nineteenth century¹ assumes a false character, robes itself as an angel of light, and, under the alluring mask of universal charity and benevolence, deceives even the very best natures, gradually, but most effectively leading them to absolute indifference towards all positive forms of religious belief.

The main doctrine of this system is fairly set forth in the extract from the Will of Charles Dickens, which heads this paper, and its spirit breathes in every page written by

¹ By this we do not mean to assert that the system of which we write has sprung up, for the first time, within the present century ; we merely wish to draw attention to the fact that the nineteenth century has adopted it in a very special manner, and propagated it to an extent previously unknown.

that most charming and popular author, whose works are, otherwise, so justly entitled to the highest commendation. Its adherents indignantly repudiate the suspicion of religious indifferentism in the widest sense of that term, and insist on the necessity of professing some positive form of religious belief. Nor will they even place all such forms on a footing of absolute equality. They will not concede that it is a matter of indifference whether one follow Moses, or Confucius, or Christ. They will not, as was the fashion with the pro-Turkish organs of the English Press some two years ago, speak affectionately of the impure creed of Mahomet as "a sublime form of Unitarianism," entitled to the respect of all men. No: the professors of Latitudinarian Christianity will have none of this. They maintain that to ensure salvation *it is necessary to be a Christian*; but this they interpret to mean nothing more than assent to *a general belief in Christ*, united to the practice of those moral precepts of the New Testament which affect the relations of man towards society—foremost among these being reckoned the practice of universal benevolence. To all who hold fast by these two points, they would allow the most perfect freedom in accepting or rejecting particular tenets or articles of faith, provided always that such tenets be not pushed so far as to exclude from the terms of salvation Christians of whatsoever denomination, who profess a general belief in the Redemption. "For," say they, "since Charity is the vivifying principle of Christianity, it is impossible to regard as true Christians those who refuse to hold communion with such as differ from them merely in some particular points of belief."

It does not require very deep penetration to see that this system, if carried to its full logical development, must eventually lead to utter infidelity; and, indeed, so thin is the partition which divides them, that we may, without the least unfairness, put into the mouth of a Latitudinarian Christian the doctrine laid down in a recent number of a leading English periodical, by a writer of the Positivist school—"The progress of theology has not consisted in the intellectual discovery of *objective theological truth*; but, so to speak, in the emotional discovery of *subjective moral truth*, in the new awakening, age by age, of fresh individual response to the laws of social fellowship."¹

That such a system should commend itself to Protestants

¹ See *The Nineteenth Century*, December, 1879, p. 1018.

is nowise surprising, since it is but the natural growth of their doctrine of Private Judgment; but that any Catholics can be found so ignorant, or so heedless of the teachings of their faith, as to show it even the poor courtesy of toleration, seems almost to surpass belief. Yet, unfortunately, the subtle poison has become so widely diffused, that we not unfrequently find the formulæ of this creed quoted with approval even by many Catholics. "*I believe*," says one, "*that all religions are equally good in the sight of God, so long as a man lives well.*"—"I respect all religions alike," is the senseless prattle of another, who fancies he but gives expression to a fine, liberal sentiment, which cannot fail to win respect for himself. These formulæ are to be met with every day in the pages of our current literature, in the utterances of our public men, and in the broad-sheets of the penny Press which brings them under the notice of the million. They penetrate even into the sanctuary of our Catholic homes, and find harmonious expression in the drawing-room, where sympathy and applause greet the maudlin sentiment of a well-known melody of Moore, in which we are invited to—

leave points of belief
To simpleton sages and reasoning fools.

We may be told, indeed, that, in the case of Catholics at least, this is but mere *cant*—nothing more than a slight formal homage paid to the fashionable opinions of the hour. Even though it were nothing more than this, it would still be a sufficiently alarming evil; but, unfortunately, it is one of the common results of cant that, by dint of repetition, it at length acquires a real and powerful influence over the mind. Forced at an early age upon the attention of many Catholics who affect the reputation of being considered liberal and large-minded, the doctrine of Latitudinarian Christianity finds its practical development in their lives. The laws of the Church regarding fast and abstinence are gradually relaxing their hold on very many belonging to the middle and upper classes. Far from abhorring mixed marriages, not a few have come to regard them with feelings little short of approval, and somehow consider them *respectable*. A strictly Catholic education is supposed by many to make youths bigoted, narrow-minded, and illiberal; and, in consequence, mixed, or purely secular schools are freely patronized. In a word, in a hundred other points we miss the healthy tone of Catholic feeling,

and the sturdy expression of Catholic views which so honourably distinguished our fathers. These are evils which it is impossible to ignore, and the decided tendency of our times is to develop rather than to check their growth.

My object in the present paper is to unmask this idol of the modern world, which Protestants devoutly worship, and to which many weak-minded or indifferent Catholics offer, at the least, the homage of external respect. To effect this, I propose to show that the system of Latitudinarian Christianity is utterly opposed (*a*) to the teaching of Scripture, and (*b*) of the early Christian Fathers, as well as (*c*) to the dictates of common sense. In a future number I shall expose the fallacy of the pleas which its supporters put forward in its defence, and shall glance at the consequences which must follow in the moral order from the diffusion of the pernicious principles of Latitudinarian Christianity.

1. That our Divine Redeemer established *some* church—*some* living, organised body to which He committed the entire deposit of His doctrine, that the same might continue to be taught to men throughout all ages and nations, is a truth which will be disputed by no one who claims the title of Christian. The entire question, then, narrows itself to this: Did Christ leave it optional with men to adopt some and reject some other of His doctrines, as the Latitudinarians pretend? The pages of the New Testament, which our adversaries profess to revere, shall determine this question in a manner which can leave no room for doubt that it is *imperative* on men, *under pain of exclusion from the terms of salvation*, to accept not *some* merely, but *all* the doctrines which Christ has confided to His Church.

In the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark, we read that the Redeemer, after His Resurrection, appeared to His Apostles, and gave them this injunction: “Go ye into the whole world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but *he that believeth not shall be condemned.*” Belief in the Gospel of Christ, then, is necessary for salvation: nor is the extent or manner of this belief to be regulated by the private judgment of each individual, but it must be in strict conformity with the teaching of the Apostles. So that the Gospel is to be believed as expounded by the divinely commissioned teachers of the Christian flock, and not otherwise.

Conformably with this doctrine, we find the Apostles inveighing in the strongest terms against the early heretics, who by their novel doctrines disturbed the peace of the yet

infant Church ; though, be it remarked, if the hypothesis of the Latitudinarians—that every one is free to shape his own faith—were true, *no one could with reason or justice be branded as a heretic*. St. Peter calls heretics “lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition : and deny the Lord who bought them : *bringing upon themselves swift destruction.*”¹ St. Jude denounces them as “wandering stars, to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever.”² St. John in many places calls them *antichrists*,³ and *seducers*,⁴ and, therefore, cautioning his disciples against them, he says, “Look to yourselves that you lose not the things which you have wrought ; but that you may receive a full reward. Whoever revolteth, and continueth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that continueth in the doctrine, the same hath both the Father and the Son. If any man come to you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into the house, nor say to him God speed you ; for he that saith unto him God speed you, communicateth with his wicked works.”⁵ How widely does the doctrine of the Apostle of Patmos differ from that of the Latitudinarians, who would “respect all religions,” and make them “equal in the sight of God !”

St. Paul is equally explicit on this point. He does not hesitate to class heresy with murder and adultery (Galat. v. 20, 21). In his Epistle to the Romans he thus solemnly addresses them : “now I beseech you, brethern, to mark them who make dissensions and offences contrary to the doctrines which you have learnt, and to avoid them.”⁶ Furthermore, writing to the Galatians, he makes this most emphatic general pronouncement, “Though an angel from Heaven preach a Gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema.”⁷ Nor did the great apostle confine such denunciations to those only who erred on *many* points of doctrine : he regarded as a heretic whosoever erred *even on a single point*. Thus (1 Cor. xv.) he inveighs against Cerinthus, who merely denied the resurrection of the body. And, again, he thus writes to Timothy of some who held erroneous opinions on the same subject : “Their speech spreadeth like a canker : of whom are Hymeneus and Philetus : who have erred from the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already, and have

¹ 2 Peter, ii. 1.

² Jude, i. 13.

³ 1 John, ii. 18, 19, et alibi.

⁴ 2 John, 7.

⁵ 2 John, 8–11.

⁶ Romans, xvi. 17.

⁷ Gal. i. 8.

subverted the faith of some.”¹ Our adversaries would, no doubt, think the question of circumcision of trifling importance, on which each one might reasonably be left to follow his own views; yet this is how St. Paul writes of it to the Galatians: “*Behold, I Paul tell you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing,*” (Galat. v. 2). Clearly, the Apostle of the Gentiles did not share the belief of the Latitudinarians, who pretend that a *general* faith in Christ is sufficient to ensure salvation in the New Law, no matter how widely men may differ on other points of doctrine.

II. But let us, furthermore, glance at the teaching of the early Christian Church upon this question. Let us see how those who were instructed by the Apostles themselves, and by their immediate successors, understood the extent of the belief required from a professing Christian, to include him within the terms of salvation. We can have no surer guides. For, as Irenaeus observes, if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures, should we not follow the order of tradition which they handed down to those who succeeded them in the government of their Churches;² and as St. Augustine directs, we should seek to discover what Christ has taught, in a special manner from those by whose authority we have been moved to believe that he has taught at all.³

Ignatius the Martyr, Polycarp, and Justin, are venerable names, which carry us back to the dawn of Christianity. Let us see how they regarded the Latitudinarian system, in which, as has been already observed, no one can be justly branded as a heretic, so long as he professes a general belief in Christ, all other dogmas being left open to acceptance or rejection, according to the dictates of each one’s private judgment.

Now, St. Ignatius the Martyr, who flourished in the first century, excludes from the terms of salvation not only heretics, but even schismatics, for he writes in one of his epistles, “Do not err my brethern; if any one follows a schismatic, he does not inherit the Kingdom of God;”⁴ and

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

² “Quid autem si neque apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis, quibus committebant ecclesias?” (Contra hæres., lib. iii., cap. iv., n. 1).

³ “Cur non apud eos potissimum diligentissime requiram, quid Christus praeceperit, quorum auctoritate commotus Christum aliquid praecepisse jam credidi.” (De Utilitate Credendi, cap. xiv.)

⁴ Ep. ad Philadelph., cap. iii.

in another letter, speaking of the heretics of his time, he does not hesitate to call them, "wild beasts in human form" (*θηρία ανθρωπομόρφα*)¹.

Of the venerable Polycarp, Eusebius relates that so great was his horror of heretics, that whenever he chanced to hear anyone advancing a doctrine opposed to the teaching of the Church, he used to stop his ears, and fly from the spot exclaiming, "Good God! upon what times hast thou permitted me to fall, that I should hear such things."² This would surely have been a strange course of action in the hypothesis of the Latitudinarians.

St. Justin, after mentioning by name several heretical sects which were in existence in his times, calls their members *atheists*, *false Christs* and *false Apostles*; he compares them to the false prophets among the Jews, and says that their teachings were inspired by the Devil.³ And yet we know that all those sects, of which he speaks thus harshly, not only held a general belief in Christ and the Redemption, but did not err altogether on more than one or two points of Catholic faith.

It would be easy to multiply such quotations from the works of the early Fathers, but to do so would be not only wearisome but entirely superfluous.⁴ For, if the system of the Latitudinarians were true, the entire history of the early church would become an inexplicable riddle. It would be impossible to assign a sufficient reason why so many councils were assembled to define the articles of belief, why so many prolonged discussions were held even on single words which were considered tests of orthodoxy, why so many anathemas were hurled against those who held opinions condemned by the church, if it were lawful for each one who professed a *general belief in Christ*, to accept or repudiate other *particular* tenets, under the guidance of his own individual judgment. Before concluding this portion of my paper, however, I shall trouble the reader with yet three extracts, which must carry with them particular weight in this controversy—the first two, inasmuch as they are from the pens of men whom Protestants do especially delight to honour; the last, because it is so singularly

¹ Ep. ad Smyrn., cap. iv.

² Euseb., lib. v., cap. 20.

³ Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκαθάρθου πνεύματος διαβόλου ἐμβαλλόμενα ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ διδάσκουσι μέχρι νῦν; (Dial. cum Tryph. n. 82.)

⁴ For more copious extracts from the Fathers on this subject, the reader may consult Nicole "Unité de l'Eglise," liv. i., ch. vii.

apposite that it would seem to have been expressly directed against the Latitudinarian system.

In his work on the Unity of the Church, St. Cyprian has left us these two remarkable sentences:—"whosoever leaving the church cleaves to an adulteress, *is cut off from the promises of Christ*;" and elsewhere, "if it were possible for any one to escape that was not in the ark of Noah, it shall likewise be possible for him to escape who is not in the church."

Writing to Donatus, St. Augustine does not hesitate to employ the following most emphatic language—"Being out of the pale of the church, separated from its unity and bond of charity, *thou wouldst not escape damnation, though thou shouldst be burnt alive for confessing the name of Christ.*"¹ We cannot conceive stronger language than this; and yet Donatus was, like Augustine, not only a Christian, but a Bishop, believing equally with him *every* dogma of the Christian Faith, and erring only in that he had separated himself from the Communion of the Faithful.

The last authority whom I shall quote is St. Fulgentius, who expressly states that belief in Christ, even though united to benevolence in the highest degree, and witnessed even by martyrdom, will not avail to salvation without communion with the church. "Neither Baptism," he writes, "nor *liberal alms*, nor *death itself for the profession of Christ* can avail a man anything in order to salvation, if he does not hold the unity of the Catholic Church."²

III. Passing from the inspired writings and the Fathers of the Church, let us next try the doctrine of Latitudinarian Christianity at the bar of common sense.

If we glance at the Professions of Faith put forward by the countless sects which arrogate to themselves the title of Christian, we cannot fail to observe that they enunciate contradictory doctrines. Now, since truth is *one* in its very essence, it is an undisputed and indisputable principle that contradictory statements cannot equally be true. When, therefore, the Latitudinarian asserts that "*all religions are regarded with equal favour by God*," he asserts, in other terms, that *truth* and *falsehood* are equally acceptable with the Most High—a blasphemy from which every Christian must shrink with horror. We cannot, then, be at liberty to embrace indifferently any one of these opposite religions, but are bound, if in doubt, to employ every means in our power to distinguish the true from the false.

¹ Ep. 204 ad Donat.

² Ad Petrum Diaconum, cap. 39.

Again, we would ask the Latitudinarians by what right do they enforce the necessity of belief in the Divinity of Christ and the Redemption, while leaving every one free to think as he pleases on other points of doctrine? Surely the New Testament affords no warrant for this arbitrary distinction. The clearest pronouncement contained in those inspired pages on the Divinity of Christ, is, perhaps, the passage (John x. 30) where He Himself says, "I and the Father are one." But the Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist is propounded in equally clear, and, all attendant and antecedent circumstances considered, in perhaps clearer terms, when the same Christ said at the last Supper, "This is My Body." If it be free, then, to a Protestant to reject Transubstantiation, why may not a Unitarian, equally exercising his right of private judgment, reject the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord? It is evident, therefore, that the principle of Latitudinarianism, if pushed to its logical development, must destroy all religion, a result which was foreseen many ages ago by Vincent of Lerins.¹

Finally, the principles of the Latitudinarians are directly at variance even with the very instincts of humanity. "*I respect all religions*," says the Latitudinarian. Do we find this principle of toleration extended to contradictory teachings anywhere else in the world outside the domain of religion? Does Mr. Gladstone, for example, respect the political views of Lord Beaconsfield, equally with his own? Do the advocates of Free Trade respect the doctrines of the Protectionists? Who ever found a distinguished mathematician, or philosopher respecting an opinion of the falsehood of which he was convinced? The human mind instinctively recoils from such respect; for it refuses to dethrone itself, by proclaiming the equality of falsehood with truth. And why, we ask, will men be less true to the instincts of their nature when religion—the most vital of all questions—is concerned? By all means let us respect *men* who conscientiously disagree with us in matters of belief; but, while doing this, it would be a forfeiture of our claim to rank as

¹ "Abdicata qualibet parte Catholici dogmatis. alia quoque, atque item alia, ac deinceps alia atque alia, jam quasi ex more et licito abdicantur. Porro autem singulatim partibus repudiatis, quid aliud ad extremum sequetur, nisi ut totum pariter repudietur?" (Vincent Lirinensis commonitor. adv. haereses, cap. xxi). The attempts recently made in the Protestant Synod in Dublin, to remove from the liturgy of the *soi disant* "Church of Ireland" the *Athanasian Creed*, which contains the very groundwork of Christianity, afford an interesting and significant commentary on the foregoing passage.

rational beings, were we, through some feeling of romantic sentimentalism, to declare that we respected a *creed*, also, which we know to be false.

As opposed to the Latitudinarian system, the doctrine of the Catholic Church is simplicity itself, and is in perfect accordance with the teaching of Holy Writ and tradition, as well as with the dictates of reason. It is briefly this—that the entire doctrine of Christ *as proposed by His Church* must be accepted by every Christian under pain of exclusion from the terms of salvation; and, consequently, that for those who *voluntarily* die outside the true church *salvation is impossible*.

In the next number of THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, I propose to reply to the arguments with which the Latitudinarians attempt to refute this doctrine. I shall, also, briefly review the consequences which follow in the moral order from the principles of Latitudinarian Christianity.

W. H.

NOW AND THEN.

A REVERIE IN A RAILWAY CARRIAGE.

“AND JOBSON,” I say—at the end of some remarks which do not concern the reader—“I am going to the North to-morrow.”

“Going by an early train?” questions Jobson, with a shade of anxiety in his voice, and an accent upon the “early;” for he is one of those confidential servants at an old-fashioned hotel who take a fatherly interest in all the regular frequenters, and so he was naturally anxious about me.

“Oh no,” I reply, “ten o’clock will be quite early enough in September.”

“You are quite right, sir,” says Jobson, with a gentle, relieving sigh, “the day is not properly aired earlier. But now-a-days people travel so early and so late! Times are not what they used to be.”

O Jobson, you have much to answer for; you are putting a thought into my mind which will spread itself over several pages; and are supplying me with a text for a lay sermon. But like Sir Isaac Newton’s dog, Diamond,

of which we used to read in good books, Jobson "knew not the mischief he had done," so he goes on, "I hope you will not travel all night."

I console him with the assurance that I intend to sleep at Edinburgh, where I suppose I shall be able to get a bed.

"Perhaps you may," says he, with a doubtful shake of the head, "a sort of a bed, which may not be damp."

"Why, Jobson, there are large railway hotels everywhere now."

"Yes, of course," adds the incorrigible old grumbler, "railway hotels, indeed, with hundreds of beds, they say, but nothing like what you are accustomed to; and who cares or knows anything about you in such places, what you want, and how you like it?"

"Good night, Jobson," I exclaim, seizing my candlestick, and beginning to fear lest I may "pall in resolution" altogether, stop in London, and so remain under the comfortable but somewhat tyrannical sway of the faithful old waiter.

The next morning, before eleven, I find myself at the Great Northern station, my luggage taken possession of by a railway porter, who has a quiet resolution about him, that places me at once under his control; I am sent to secure my ticket, and there is my temporary ruler standing with the door of the carriage open, and my wrappers manœuvred about the seats, to keep out as many fellow-travellers as possible, and earn a fitting gratuity for the old soldier. A few morning papers are purchased to protect me in my coming state of siege, to be thrown up against attacks of enemies who may occupy adjacent positions; and with only two fellow-travellers I start for the North.

I bury myself in one of my papers, and glance over it at my companions. The man opposite has his paper also, and he is examining it through a pair of spectacles which makes his face look supernaturally sharp and eager. The *Mark Lane Express*, I think it is, and he is evidently working at it with no light or frivolous mind. He catches my eye for a moment, and down I go behind the *Times*. Up again I come, and he is scowling at some market or quotation or something of that kind, which I invariably pass over in newspapers, and at the use of which I had hitherto wondered, but now I see for whom they are intended; evidently my opponent is a commercial gentleman, not what is commonly called a bagman, but a

prosperous, though not a cheerful, business man. The study of companion number one is not pleasant. I find myself unconsciously scowling, and looking worried, as though I am concerned and annoyed by the state of the markets; so I turn a timid glance on number two, who occupies the further corner on the opposite side. Unlucky again. Here is a grim, puritanical personage, with his mouth pursed up and his eyes closed, but not in sleep. He is evidently full of thought, which seems to afford him but little satisfaction, for he scowls apparently at things in general; and, if he is contemplating himself, the introspection is not pleasant. Among my papers I have foolishly bought a *Punch*—foolishly, I say, for everybody knows how painful an occupation it is to read a comic paper all to yourself. The light joke or the good pun tells, when there are congenial spirits to share your laugh; but with my present companions, engaged as they are, why it seems almost as improper to read it here as it would be in church. So I lay it aside, or rather in a kind of panic drop it out of my hand, and there it flutters down right in front of number two, who opens his eyes and looks at a ridiculous picture. Whether it catches him by surprise, and finding a weak side in his solemn character incites him to laugh, I know not; but certainly no laugh or anything pleasant comes of it; only a sudden tightening of the muscles of the mouth, with a half audible snap, a few more wrinkles on the forehead, and an almost fierce expression of the eyes, as he glances from *Punch* to me, at which I of course collapse, and disappear again behind the *Times*. Evidently nothing is to be made of my companions, so I am thrown back upon myself and my internal resources, for all the papers seem alike and equally uninteresting. I try to shake off the influence which Jobson still exercises over me. This morning he came to the hall-door to see me off, and shook his head with a melancholy foreboding, as though he expected me to return a rheumatic victim to damp beds, or a compound fracture from a railway accident. I imagine the carriage feels somewhat damp, and there is an unmistakable draft from the open window, but I lack courage to address either of my occupied companions, and so resolve to occupy myself. But how? I will fight with Jobson, I will rout that old tyrant, I will laugh his fears to scorn, and I will vindicate the present from the sneers of the past. What easier! I look around me, not at, but beyond my fellow travellers, and see how we are dashing

along some thirty, forty, fifty miles an hour, and with what comfort—comparatively speaking, of course. I call to mind the days when I went up to Cambridge, now some—no matter how many, but some years ago. How we gloried in the dashing coachman, some crack whip, or still better, Joe Walton himself, the fine team, the smart coach; how we spun along, and how we did the whole distance in next to no time, as we used to brag. Perhaps it was the *Star*—the *Falling Star* as rivals called it, for a trick it had of at times going over—certainly not the *Wisbeach* heavy, which only passed through Cambridge and went on to some unknown regions in the Fens. Bright and inspiring we pretended it to be; but how terribly cold was the outside, how tortuously cramped was the inside! Great coats were certainly great coats then, for they expanded into capes many and linings much, and an ordinary mortal could with difficulty stand up under the weight of one. But no great coat, however heavy and cumbersome, could keep our feet warm; and how we did stamp when we got down at a change of horses, and how we rejoiced at an occasional run up-hill, or on in advance when the delay was longer than usual. And then again when the rain or snow came. What was the use of an umbrella but to make your neighbour wetter than ever by sending a stream down the back of his neck, and fighting with him against supremacy of elevation? And here we are stretching ourselves at our ease, and only recognising wind and rain by a temporary closing of a window, or when snow and sleet come, by ordering a footwarmer at the first station. Who ever dreamed of an artificial footwarmer in those long-past days? And then the misery of early starting and the still earlier rising when the journey was a long one. Why the comic writers of the day made reputations out of a simple narrative about it; and if people turn to such old-world literature as *Poole's Sketches*, how they would doubly enjoy it when travelling in a mid-day train. The misgivings on going to bed, the oft repeated directions to the watchmen (an exploded institution) to be sure to knock you up; the sudden wakings, hours before the appointed time, the gentle sleep which came at last as "nature's sweet restorer," and then the uprising in consternation at finding you have not a minute to spare; the hasty and uncomfortable breakfast, the slow hackney coach (another relic long passed away), the chilly inn yard, the ostler's lantern to throw a glimmer

through the fog to your fusty seat within, or your damp one outside; the uncertain promise of the morning, and the importance of what will come of it. Dickens, too, has pictured it with an accuracy in which the present generation can hardly believe, yet it is literally true and not at all overdrawn.

I am interrupted by the train stopping, the guard opening the door, and saying in a polite but peremptory voice, "Leeds station, sir; stop ten minutes."

I think he says "Leeds;" indeed I do not pay particular attention, for what is that to me? I am not going to stop at Leeds, and why should I get out for ten minutes? What can I do in ten minutes? There are doubtless many things to be seen in Leeds, but not in ten minutes. There are wonderful factories to be visited, and a whole city of quite a distinct race of people to be seen—men, women, and children who talk a quaint language, and with a very queer accent; people who grow up all at once, and are scarcely ever children, at least in the old sense of the word; people who look at life from a very commercial point of view, and have very advanced notions about many things that would make an old man's hair stand on end, which in itself is not a pleasant operation, and would not add much to dignity. Moreover, many among them have a profound knowledge of horseflesh, being Yorkshire too, and have wonderful power of coaxing a stranger into a bargain, and it would never do to return in ten minutes and require a horse box for a doubtful purchase. So I remain in my seat.

"Only five minutes more to remain, sir." Here is the guard again, and there is something reproachful and still more peremptory in his tone. I cannot help yielding, so I mildly ask—

"Where shall I go for five minutes;"

"Refreshment room, sir."

So thither I wend my way at considerable risk of my shins, for there is a great wheeling of luggage, bawling of porters, and confused movement of passengers to trains which have all kinds of destinations.

I approach the long counter.

"What will you take, Sir?" says a smart lady in waiting.

"Something local—something peculiar to the place."

"*Leeds Mercury*," shouts a little newsboy, and the smart lady laughs.

"No, I don't eat newspapers," say I rather snappishly, for I dislike forward people.

"Some people devour them," says a man with his mouth full of sandwich, and the smart lady laughs again.

"Try a Yorkshire pie, sir, and take some Butter-Scotch for your children."

Whereupon I walk back with as much dignity as the circumstances allow to the carriage.

I have it all to myself; but there are visible tokens that my companions, like myself, have only stopped for a few minutes. Back they come again, the one with a new local paper—the *Leeds Mercury*, which turned up so inopportunistically in the refreshment room—and the other with the *Christian*—something, which claims his immediate attention and retains it.

So I am left once more to my own reflections, and speculate, not however this time favourably, upon the change which time has wrought in travelling.

In old times we should have had a social dinner together, and a kind of intercourse which would have developed character, and made at least a longer break in the monotony of the journey.

A stage coach dinner at a roadside inn was an institution in itself, and one not without its pleasant features. Perhaps it owed not a little of its charm to contrast. The blazing fire seemed all the brighter for the cold or rain without; the change of posture was in itself absolutely refreshing after the cramped rigour of a narrow seat. Few words could be uttered in a cutting blast, and so our tongues seemed to undergo a thaw when we were around the well-filled table of mine host of the Red Lion. Then the small civilities of the table brought us all closer together; the most silent had a few words to say, the most grim relaxed; and then there was sure to be one at least present who had a merry word or a ringing laugh which was wonderfully contagious; and if a short time intervened after the meal was over, and the coachman or guard delayed his warning, "coach is ready," as not unfrequently happened when time was not considered quite so valuable as it now seems to be, these extra minutes seemed doubly dear, and closed us almost into a family circle, which everyone was loth to break up.

Now nothing of this kind is likely to happen at a railway station, at least when the Express stops for "ten minutes" only. Doubtless there were and may still be outlying lines which have much of the coach-road system in their working. I remember one such, some few years

ago, in the north of Scotland. The passengers by boat constituted nearly the whole of the passengers by the line; so when we finished our voyaging, and before we began our railing, there was a pleasant interval, which naturally resolved itself into dinner time.

Such a merry dinner old stage-coaching days in their prime could hardly have surpassed. We seemed to be on the frontier between the old and new—between the *Then* and the *Now*. The quaint little steamer which had brought us from out-of-the-world Skye through the bright Loch-Carron was a thing of the past, and here we find a little railway terminus—a tiny token of the present—and so we bring our old-world privileges with us, flout the modern precisian, and resolutely refuse to conform to its rigid punctuality. Again and again came the stationmaster to say the time had come, more than once the guard announced that the time had gone, and that if we did not make haste the train would really start without us; but we laughed at the idea of the passenger train leaving its freight behind, and as it were running alone and away; and not until another glass all round of good Scotch ale had been drank to the success of the new line, and we had all shaken hands with our host and with all the shakeable members of his large family, did we move down in a body under the escort of the whole establishment to the station, where the driver in salute made his engine scream out a whistle which lost its shrill voice amid the adjacent mountains, and we began a journey through some of the wildest and strangest scenery which we have ever seen from a carriage window. But railway travelling of this kind has but little in common with our express journey to the much more southern North we are now seeking.

And so I look round upon my two fellow-travellers, and imagine what different companions they might have become had we dined together at Strone, instead of delaying for ten minutes in the Yorkshire station.

But we should be unjust to railway travelling were we to test its hospitalities by the meagre fare and shortcomings of a station under express regulations. My own experience of the luxury of station accommodation lies rather abroad than at home. I say nothing of the doubtful enjoyment of a dinner served up on some French lines in a railway carriage; however complete it may be, it is after all not really a dinner, and at the best but a well contrived makeshift, at least for one who is not accustomed to dine

alone and in public. One requires the sang-froid of a Louis or Charles to dine in the midst of spectators, and ordinary mortals have not royal nerves. But commend me to the well-ordered tables which await the tired traveller at many an Italian station. The splendour of the saloon is quite in keeping with the other arrangements; the warmth and cheerfulness are enough to create an appetite "under the ribs of death;" the obliging host is at the head of the table, the ready waiters conduct you to your seat, as though you were an expected guest, and had your card in your plate. The bell sounds—not a villainous railway bell, which seems incessantly ringing at some stations—but the dinner bell, and everything proceeds orderly and deliberately, as though your carriage, and not a railway train, was waiting your good pleasure to take you home from an agreeable party. And such meals have we found even in the middle of the night or early in the small hours of the morning, when every official is as wide awake, as well dressed, and as attentive as at more regular hours.

This of course has its contrasts, for which we need not go back to past times. Who does not remember with a shudder the grim splendour of the Euston saloon? or whatever it may be called, where amid dust and gloom a gigantic statue towers above, and seems to look down with contempt—as well it may—upon a semicircular counter in one corner where tepid coffee and dry sandwiches represent a shadowy meal, which seems more fitted for the stone figure than for hungry, not to say fastidious humanity. But railway directors, and not railways, are to be condemned for this. We only wish such potentates were condemned to feed for a day upon such things, or sent abroad to learn what can be done for the comfort of railway travellers.

And as we are drawing contrasts in which home rule does not appear to advantage in comparison with foreign dominion, we might put in a plea for Swiss carriages or their counterparts we have met with in certain parts of Germany. Why should travellers at home be treated like the criminal classes, and be locked up in gangs in very limited compartments? Why should they not be allowed free exercise of their limbs by a walk down the centre of a line of carriages, with an occasional stroll into the outer balcony, when anything specially worth seeing comes into sight? How can a human being away from a window catch even a glimpse of the Welsh mountains in the rapid

run from Conway to Bangor? It requires the courage of youth or the desperation of an ardent lover of nature to do what I once did when railing in the bright fresh morning from Macon to Culoz. I sat myself down on the floor of the carriage, and so caught glances of the mountain ranges through whose narrow defiles we were winding, which otherwise would have been as completely lost to me as if I had travelled by a night train and without a moon. Now, in Switzerland everybody sits near the windows, and the viewless centre is but a middle passage by which the comfortable seats are reached and quitted without treading upon anybody's toes, or ruffling any temper by disturbing arrangements which seem so essential to most travellers. Indeed such carriages suggest and develop a taste for local arrangements; your maps and guide book can be spread before you, your sketch book is in nobody's way, and when a view is on the point of disappearing as the train passes along, why you have but to shift the back of your seat, and you again command that which has already passed you.

And so we claim these carriages as a part of railway accommodation, and class them not among the luxuries of travelling but among its essentials. We shall have them in time, depend upon it, but when I will not venture to prophesy. A roving commission of railway directors with a fair representation of the travelling public should be sent out by Government, and if any candidate at the coming election will promise to bring the matter before Parliament he may depend upon my vote if I have one to give him.

"So here we are in Yorkshire," I murmur to myself, not wishing to interrupt my reverie by rousing the attentions of my two companions—if so they can be called—"why it was only just now that we left London, at least," I add, fearing the two may hear me and judge my words by their rigid and literal standard—"at least not many hours have passed." And then my thoughts wander back to a far-distant day, when a boy at home, I welcomed with the rest a country cousin, a cousin from Yorkshire. How we boys all speculated upon what kind of a being it would be; what it would do and how it would talk; and when the cousin came we were not at all disappointed, for she seemed quite a foreigner in our eyes, had quaint manners, used strange phrases, and indeed almost seemed to speak an unknown tongue. We liked her well enough when we came to know her, and we had a kind of reverential awe of one who had travelled so many hours—indeed for whole

days—in a stage coach. But we never came to look upon her as one of ourselves, and when she went back again to the unknown Yorkshire we soon gave up corresponding, as it seemed almost like writing to the dead. In truth, stage-coach travelling to any great distance was attended with so much trouble and fatigue that, although the days had passed when country-people made their wills and took farewell of their relations and friends before setting out for London, it was a very serious undertaking, and reduced itself to a matter which only very urgent business could necessitate.

So was it with travelling abroad in more recent and yet more distant times. When ordinary mortals who could not resign themselves to the prolonged agonies of diligence travelling, and yet could not afford to dash like “milord” with four posters, and six or more on emergencies, were obliged to content themselves with a heavy carriage and two roadsters. To such it was a good week’s journey between London and Paris, with no great time of rest, over the paved roads of France.

Oh! those paved roads, with their interminable vistas and incessant jolting!

My bones ache at the memory of what I underwent in a diligence journey from Paris to Brussels; a not very fatiguing railway run now-a-days, but then a drive of thirty-five successive and unbroken hours.

Two of us rejoiced at securing places in the banquette, a seat above the coupé, protected by a hood, and commanding an extensive view over the horses below and the country beyond. The view, in truth, was extensive enough, and as monotonous as it was extensive. There the road stretched out before us, generally in an unbroken line, from our leaders to the distant horizon. Trees there were, certainly, all the way, in a single row on each side of the road. It was, in short—if such a word can properly be used where all was so long—an interminable avenue; and we felt sure that had the earth not been round we should have seen Brussels at the end of it as soon as we got well clear of Paris.

And then the road itself! What grand inquisitor devised the torture of paving it throughout, and making it a bone-dislocating, head-distracting, thought-dispelling street? True there was an unpaved road on each side of the central highway into which, its mud or its dust, every other carriage or cart floundered when we met or overtook

them, but for the diligence, which was a State vehicle, the privilege of the centre was reserved, and never did we deviate from the rough, right way.

Somehow we had started with the erroneous impression that in thirty hours the torture would come to an end, and we had borne it with more or less patience for twenty-nine before we discovered our mistake. That extra six formed certainly the longest quarter of a day I ever spent. Bright little Brussels was not for years half so bright to me as it ought to have been, for the memory of that first visit even now crops up and brings on a kind of mental rheumatism. We both of us positively hated the place after that passage of the wilderness; and looked back through that grim vista of endless road upon Paris, as a kind of paradise—to which they say good Americans hope to go when they die—in which we had lived in happy ignorance of what was in store for us outside.

* * * * *

“What noise is that?” I exclaim, “Surely I could not have fallen asleep! How dark it has grown! Where are we?”

“Edinburgh, sir,” replies the guard; and so indeed it is, and here am I wide awake in the grand and romantic capital of Scotland, in what Mr. Gladstone calls “the land of the Leal.”

H. B.

THE ROYAL IRISH UNIVERSITY AND THE CATHOLIC IRISH FAITH.

THE hope grows apace that an acceptable system of University education will soon be put within reach of the Irish people. What form the proposed University will ultimately take, and what changes it may ultimately effect in the condition of the nation, we have not now the means of determining. Possibly those who have the launching of the enterprise in hand would be at a loss to forecast the near issue of their labours. The mechanical agencies which set currents of thought in motion are little able to control their later course. We may, however, take it for granted that the establishment of a National University, to some extent in harmony with the national wishes, will have this certain

result: it will bring the full strength of the national mind under the influence of the schools of thought now prevailing, will expose it, for good or evil, to the action of new and strange spiritual forces.

For ages the currents of thought pervading western civilization have been feebly felt in Ireland. There was a time when it was not thus, when Ireland was a centre whence these currents went forth. But that time belongs to a very far-off past, and we recount its glories now with a pride which is not without piteousness. Assuredly we have no wish to deny or to obscure the merits of the few among our countrymen whose acquirements have been acknowledged among the learned of Europe. But the success of a few men of rare gifts and rare energy does not affect the dismal truth that the mind of the nation has, for ages, been helplessly crippled by the burden which pressed upon the national life. Intellectual revolutions of great import have successively passed over Europe, new systems of thought have sprung up, and new philosophies been created, but Ireland, as a nation, has had no part in producing these changes, and has hardly been affected by them.

If it is now to awake to renewed intellectual life, it must find itself in a new world. That ancient "lamp of learning" to which patriotic speech-makers are fond of alluding, shed its last rays on a world widely different from that on which it will shine when it is lighted again. For this reason the rekindling of the old fire, though matter for congratulation, is also matter for concern. All may join in the congratulations; the concern belongs mainly to those who are charged with maintaining in purity and vigour the faith of the people. For other interests than those of Faith the influx of modern learning must work beneficially. But there is room for a doubt whether the wide diffusion of knowledge, in the forms in which knowledge is now diffused, may not be a danger for the faith which has outlived so many rude trials. Those who know the habits of intellectual life understand that a falsehood, taught with scientific method, and masked by judiciously chosen scientific facts, is a deadlier engine against faith than the weapons of a clumsy tyranny.

Now it is beyond dispute that the scientific systems of the time are constructed, more or less, on this dangerous plan. It is a misfortune that the development of scientific theories, and the study of scientific facts, should have fallen

mainly to those who are hostile to religion. We will not here seek to explain this phenomenon. We take it as a disagreeable fact, pointing to disagreeable consequences. A consequence already attained is that the ascertained, unquestionable results of modern research have been built up into systems which are used with deplorable effect against revealed religion. Not that the facts on which the modern sciences have been built lend themselves naturally to such a purpose as this. They are, indeed, sometimes obscure and uncertain in their indications, but as a rule they do service in the work of evil only under pressure; they are constrained and tortured into subserviency to unbelief; are interpreted by their approved exponents to support conclusions for which, of themselves, they would not give any warrant. No one who can command even a partial view of the fields of modern investigation will think it is a bold statement to say, that the main currents of contemporary scientific thought are adverse to the Church. Adverse to the Church, they are adverse to revealed religion; for, except at the point held by the Church, the defence of revelation has broken down. "Our great antagonist," writes Professor Huxley—"I speak as a man of science—the Roman Catholic Church, the one great spiritual organization which is able to resist, and must, as a matter of life and death, resist the progress of science and modern civilization."¹

It is of importance, at this turning point in the history of the Irish people, to realize what it is the Church is resisting, what it is we shall, in all probability, have ourselves to resist. The paths of science will soon be opened to the youth of our country; they must be daintily trodden to avoid the pitfalls. Hardly one of the guides who offer themselves to direct us can be implicitly trusted, yet as things are we must accept some guidance from them, otherwise we cannot advance at all. We cannot in a moment create teachers of eminence, and we cannot be satisfied with teachers who are not fit for their work. We are thus forced to trust ourselves to those whom it is not injustice to suspect. If we are to give ourselves to science, we must take science as we find it, and science in the systems in which it is now embodied has been a fruitful source of perversion for many men and many nations. What assurance have we that it may not prove a danger for ourselves?

¹ Lay Sermons, p. 68,

The mind of the Irishman is naturally acute and penetrating, not working its way ploddingly to knowledge, but rather carrying difficulties with a dash, after the manner which has been attributed to our soldiers in battle. Minds of this class are peculiarly apt to be caught by showy and fanciful theories, to be attracted by magnificent generalizations and striking analogies; and there is just enough intellectual self-sufficiency in them to ensure their holding fast the views to which they have given allegiance.

We must, then, look forward with something more than curiosity to the effect which a near acquaintance with the course of modern scientific thought will have upon the minds of our countrymen. In forecasting this effect we may leave out of our reckonings the possible action of what are called the *philosophies* of the times. Taught as a philosophy, neither materialism in any of its shapes, nor idealism, is likely to become all at once popular amongst us. Preached in their ultimate developments, as blunt negations of God and the Supernatural, these doctrines rarely win disciples. The danger does not lie in this mode of propagandism. It is rather in the slower processes which lead to these philosophies, in processes which detach the mind from other systems, which give it a distaste for mere authoritative statements of truth, and which beget an exaggerated sense of the force of scientific arguments against revelation that the strength of these forms of unbelief really lies. There are, of course, predisposing causes of infidelity other than those which belong to educational systems. But with these we do not now deal; we are concerned only with the intellectual lines on which a man may work his way to loss of faith. We wish to show how it is that, apart from other influences, the faith of the student of science is, because of the method in which the study of science must be pursued, subjected to a wearing, wasting process against which no precaution is excessive.

Of itself, the atmosphere of a region of inquiry where stern, relentless, unchanging law is the engrossing theme of study, weakens our appreciation of the phenomena of spiritual life. This evil effect is more marked where the spiritual phenomena in question are primarily due to direct supernatural interposition. We may study the mischief due to this cause of perversion in the teachers and the teachings of the Positive school. The disciples of this philosophy would seem to have no sense of the more deep-lying forces which move the material and intellectual worlds. They

cannot, it would appear, get below the surface of things, and they are led at last to believe and to assert that a mere surface view of things is all that man is destined to attain.

This condition of mind is, however, hardly more than a negative evil—a mental faculty is impaired, the mind is shut out from the view of a very large and very important part of the entire realm of being. But the misfortune rarely ends here. There goes forward along with this enfeeblement a positive poisoning of the mind against supernatural truth, a process of infection actively antagonistic to supernatural life. No one who has given attention to the discoveries which are rapidly accumulating in the various departments of physical science can have failed to notice that facts are constantly starting up which seem, at first sight, to put enmity between science and faith. There have been moments in the history of the progressive sciences when the student has had to maintain his hold upon revealed teaching by firmly distrusting the obvious and plausible interpretation of the facts before him, and by patiently waiting for further light. Unfortunately this cautious disposition of mind has not been the portion of most scientific inquirers. They have been hasty and impatient. They have cast revelation aside as soon as it seemed at variance with the theory best fitting in with their latest observations. Nay, they have gone out of their way to exaggerate these seeming antagonisms, and have sought to establish them where they could hardly be said to exist in appearance. The literature which these men have created, and in which, till better times, science must be studied, teems with these pretended contradictions between natural and revealed knowledge. We will quote a few of them in illustration of our meaning.

A cavern in Devonshire is observed to be choked by a pile of gravel and clay, overlaid by a crust of stalagmite. The bones of a considerable number of extinct animals are found imbedded in the clay; the mammoth, cave-bear, cave-hyena, and many others, have left their bones within this recess, to witness to their former presence in the land which now is England. Buried in the same clay lie many fragments of human skeletons, and with them many rude works of human hands yet untrained to the arts of civilization. Roughly made flint arrow-heads and knives of the same material, relics of unskilled human industry, are entombed beside the bones of those extinct animal species; and the relics of man and beast have lain there so long that a thick

crust of stalagmite has had time to form over the earth that covers them. It seems an obvious deduction from these facts that man and the animals whose bones are mingled with his were contemporary in life. Thus we are at once led to the conclusion that man existed on the earth when its climatic conditions were such as to permit the elephant, the rhinoceros, the bear, and the hyena to inhabit these latitudes. What is there in our historical or revealed records of man's existence upon the earth by which we can trace him back to times so remote? The added life-spaces of the generations that have lived since Adam seem to go a short way indeed to meet the requirements of the facts we have stated. Nor are we left to vague conjecture as to the remoteness of the period in which these ancient men lived and died. An acute observer discovers some remains of Roman pottery at the base of the surface-stratum that covers the pile within the cavern. This discovery permits him to assert that the uppermost stratum has taken some two thousand years to form. Careful investigation enables him further to determine the rate of growth of the layer of stalagmite next underlying. This point gained, he measures the entire depth of the crust of stalagmite, and finds himself at last in a position to state with confidence that the deposit cannot have been formed within less than 364,000 years. Now, it is beneath this crust that the bones of man and the works of his hands are found. They must, then, have been strewed in the mud of the cavern before the drippings of the roof began to form the layers of stalagmite.

And now the student of geology is forced to put to himself the question: In presence of these facts and these reckonings, what becomes of our biblical chronology? Does any scheme of Scripture interpretation allow us to hold that man may have trodden this earth 300,000 years ago? Or is it possible that another race of men may once have inhabited this globe—a race which perished utterly as the extinct animal species have perished? May it be that a new creation of human beings took place at a comparatively recent date, and that it is to this event the record of Genesis refers? In the Devonshire cave have we come upon the relics of pre-Adamite man? We shall think it less strange that some conjecture of this kind should occur to the youthful geologist, if we remember that veteran defenders of Catholic truth—a learned priest among the number—have sought refuge in such hypotheses against the

difficulties which had grown out of their own discoveries.¹

Another example of the same kind. Along the banks of the Vézère (a small tributary of the Dordogne) stretches a line of the cave-dwellings of men not known to history. These retreats were tenanted at widely separated dates. The river has cut for itself a deep channel, and the caves stand at different heights above its present level. Deposits of river mud strew the floor of the highest, mixing with the bones of beasts and men. This fact is taken as evidence that when last inhabited the den was not out of reach of the highest river floods. On a level, more than eighty feet lower, stands the most modern of these strange dwellings; the floods that now swell the river sometimes rise almost to the entrance. It seems clear that this last cavern became habitable only when the river had fallen eighty feet from the floor of the first; that is to say, the time separating the most recent of those cave-dwellers from the most ancient is the time required by the stream to make deeper its channel by eighty feet. Again, the oldest cave-dwellers, or *troglydites*, as they are called, were contemporary with the mammoth; the bones of both strew the cavern; in the time of the latest the mammoth could no longer maintain itself in central France, its place had been taken by the rein-deer. "And now," asks the infidel, "how shall we reconcile with these facts and these reasonings the biblical story of man's creation? Approved interpreters of Scripture will not allow the human race an existence of more than seven thousand years. How, within the first four thousand years of this period, could all those changes have been effected which have taken place on the banks of the Vézère? Could the river have sunk eighty feet deeper into the underlying rock and clay within forty centuries? Living species do not come and go as empires and kingdoms: could entire animal species have flourished and become extinct within this space of time? Climate and soil do not vary as the fortunes of dynasties and thrones: within four thousand years could they have changed so as to meet the needs of a succession of creatures thus widely different in habits and requirements?"

Quitting palæontology, we will turn to an allied science for another of the difficulties which have been raised up against the narrative of Genesis. The believer in the

¹ *L'Homme Tertiaire. Etude sur les silex travaillés*, par. M. l'Abbé Bourgeois. Quoted by Moigno. *Splendeurs de la Foi*, vol. ii., p. 734.

biblical record holds that all men are descended from a single pair. He must maintain that existing differences of race are sufficiently accounted for by accidental causes which have modified the tissues, and, to a limited extent, affected the structure of the human body. To express this in scientific language—we Christians are monogenists. Against this our belief the infidel ethnologist has much to object. We give one of his arguments:—

The Aïnos are the remnant of a people which at one time inhabited a great part of the north-eastern coast of Asia. The bulk of their possessions have been wrested from them by the Japanese and Tartars; they are now restricted to a few patches of territory at the mouth of the Amoor, the extreme point of the promontory of Kamschatka, and the islands of the Kurile Archipelago. They are a race strangely differing from the races which surround them. Minor peculiarities of colour and formation of skull apart, the special characteristic which distinguishes them from their Mongolian neighbours, as well as from the rest of mankind, is the long black hair which covers their bodies, and which, it is said, appears on their children when they are but eight years old. “Whence has this people come?” asks the unbeliever. “What is the explanation of their strange condition? Will you set down their peculiarities to the influences of temperature, soil, or habits of life? But if these influences produce an effect of this kind, how comes it that they have not affected the smooth-skinned Coreans, Japanese, or Mantchowians, who have been subject to them for ages?”¹ Thus the puzzled student is urged to assign to this singular race an origin different from that which Revelation has assigned to all the races of men.

We cannot within the limits of the present paper cite further examples of the arguments which science is forced to supply against Revelation. We have chosen at random from a number which it is not easy to count. Almost every one of the sciences into which human knowledge has been parcelled out has been laid under contribution for the war against faith. Physiology, archæology, philology, even pathology and medicine, have, by one eminent scientist or another, been tortured into antagonism with religion. The student who gives himself to these sciences must be prepared to find much in the literature belonging

¹ The objection is stated, at its best, by M. Paul Broca. *Mémoires d'Anthropologie*. Tom. ii. p. 545. Paris, 1874.

to them that will rudely shock his faith. The strength of early convictions and the force of early habits may resist these influences for a time, but under their persistent action there is danger that he will yield to the thought that the difficulties to which he can give no answer cannot be answered at all. Nor is it enough for him to know that on theological grounds those irreligious theories are untenable. It has already been pointed out that the mind which is given to an engrossing study of physical science, loses its appreciation of purely theological or purely metaphysical argument. It is impatient of those forms of thought with which it is not familiar, and when met by systems of reasoning which it cannot appreciate, gives way to angry denunciation, or assumes an attitude of proud, contemptuous indifference. There is not, however, any reason why it should be plied with theological arguments. All objections against revelation of the type we have been describing can be disposed of without any appeal to theology. In the interests of science, as well as in the interests of faith, it is best they should be met in this way.

The irreligious spirit, which the study of modern scientific literature engenders, must not grow and spread with the growth and spread of scientific knowledge in Ireland. Science with us must remain subordinate to religion; not in theory only, but in fact. The learned amongst us must feel that the teachers of religious truth have an assured sense of the unimpeachable character of the sacred doctrines. They must understand that though we do not assent to revelation because of its harmony with science, we have, nevertheless, ascertained from the side of science, as well as from the side of religion, that it is only ignorance which puts discord between them. They must learn that when scientific blasphemers are rebuked by the representatives of the Church they cannot shield themselves from the reproof behind a placid contempt for the ignorance of their reprovers. *Argue cum omni imperio. Nemo te contemnat.*

We do not write thus from an apprehension that eventualities such as we point out are unprovided for. We have the assurance that the dangers we have ventured to forecast will be effectually met. Professor Huxley has gracefully acknowledged in the Church a formidable strength of resistance to what he calls "modern civilization." We are glad to believe on his testimony that a centre of this strength is the great ecclesiastical college of our own

country. He has had occasion to examine the state of our defences against scientific infidelity. The results of his inquiry are reassuring:—

“It was my fortune some time ago,” he writes, “to pay a visit to one of the most important institutions in which the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in these islands are trained; and it seemed to me that the difference between these men and the comfortable champions of Anglicanism and of Dissent was comparable to the difference between our gallant Volunteers and the trained veterans of Napoleon’s Old Guard.”¹

T. A. F.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTION ON THE LAW OF FASTING.

AN interesting question, arising out of the Paper published on this subject in the March number of the RECORD,² has been addressed to me by an esteemed correspondent.

It regards the case of persons who are exempt *ratione infirmitatis* from the obligation of fasting. Can they—as well as persons who are exempt *ratione ætatis vel laboris*—be considered at liberty to eat meat, eggs, or lacticinia, *toties quoties*, on days when the use of such food is allowed by the Episcopal Indult to the faithful of the diocese generally at the principal meal?

Before stating the question in the words of the reverend writer, it may be well to premise that, as explained in the March number of the RECORD, the decisions of the Sacred Penitentiary in 1834 and 1863 in regard to persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis vel laboris* amount in substance to this, that such persons may eat *toties quoties* whatever is allowed by the Bishop to the faithful generally at the principal meal—provided always, that the Bishop does not so restrict the permission to the principal meal, as to apply the restriction not only to those who are bound to

¹ Lay Sermons, p. 68.

² See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD (Third Series), vol. i., num. 1 (March, 1880), pp. 35, &c.

fast, but also to those who are subject to the law of abstinence alone.

It may be necessary also to transcribe from the Paper in the March number of the Record¹ the following paragraph, which is referred to in my correspondent's letter. In explaining the reason why, in the absence of such a restriction, the persons in question—that is to say, those who are exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis vel laboris*—are at liberty to avail themselves of the Indult, not merely at dinner, but *toties quoties* throughout the day, I wrote as follows:—

“The reason is obvious. Those persons are not bound by the law of *fasting*; in other words, they are not restricted as to the number of meals. And although in the absence of a dispensation, the law of *abstinence* would forbid their eating meat at any time during the day, this prohibition is removed by the Bishop when he permits the use of meat on that day to the people of his diocese. His Indult no doubt may make reference to the use of meat ‘at the principal meal;’ but it has been decided by the Sacred Penitentiary that, even in such a case, persons under twenty-one years of age may eat meat *toties quoties*. In other words, the approved interpretation of such a clause in the Episcopal Indult is that it merely reminds the faithful generally of the restriction imposed by the law of *fasting*, in consequence of which they may not take meat, for instance, at the collation; and that it imposes no restriction on those who are not bound to fast, but merely to abstain.”

The question now proposed has reference also, as will be seen, to the following paragraph² of the paper in the March number:—

“The Decree of 1834 regards not only persons who are exempt from fasting on account of their age, but also those who are exempt on account of being engaged in some laborious occupation—*ratione ætatis vel laboris*. The Sacred Penitentiary, however, declared in 1863 that it is not to be extended to the case of persons exempt from fasting on account of *illness*.³ But of course such persons can be allowed to eat meat *toties quoties*, whenever, in the

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD (Third Series), vol i., num. 1, p. 36.

² Ibid., pp. 38, 39.

³ See RECORD, vol. i., num. 3, December, 1864, pp. 142-3, where a letter will also be found from the late Cardinal Barnarbo, as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, to the Most Rev. Dr. Grant, the late venerated Bishop of Southwark, in which His Eminence explains the grounds on which this distinction was made.

judgment of competent medical authority, the state of their health requires such a relaxation of the law."

My correspondent then writes as follows:—

"The reasoning, at page 36, which so plainly establishes the view put forward as regards the case of persons exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis vel laboris*, seems to me to hold good also in the case of persons who are exempt *ratione infirmæ valetudinis*.

"Nor do I consider the answer of the Sacred Penitentiary in 1863 to be in opposition to this view. This answer simply says '*non æquiparari*,' they are not on the *same* footing or level: and Cardinal Barnabo's explanation [referred to in the RECORD as explaining the grounds on which the distinction was made] amounts to this, that they enjoy a *greater* independence of the restrictions of the Lenten Indult.

"On two grounds, therefore, as it seems to me, persons excused from fasting '*ratione infirmæ valetudinis*,' may eat meat *toties quoties* on the days in question: first, on account of the principles established in the RECORD, page 36 (*loc. cit.*); and, secondly, on account of the advice of the doctor. Should the second ground not be forthcoming, of course the first will do in practice.

"Kindly, at your perfect convenience, give your opinion on these views."

It would occur to me, in the first place, that there is an *a priori* presumption against the correctness of the interpretation thus suggested of the "*non æquiparari*" in the answer of the Sacred Penitentiary. The Penitentiary is in the main a *practical* tribunal, dealing with concrete questions, such, for instance as the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an act, rather than with abstract discussions of such points as the precise number of grounds on which that lawfulness or unlawfulness may be based. If, then, the practical course which might lawfully be taken by persons who are exempt *ratione infirmæ valetudinis* did not differ from that of persons exempt *ratione ætatis vel laboris*, it seems at least unlikely that the Penitentiary would have answered "*non æquiparari*." No doubt it would be true that even although as large a privilege were practically enjoyed by the two classes of persons thus distinguished, their level, or footing, would not be exactly *the same*, if, in the case of persons exempt *ratione infirmitatis*, the privilege which they enjoyed sprang from two sources, and not from one only as in the other case: but, for the reason just pointed out, this difference would scarcely seem to be of that *practical* kind which would be likely to find expression in a "*non æquiparari*" from the Penitentiary.

But passing from this preliminary observation, which of course I do not urge as decisive, I would direct the attention

of my reverend correspondent to a clause, which he seems to have overlooked, in the question thus answered by the Penitentiary. This clause makes it, I should think, impossible to suppose that the sense in which the two classes contemplated are said not to be on the *same* level, is that which he has suggested, namely, that those exempt *ratione infirmæ valetudinis* enjoy, as well as the others, the liberty of eating meat *toties quoties*, but enjoy it not merely by virtue of the Indult, but on other grounds as well. For, the question was not proposed merely in the vague form, "whether persons exempt *ratione infirmæ valetudinis* *were to be considered as on the same footing as the others,*" but it was expressly asked "whether they were to be considered as on the same footing in the sense *that they too might eat meat toties quoties.*"

Here are the words both of the question and answer. After a previous question regarding the extent of the exemption from abstinence accorded, by virtue of the Episcopal indult, to persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis vel laboris*, it is asked:—

"*An iis, qui jejungere non tenentur ratione ætatis vel laboris, æquiparandi sint qui ratione infirmæ valetudinis a jejuniis excusantur, adeo ut istis quoque pluries in die vesci carnibus liceat?*"

And the answer, as already quoted, is, "*Non æquiparari.*"¹

I regard it as obvious that such an answer cannot possibly bear any other meaning than this, that those who are exempt *ratione infirmæ valetudinis* are not on the same footing *inasmuch as they are not thereby authorised to eat meat, &c., toties quoties.*

But although I am thus unable to accept the ingenious interpretation of the *Non æquiparari* suggested by my correspondent, it will, I think, appear from a somewhat fuller exposition of the sense in which, as it seems to me, the practical doctrine thus laid down by the Sacred Penitentiary may be understood, that the practical divergence between his view and mine is not very wide. Let us take Cardinal Barnabo's letter. It will, I think, be seen that in the light which it throws on the question, but little room for difference of view remains.

¹ The full text of the Document from the Sacred Penitentiary will be found in one of the earliest numbers of the first series of the RECORD, vol. i. pp. 142, 143 (December, 1864).

I make no apology for transcribing the letter and its translation in full; they were published in one of the first numbers of the first series of the RECORD, a number the copies of which are now so rare as not to be easily met with. The Letter was written to the late Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark. It is as follows:—

LETTER.

Dalla sua lettera del 9 febbrajo p.p. ho potuto rilevare che VS. gradirebbe di conoscer la ragione per cui al dubbio: *An iis qui jejungere non tenentur ratione aetatis vel laboris aequiparandi sint qui ratione infirmæ valetudinis à jejuniò excusantur, adeo ut illis quoque pluries in die vesci carnis liceat?* la S. Penitenzieria abbia risposto in data del 27 maggio 1863, *Non aequiparari*.

Ora avendo preso in proposito le notizie opportune, sono in caso di significarle, che la ragione per cui gl' infermi, riguardo alla qualità dei cibi nei giorni soggetti alla proibizione della chiesa, non sono da equipararsi a quelli che sono scusati dal digiuno per ragione di età o di fatica, si è che questi ultimi possono usare dei cibi proibiti in forza soltanto dell' Indulto, il quale può subire minori o maggiori limitazioni; mentre gl' infermi possono usare dei cibi vietati secondo lo stato loro di salute, ed il giudizio del Medico. Così *p. e.* in alcuni giorni l' Indulto potrebbe non ammettere il condimento di grasso, e in tal caso chi è dispensato dal digiuno per ragione di età o di fatica deve astenersi dal condimento anzidetto; ma l' infermo anche nei giorni eccettuati può mangiar di grasso, se così esigge lo stato di sua salute. Una tale spiegazione parmi possa servirle a togliere le incertezze che mi accennò nell' anzidetta sua. Roma, 8 Marzo 1864.

AL. CARD. BARNABO, Prefetto.

A. CAPALTI, Segretario.

TRANSLATION.

From your letter of February 19th, I gather that you would wish to know the reason why the S. Penitentiary replied on the 27th of May, 1863, *Non aequiparari*, to this question: *An iis qui jejungere non tenentur ratione aetatis vel laboris, aequiparandi sint qui ratione infirmæ valetudinis à jejuniò excusantur, adeo ut istis quoque pluries in die vesci carnis liceat?*

After having made due inquiry, I am now enabled to state the reason why the sick are not, in respect of the quality of food on days subject to the prohibition of the Church, on the same level with those who are excused from fasting by reason of age or labour; and it is, that the latter may eat such prohibited food as the Indult permits, solely in force of the Lenten Indult, which may vary in its limitations or dispensations from year to year; whereas the sick may eat prohibited food according to their state of health and the judgment of their doctor. Thus, *e.g.*, on some days the Lenten Indult may perchance not allow lard to be used as a condiment, and on such days persons dispensed from the fast on account of age or labour must abstain from using it as a condiment, whilst a sick person may eat meat even on the excepted days if his health requires it. I think this explanation will help you to put an end to the doubts described in your letter.

Obviously, as my correspondent remarks, Cardinal Barnabo in this letter makes reference to "a *greater independence* of the restrictions of the Lenten Indult." But we have already seen that the answer of the Penitentiary, in explanation of which the letter was written, cannot possibly be regarded as allowing a *greater*, or even an *equal* independence in regard to the use *toties quoties* of meat, &c., when it is allowed under certain restrictions.

The Cardinal's letter, indeed, very plainly points out in what the "greater independence" to which it referred consists. The Lenten Indult, says his Eminence, does not allow meat on every day: "on some days it may not allow lard even as a condiment;" but, "even on those days, the sick may eat prohibited food, according to the state of their health and the judgment of their doctor, . . . they may eat even meat if it be required."

In this, then, consists their greater independence of the restrictions of the Lenten Indult. *And it is precisely because of this greater independence* that the Church insists on the maintenance of those limits, the removal of which is in no way required by the reasons in virtue of which the relaxation is granted. If, indeed, the medical grounds which justify the use of meat, say, on a Friday in Lent, are such as to render it advisable that meat should be taken at breakfast as well as at dinner, or even that it should be taken *toties quoties* during the day, the ecclesiastical law, of course, imposes no restriction. But if the medical requirements of the case are satisfied by the use of meat at one meal, or at two, it is obviously required in the interests of ecclesiastical discipline and of its maintenance, that the relaxation should not be further extended. The persons in question are, no doubt, exempted from the obligation of *fasting*, and, to some extent, also from that of *abstinence*; but this latter obligation is, as we have seen, *divisible*, and thus it continues in force except so far as its removal is rendered necessary on medical grounds.

Thus, then, we can understand how the two points are fully consistent with each other: (a) the "greater independence of the restrictions of the Lenten Indult," enjoyed by persons whose exemption is *ratione infirmitatis*; and (b) the decision of the Sacred Penitentiary, that such persons are not on as favourable a footing as others in regard to the extent of the relaxation accorded to them. They are on the one hand (a) subject to *less* restriction, in the sense that for them the law of abstinence is relaxed, and sometimes even

altogether removed, on days when others are fully bound by it: but at the same time (*b*) they are subject to a restriction not imposed on others, inasmuch as the exemption thus accorded is from its nature confined within certain limits to be determined in each instance by an examination of the individual case on its own merits.

Thus then I would set forth a full statement of the sense in which it would seem that we are to understand the answers of the Sacred Penitentiary:—

1. Persons *ratione infirmitatis* exempt from fasting, and, on the same grounds, to some extent exempt from abstinence,—so that “in consequence of the state of their health, and in accordance with the judgment of their doctor” they may take lacticinia, eggs, or meat, on days when these are forbidden to the faithful generally,—are not *thereby* at liberty to take lacticinia, eggs, or meat, *toties quoties* during the day.

2. Persons exempt *ratione aetatis vel laboris*—grounds of exemption which *of their nature* do not effect the obligation of abstinence,¹ for whom, therefore, as Cardinal Barnabo puts it, the law of abstinence is relaxed “*solely by virtue of the Lenten Indult*,”—are accorded no exemption from abstinence except on the days specified in the Indult; but they are of course at liberty on those days to eat whatever is allowed by the Indult, subject only to the restrictions it imposes, and therefore *toties quoties* if it imposes on them no restriction in this respect.

3. Finally then it may be asked in regard to persons whose exemption is *ratione infirmitatis*, on what footing do they stand as to days when the Episcopal Indult, in allowing the use of non-fasting fare—meat, eggs, or lacticinia—to the faithful generally, imposes no restriction on the permission as regards persons not bound to fast? It would be difficult indeed to see on what grounds a special restriction should be imposed on them. The reasoning already set forth in explanation of the answer of the Sacred Penitentiary to the question regarding persons exempt *ratione aetatis vel laboris*, seems obviously to apply in its full extent to this case also. The “*non aequiparari*,” as we have seen, presents no difficulty: for, it may well be understood in the sense implied in the preceding explanations, namely, that the *exemption* from abstinence which

¹ See, for instance, Gury's exposition of the “excusing causes” as regards the obligation of abstinence. (Gury, Part i., n. 487.)

proceeds *ratione infirmitatis* is *always* to be regarded as *restricted*, and *never* as *extending to the entire day*, unless the requirements of the individual case require so unusual an extension of it; whereas the exemption granted by Episcopal Indult in the Diocesan Lenten Regulations is, on the contrary, *always* to be regarded as *extending to the entire day*, and *never* as *restricted* to a portion of it, unless it appear that the restriction has been specially imposed by the Bishop whose Indult is in question.

Thus then it would seem open to us to hold, though on grounds substantially different from those suggested by my correspondent, that on the days to which the Episcopal Indult extends, persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione infirmitatis*, may—under the same conditions as persons exempt *ratione aetatis vel laboris*—eat *toties quoties* whatever is allowed by the Indult to the faithful of the diocese at the principal meal.

It has been suggested that it would be a useful addition to my former Paper to analyse and classify, for the information of priests in various parts of Ireland, the various degrees of concession implied by the phraseology usually employed in the Diocesan Regulations of our Bishops.

In regard to this suggestion it will probably be sufficient to remind the valued correspondent who has made it, that, for a reason stated in my former Paper, it would be difficult, if not practically impossible, to set forth such an analysis as could at the same time lay claim to completeness and to accuracy. I have pointed out that the question “ultimately turns on the intention of the Bishop,” and that, consequently, even as regards persons under age, “any distinct intimation of his intention, whether derived from the terms of the Indult itself, or otherwise ascertained, must be regarded as decisive of the extent and limits of his concession.”¹ Thus, it is plain, the full meaning of the Lenten Regulations in any Diocese can be most easily ascertained by the local clergy: they alone are in a position to combine the application of the theological principles by which the matter is regulated, and which I have done my best to make plain, with the knowledge of the actual facts to the interpretation of which those principles are to be applied.

I may take this opportunity of adding also that on

¹ See Record (Third Series) vol. 1., num. 1., page 37.

inquiry I have ascertained that at least in some dioceses in Ireland, the Indult allowing the use of meat, eggs, and lactinia on certain days, is so worded as to put it beyond all question that—with the necessary exception of the use of milk within the limits sanctioned by established usage at collation—the use of lactinia, as well as of eggs and of meat, is restricted, even as regards persons under age, to the principal meal.

W. J. W.

THE CENSURES OF THE CONSTITUTION “*APOSTOLICAE SEDIS.*”

EXCOMMUNICATION.

I PURPOSE to devote this first paper to some general remarks regarding Excommunication. There is an obvious convenience in laying down the general principles which regulate each of the three species of censures—Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict,—with which this Constitution deals, before proceeding to analyse the individual censures contained under each species. In such a preliminary investigation, where much may be taken for granted as having been already explained or proved,¹ and where the object is to give a comprehensive rather than a detailed view of the subject, the golden rule adopted by St. Gregory may be observed with peculiar propriety:—“eam sub brevitate transcurimus, quatenus ejus expositio ita nescientibus fiat cognita, ut tamen scientibus non sit onerosa.”

For our present purpose it will be sufficient to direct attention to three questions—namely, the *Definition*, *Division*, and *Effects* of Excommunication.

DEFINITION:—As all theologians and canonists agree substantially in defining Excommunication, we may adopt the definition given by Suarez (De Excomm. D. VIII., sect. i. n. i.), and say that it is “*a censure by which the excommunicated person is separated from the communion of the faithful.*”

¹ Elsewhere (*The Constitution Apostolicae Sedis Explained*. First Part), I have explained the general principles on which the interpretation of this Constitution must rest. It has been suggested to me that the Second Part, or at least selected portions of it, might be appropriately published in the first instance in the pages of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

"Varie," he says, "definitur ab auctoribus, tamen facile hoc modo describitur. Excommunicatio est censura qua quispiam separatur ab ecclesiastica communione fidelium."

Some have expanded this definition by adding, for the sake of greater fulness and clearness, "et ideo privatur participatione bonorum communium Ecclesiæ." Some others have objected to the definition both in its contracted and expanded form, on the ground that it does not apply to *minor* Excommunication, which, while it was in force, did not deprive the person on whom it was imposed of all communion with the faithful, nor of all those *bona communia* which have been committed by Christ to the administration of the Church. Accordingly, we find in some of the theologians, definitions which have been framed with the special object of including *minor* Excommunication. Thus Gury, after giving the ordinary definition, adds, with his usual precision:—"Seu censura qua Christianus bonis spiritualibus Ecclesiæ communibus quorum distributio ad ipsam pertinet *vel omnino vel ex parte* privatur."

And D'Annibale (Comm. Reat. n. 19) had this point before his mind when he gave the following definition:—"Excommunicatio est censura quæ removet *vel* a communione fidelium *vel* a participatione sacramentorum."

But as *minor* Excommunication is no longer in force, and as the definition of Suarez may well be defended on the ground that the "communion of the faithful" to which it refers, is of various kinds, and admits of different degrees, some at least of which were prohibited by *minor* Excommunication, we need not dwell at any length on this preliminary difficulty, but we may pass at once to the explanation of the definition itself.

The only words in the definition which need explanation here are those which refer to the "communion of the faithful," of which, as the definition states, men are deprived by Excommunication. We may distinguish a threefold communion of the faithful, of which the first is purely *internal*, the second purely *external*, and the third partly *internal* and partly *external*.

(a) The purely *internal* communion is a communion in those gifts and graces which come to the faithful *directly*—either from Christ, the invisible head of the Church, or from the members of the Church to one another, without the intervention of the visible action of the Church as an organized society. Such is the communion of the faithful in grace, in faith, hope, and charity. Such also is the

communion of the faithful in the efficacy of the private prayers and satisfactory works of each other.

Now, as this purely *internal* communion of the faithful takes place independently of the action of the Church, it follows at once that it is in no way affected by Excommunication, which is an *ecclesiastical* censure. Hence it is that excommunicated persons may recover the state of grace before the excommunication is removed, and may also benefit by the prayers and other good works offered in their behalf by private individuals.

(b) The purely *external* communion is of a merely social, civil, or commercial character; that is, it regards the social, civil, or commercial relations which one member of the Church may have with another, without any immediate reference to a spiritual end or purpose. Under this head theologians mention mutual salutations, friendly correspondence by letter, partnership in trade, entering into contracts, becoming a party to a lawsuit in the capacity of judge, witness, advocate, &c.

(c) The "communion of the faithful" which is partly internal and partly external, is the participation in those graces and other means of sanctification which on the one hand, come to men through the visible action of the Church, and which on the other, are given for the purpose of producing an interior and spiritual effect on the souls of men. Such is the communion of the faithful, according to the order to which they belong, in the reception and administration of the Sacraments, in the fruits of the sacrifice of the Mass, in the public offices and suffrages of the Church, in ecclesiastical burial, in the exercise of jurisdiction, and in the enjoyment of ecclesiastical benefices.

Now, it is with this third kind of communion, which is partly internal and partly external, that Excommunication has principally to deal. These are the *bona communia* which Christ has committed to the dispensation of His Church, and it is of these, accordingly, that the Church may deprive men by means of excommunication. It is true that the Church may also, for the purpose of guarding the purity of her faith, and the morals of her children, forbid the second kind of communion, which is purely external. And hence amongst the *effects* of excommunication we shall find mentioned *privatio communicationis forensis*, and *prohibitio societatis civilis*. But still it is true to say that the principal and primary effects of excommunication are confined to the deprivation of those *bona spiritualia communia* which have

been enumerated above. Indeed it may be safely asserted that at present purely *external* communion with the faithful, or communion in social and civil relations, is no longer forbidden by excommunication as it was formerly. "*Communione accipimus hodie*," says D'Annibale, referring to a Decree of the Sacred Penitentiary dated 5th July, 1867, "*non amplius in humanis, nam hoc obsolevit, sed in divinis*" (Comm. Reat. n. 19). "*Ex hodierna tamen consuetudine*," says Gury (De Excomm. n. 969) "*quamvis toleratis minime faveat privilegium Martini V., isti non amplius peccant in civilibus communicando cum fidelibus etiamsi ab ipsis non fuerint requisiti.*"

From what has been said we may easily understand in what sense it is stated that excommunication is a censure which separates the excommunicated person from the communion of the faithful. This separation constitutes the distinguishing characteristic of excommunication: "*ceterae censurae privant quidem bonis quibusdam ecclesiae, sed iis non privant quatenus sunt vinculum unionis fidelium inter se, et in hoc essentialiter differunt ab excommunicatione*" (Craisson, De Excomm. n. 6483).

We may also infer that Excommunication is the most severe of all censures. Sometimes indeed a distinction is suggested, if not formally made, in the ancient Canons between Excommunication and *Anathema*; but it is manifest that they differ not in kind, but in solemnity, or some other accidental circumstances. This is manifest from the Decrees of the Council of Trent, in which the two words are used to signify the same thing (v.g., sess. 25, c. 4, de Reform). The word *anathema*, however, was sometimes used to distinguish *major* from *minor* excommunication, sometimes to denote the excommunication attached to heresy, and sometimes finally to indicate the solemnities with which on particular occasions excommunication was imposed. "*Usurpatur vox ista (anathema) in ss. canonibus in triplici sensu—1°, ad significandam excommunicationem incursum ob haeresim vel ejus suspicionem, utpote omnimodam et praecipuam ab ecclesia separationem; 2°, ad significandas quasdam excommunicationis solemnitates, videlicet, cum excommunicatio denunciatur accensis candelis et postmodum extinctis, aliisque ceremoniis ab ecclesia institutis; 3°, denique sumitur anathema ad distinctionem minoris excommunicationis ut in Canone Engeltrudam 12, caus. 3, q. 4, ubi prius lata sunt excommunicatio minor, et postea major*" (Schmalzgr. Part. iv. Tit. xxxix., n. 117).

The history of Excommunication brings us back to the very earliest ages of the Church. In the Epistles of St. Paul we find frequent reference to heretics and public sinners who were cut off by the Apostle from the communion of the faithful, and with whom it was not lawful for the faithful to hold intercourse.

The *Apostolic Constitutions*¹ give a vivid description of the different parts of the Liturgy of the early Church, of those who were permitted to be present at the religious assemblies of the faithful, of the duties of the presiding bishop, and of the assisting priests, and deacons, as well as of those who, for various reasons, were to be excluded from these assemblies. From these Constitutions we learn that all who were permitted to join in the public worship were said to be received into the *communion of the faithful*, because they were made partakers of the graces which Christ, through His Church, communicated to the worshippers.

From the same source we learn that three classes of persons were excluded from taking part in the public Liturgy—namely, (a) infidels or unbaptized persons, (b) heretics, (c) Christians who, by some grievous and public crime, had forfeited the privilege of being present, and who had been removed by ecclesiastical authority from the communion of the Church, or who, in other words, had been excommunicated. We have ample evidence in these same Constitutions that this physical separation was regarded as indicative of the deprivation of all those graces which come to men through the visible action of the Church. In the sixth chapter of the second book of the Constitutions we read, “*Positus autem in medio sit Epis-*

¹ The work known under this title consists of eight books, the first six of which—dealing with the constitution and discipline of the Church—were written, probably, towards the end of the third century. Two other books—dealing with moral and liturgical questions, and written at a somewhat later period—were subsequently added to the collection. The whole work was called *Διατάξεις* or *Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, not as having been written by the Apostles, but as containing instructions on moral, disciplinary, and liturgical questions, delivered by the Apostles and by their immediate successors.

From the undoubted antiquity of these *Constitutions*, notwithstanding the discredit into which they fell in after ages, owing, as many believe, to the interpolations of heretics, we derive most valuable testimony regarding the discipline and liturgy of the primitive Church. See *Hefele* (*Histoire des Conciles*, t. i.) *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la théologie Cath.* (Art. Constitutions). *Bibliothèque théologique du xix. Siècle*, § 17, p. 54.

copi thronus, et utrimque sedeat coetus Presbyterorum et Diaconi astent. Eorum autem cura, in altera parte, hinc, laici sedeant cum multa pace et pulchro ordine, illinc, mulieres separatim quoque sedeant, silentio faventes. Medius autem eorum Lector in loco edito legat libros Moysis Peractis autem per duos lectionibus, alius Davidis hymnos psallat, et populus extrema versuum succinat Postea Diaconus vel Presbyter legat Evangelia Post hæc Presbyteri exhortentur populum postremus vero omnium Episcopus qui similis est rectori navis. Deinde cuncti pariter consurgentes et in orientem spectantes, egressis catechumenis et poenitentibus, orent Deum Diaconi autem, post precationem, alii quidem oblationi eucharisti operam dent ministrantes Corpori Domini cum timore Post hoc, sacrificium fiat, stante omni populo et tacite precante. Cumque oblatum fuerit, unusquisque deinceps ordo Dominicum Corpus ac pretiosum Sanguinem sumat, singulatim accedentes cum reverentia et timore tanquam ad corpus Regis; mulieres etiam, velato capite, ut feminarum ordinem decet, accedant. *Portae autem custodiantur, ne ingrediatur aliquis infidelis aut nondum baptismo initiatus.* Quod si frater aut soror ex altera paroecia venerit, qui commendationem afferant, Diaconus, quæ ad eos spectant, probet, *inquirens an fideles sint, an ecclesiae adscripti, an nulla heresi contaminati.*”

Again, in the fifth chapter of the same book, we have direct evidence that not only on account of *infidelity* and *heresy*, but also on account of scandalous sins committed within the Church, were men excluded from her communion, and from a participation in those spiritual favours which that communion conferred.

The duty of a bishop with regard to such sinners is thus described:—“Estote itaque tanquam argentarii periti. Ut enim illi nummos adulterinos rejiciunt, probos autem retinent, eundem ad modum oportet Episcopum immaculata quidem retinere, *sed purgare maculis infecta, aut insanabilia rejicere, non tamen amputare statim* neque quibusvis credere.”

Then, after directing that the order of fraternal correction prescribed in the Gospel should be followed—namely, first, private admonition, then reproof administered in presence of a few witnesses—the Constitution continues, “Si igitur persuasus fuerit in ore trium vestrum, faustum felixque sit. Si quis autem obdurescit, dic Ecclesiæ. Si

vero vel eam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus, *neque amplius eum tanquam Christianum in ecclesia relinque sed ut ethnicum remove*. Neque enim ethnicum et publicanum *in communione recipit* Ecclesia priusquam singulos priorum iniquitatum poeniteat . . . Ceterum noli, o Episcopo, eum, qui in unum aut alterum lapsus fuerit peccatum, *execrari* . . . *neque communitate vitæ prives*, . . . *abscinde* membrum putridum, ne universum ecclesiae corpus corrumpatur . . . Si demum impenitentem aliquem videris et obduratum, tum cum dolore ac luctu insanabilem *ab ecclesia remove*.¹

These extracts, which are but a few amongst many that might be selected, are important in many respects, but not least of all, in showing the complete identity of the doctrine and discipline of the Church regarding excommunication in the present, as compared with the earliest period of her history.

DIVISIONS OF EXCOMMUNICATION.—In addition to the divisions that are common to every species of censure,² there was one which, until the publication of the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis*, was important, and peculiar to excommunication. This was the division into *major* and *minor* excommunication. In order to understand this division we must remember that before the Council of Constance, all those who were known to have incurred *major* excommunication were *vitandi*, or persons with whom the faithful were prohibited from holding communication under pain of incurring *minor* excommunication. But, in the well-known Constitution of Martin V., *Ad evitanda scandala*, permission was given to the faithful to communicate, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, with all excommunicated persons, except in three cases—1°, when the excommunication was imposed on an individual *publicly*, and *by name*; 2°, when a person who previously had privately incurred excommunication *a jure* or *ab homine*, was afterwards denounced *publicly* and *by name* as having incurred it; and 3°, when a person had so notoriously infringed the *privilegium canonis* by laying violent hands on a cleric, that his crime could neither be concealed nor excused.

Thus, before the Council of Constance *minor* excommunication was incurred as the penalty of forbidden communica-

¹ "Haec confirment ea omnia quae in sacra liturgia legimus constituta, in qua frequentissima sunt verba *communio, communicantes*." &c. (*Avanzini*, Appendix ii., p. 77.)

² See *The Constitution Apost. Sedis Explained*. First Part, pp. 24–34.

tion with any person who was known to have incurred major excommunication, but after the promulgation of the Constitution of Martin V., minor excommunication was incurred only by forbidden communication with one or other of the three classes of excommunicated persons enumerated.¹

But by the publication of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* two important changes seem to have been introduced into the common law of the Church on this matter. First, *minor* Excommunication seems to have been altogether removed from the Canon Law. "Ex jure novo per Bullam *Apostolicae Sedis* instituto nullus casus jam existit, in quo, lege saltem Ecclesiae generali, excommunicatio *minor* incurratur." *Gury*. (De Excomm. n. 957, Quær. 2°. Ed. Lugdun. 1874.)

We must bear in mind, however, that the removal of the *penalty* by no means implies the removal of the *unlawfulness* of forbidden communication with *vitandi*. "Cessatio tamen hujus *poenae* non efficit ut *culpa* quoque cesset, quam quis [communicando] cum excommunicato *vitando* incurrit." *Gury*. (957. Ed. Rom. 1875.)

The second change introduced by the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* limits the number of those who are to be henceforth regarded as *vitandi*. Hitherto, as we have seen, there were *three* classes of excommunicated persons who were *vitandi*. Now, according to many commentators on the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, there are but *two*—

¹ Regarding the Constitution *Ad evitanda Scandala*, Fr. Ballerini makes the following interesting remarks:—

"Haec Constitutio, prouti inserta est Actis Concilii Basiliensis et Bullae Leonis X. in Concil. Lateranensi, et prout etiam eam legebat Navarrus (*Man.* C. 27, n. 35) in postrema parte non notorios Clericorum percussores, sed prorsus omnes notorie excommunicatos, licet non denunciatos nominatim, *vitandos* praecepit. Unde Fagnanus (*In C. Quod a Praedecessore, De Schismaticis*, n. 55) contendit, evitandos esse quoscunque, qui facti notorietate certo dignoscuntur in excommunicationem incidisse. At id consuetudine receptum solum quoad notorios clericorum percussores (prouti Constitutio edita videtur in Constantiensi Synodo) ipse quoque Navarrus (l.c.) testatur. Fagnani vero opinio *communiter rejecta est*, ut ait Benedictus XIV. (De Synodo Dioec. Lib. 12, c. 5, n. 4) qui deinde plurimum D.D. suffragio id confirmat. Addit (ibid.) Benedictus XIV., mirum esse, quod acta Concilii Constantiensis in nulla prorsus Conciliorum Collectione vel minimam mentionem injiciant hujus Constitutionis; cujus proinde tota auctoritas desumatur ex testificatione S. Antonini. Verum quod ipse neque apud Labbeum, neque apud Vonderhart, neque in Supplementis Mansii reperit, id reipsa extabat penes Harduinum (Conc. tom 8, col. 892) e quo etiam in amplissimam novam Conc. Collectionem (tom 27, col. 1189) deinde receptum est." *Gury*, Ed. Rom. (De Excomm. n. 957, Quær. I., nota, b).

namely, 1°, those who have been condemned by a judicial *sentence*, and 2°, those who have been denounced by a judicial *declaration*, as having incurred excommunication.

Hence, a *notorius percussor clerici*, in the absence of a judicial declaration, is no longer to be regarded as a *vitandus*. In support of this view it will be sufficient to cite one or two modern authorities:—

“Ejusmodi exceptio facta a Martino V. ut fideles, vi ecclesiasticæ legis, evitare tenerentur in civili consortio, et in rebus divinis, notorios percussores clericorum quin hi ab auctoritate specialiter denunciarentur, jam in desuetudinem abiisse [videtur]. Neque enim hæc exceptio in consideratione habita est in Constitutione Apostolicæ Sedis de qua agimus; locus enim opportunus indicandi ejusmodi exceptionem erant Articuli qui agunt de censuris inflictis, illis qui communicant cum excommunicatis nominatis, præsertim vero in Articulo XVII.” *Avanzini* (Appendix II., p. 89.)

“Imo ipsamet exceptio pro casu percussionis clerici videtur obsolevisse diuturna consuetudine in Galliis ubi non vitatur percussor nisi intercesserit sententia declaratoria . . . quod etiam universim de Ecclesia recens scribebat Romæ, vir juris Canonici peritus, in commentariis Const. Apostolicæ Sedis.” *Icard*. (Praelectiones Juris Canonici. De Excomm. Tom. iii., n. 771.)

EFFECTS OF EXCOMMUNICATION.—(a) The effects of *minor* excommunication, while it continued in force, were twofold—first, it prohibited, under pain of grievous sin, the *reception* of the Sacraments; and, secondly, it forbade the *election* of the excommunicated person to a Benefice, or to ecclesiastical dignities. “Ratio est quia beneficium ex intentione ecclesiæ confertur beneficiato ut ordines sacras suscipiat, et missæ sacrificium celebret: quod cum stante minori excommunicatione non possit, sequitur, indirecte etiam tali excommunicato prohibitam esse electionem, collationem, præsentationem ad beneficium.” Schmalzgrueber. Tom. xi., P. iv., T. xxxix., n. 201. It might be imposed as a punishment of even venial sin, and as it was unreserved, any confessor might remove it by absolution.

(b) The effects of *major* excommunication are both *direct* and *indirect*, or, as some prefer to designate them, *immediate* and *remote*. The remote or indirect effects are *four* in number.

1°. An *irregularity*, which is incurred by the *solemn* exercise of Holy Orders on the part of one who is labouring under *major* excommunication.

2°. *The suspicion of heresy*, which is incurred by a *vitandus* if within a year he makes no effort to have the excommunication removed. “Si obdurato animo censuris annexus in illis per annum incorduerit, etiam contra eum, tanquam de haeresi suspectum, procedi possit.” Concil. Trid. (Sess. 25, De Ref. cap. 3.)

“Haec tamen suspicio,” says Schmalzgrueber (l.c. n. 95) “levis est: sufficit tamen ad indicendam purgationem: quam si subire noluerit, citari debet sub poena excommunicationis; si vero post hujusmodi citationem adhuc parere neglexerit, et in contumacia per annum perseveraverit, nullo allegato impedimento, ut haereticus condemnari debet.”

3°. The third indirect effect of excommunication is *proof of the crime* on account of which it was inflicted, in case the excommunicated person voluntarily and contumaciously remains subject to it, for a year:—“Quia ea contumacia fictione juris reputatur *confessio*. Permittitur tamen ipsi, ut allegare et probare innocentiam suam possit.” Schmal. (l.c. n. 196.)

4°. The fourth indirect effect is the liability of being deprived of any Benefice of which the excommunicated person may be in possession. This effect, as is obvious, is peculiar to clerics, who alone can possess an ecclesiastical Benefice. Again, it is supposed that the crime on account of which the excommunication was imposed, is such as to call for the *deprivation* of the Benefice. And, finally, it must be remembered that this further punishment is only *ferendae sententiae*—that is, if the excommunicated person remain for *one* year without showing any signs of repentance, or any desire of having the excommunication removed, he *may* be deprived of any benefice that he enjoys, but if he continue contumacious for *three* years, he *should* be deprived of his Benefice by competent ecclesiastical authority.

The reason is given briefly and forcibly by Schmalzgrueber (l.c. n. 197)—“nam excommunicatus *triennio* perseverans in excommunicatione indurato animo, a iudice *privari debet* beneficiis omnibus, quia indignus est ut fructibus ecclesiae gaudeat qui adversus illam ita rebellis existit . . . ob *annalem perseverantiam*, etsi *possint* iudices hanc poenam privationis beneficiorum irrogare,

non tamen tenentur quia nuspiam in jure cavetur hæc obligatio."

The *immediate* and *direct* effects of *major* excommunication are usually reduced to *eight*. They are indicated in the following distich, which is intended as an aid to the overburthened memory of the youthful theologian :—

*Res Sacrae, ritus, communicio, crypta, potestas,
Prædia sacra, forum, civilia jura vetantur.*

But we must reserve for a future number the explanation of the *immediate* effects of Excommunication.

T. J. C.

QUESTIONS ON LITURGY.

1. Is the parish priest obliged to offer Mass *pro populo* on the day to which a Feast of obligation is transferred?

2. Are the Indulgences of a Festival transferred with the "translation" of the Feast itself?

3. Are the "simple" clergy, who are seated in choir required to genuflect or only to uncover and bow during the singing of the "Incarnatus" of the Creed?

FIRST QUESTION.

We have received the following inquiry from a respected subscriber :—

REV. DEAR SIR—It is stated in the present number (March) of the RECORD that the obligation of offering Mass "*pro populo*" on the Feast of the Annunciation should be fulfilled on the 25th of March, even in the case where everything is transferred, the Solemnity, Mass, and Office, as in France.

Now, I beg to inquire if I can follow the above solution in a case that occurred lately. The feast of St. Andrew fell on the first Sunday of Advent (1879), and was transferred to the 1st of December. Could I have fulfilled the two obligations of offering Mass "*pro populo*" (the Sunday's and St. Andrew's) by saying only one Mass on November 30th, or was I obliged to say another Mass on December the 1st, the day on which St. Andrew's Feast was kept?

We are of opinion that our reverend correspondent fulfilled his two-fold obligation by celebrating one Mass "*pro populo*" on the 30th of November (St. Andrew's Day) which happened to be the first Sunday of Advent.

There are two principles, one purely liturgical and the other purely theological, underlying this answer. Both

require some brief explanation. We shall begin with the liturgical principle, which is the only one that presents any difficulty.

According to the general rules for the "Occurrence" of Offices, which may be seen in tabulated form in the beginning of every Breviary, a "double of the second class" is to be transferred to the first free day, when it happens to fall on a Sunday of the first class. The "Translation" of the Mass follows the rules for the Translation of the Office. "In dicendis Missis servetur ordo Breviarii de Translatione Festorum duplicium et semiduplicium, quando majori aliquo Festo seu Dominica impediuntur." *Rub. Missae Gen. VI.* Now, this is the case we are considering. The first Sunday of Advent is a Sunday of the first class, and St. Andrew's Feast is a double of the second class, and is, consequently, transferred.

But what does this "Translation" mean? It means that the *special Mass and Office* of the Feast are transferred. This is all. It does not at all regard the *obligation* of the day, if the feast happens to be one *de praecepto*. "Si transfertur Festum," writes De Herdt, "quod feriatiōnem annexam habet, non transfertur feriatio, sed haec servatur eo die quo Festum cadit." (*Sac. Liturg. Praxis*, tom. ii., n. 280.) "*Feriatio*" is precisely all that we understand by the obligation of a holiday, so that a Feast which has "*feriatio*" attached to it is the liturgical expression for a "*Festum de praecepto*." There is, then, no mistaking the meaning of this very definite statement of De Herdt:—When a *Festum de praecepto* is transferred, the "*feriatio*" or obligation is not transferred, but is to be kept on the day of the month on which the Feast falls.

"La solennité d'une fête (writes M. Falise) ne se transfère pas avec l'office, mais elle doit se faire au jour fixé. *Il en est de même pour la fériation.*" (*Cérémonial Romain* page 166). And in a note (page 166) he adds what bears even more immediately on our question:—"Est encore considérée comme fériation, liturgiquement parlant, la solennité qu'on célèbre aux fêtes supprimées ou transférées par le décret de 1802, par le chant de la messe, des vêpres, et l'application du sacrifice pour le peuple. Cette espèce de fériation ne se transfère pas, mais se fait au jour même, quoique l'office soit rejeté plus loin. Conséquemment, si la fête du patron tombe au mercredi des Cendres, l'office sera transféré, mais on chantera la messe avec application pour le peuple, les vêpres &c., le jour des Cendres."

Romsee, when explaining the rubric which requires that a Feast, no matter of what class, which “occurs” on any of the fifteen days from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday, should be transferred, has the following:—“*Quodlibet Officium occurrens a Dominica Palmarum usque ad Dominicam in Albis inclusive dispositione rubricarum generalium transfertur post quindenam Paschatis ad primam diem non impeditum festo duplici aut semiduplici. Quod si Officium incidens in quindenam annexum habebit festum in populo, ut St. Joseph aut patroni loci, translato officio solo, festum manet diei adhaerens, adeoque die illo est abstinendum ab operibus servilibus et missa ab omnibus de praecepto audienda.*

. . . Ex his colliges non videri qua auctoritate nonnulli contra rubricas et tenorem decretorum S. R. C. festum partroni incidens in quindenam, transferant post Pascha non solum quoad officium sed quoad feriationem; eximunt enim parochianos sine auctoritate *ab obligatione diei annexa*, et ipsis imponunt eandem quando non subsistit: proinde talis abusus, non obstante quavis consuetudine, est tollendus.”—*Tom. iii. art. 10. n. 1.*

In this passage Romsee contemplates a case which sometimes happens with ourselves in Ireland. Occasionally St. Patrick’s Day falls in the early days of Holy Week. Thus in the year 1817, the 17th of March happened to be the Tuesday, and in 1845, and 1856, the Monday after Palm Sunday. In accordance with the rubrics, the Feast was, of course, transferred, just as was the Feast of St. Andrew, from the first Sunday of Advent. But the translation was only of the Office and Mass of St. Patrick and not of the Holiday obligation. . . . Accordingly we read in the Directory (1817) the following note under the 17th of March:—“*Hodie fit Festum de praecepto &c. et conceduntur Indulgentiae per octo dies propter occurrens Festum St. Patricii, Hibernae Patroni, cujus officium et Missa transferuntur ad 31st hujus Mensis.*”

This principle is also affirmed in the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in *Menopolitana*, 20th March, 1706 (3590) and in *Barchunonen*, 10th Dec. 1733 (3870).

There is, then, no doubt that when a Feast “*de praecepto*” is transferred by virtue of those general laws given in the Breviary and Missal to regulate the “occurrence” of Feasts, the *precept* is not transferred, but only the Mass and Office of the day. We need hardly add, that if the *obligation* of the Holiday, so far as it relates to the people, be not trans-

ferred, neither is the special obligation of the Parish Priest to celebrate Mass "*pro populo*."

Here we ought, perhaps, to protect ourselves against being misunderstood, and some of our readers against possible confusion on this subject, by adding a few words in explanation of the *only way* in which the "precept" of a Holiday may be transferred. The translation of the "precept" can only be the result of *special Papal legislation*. Thus, for example, it is by special Papal legislation that when the 25th of March falls on Good Friday or Holy Saturday, not only the Office and Mass but also the "precept" of the Feast of the Annunciation are transferred to the Feria II. after Low Sunday:—"Excipitur tamen Festum Annunciationis B.M.V.," writes De Herdt, "quod si in feria VI. Parasceves et Sabbato Sancto occurrat, in Ecclesia universali una cum feriatio in feriam secundam post dominicam in Albis transfertur; sed *haec est specialis prae-rogrativa, quae ad alia festa sine speciali Indulto non extenditur*" (*Sacrae Liturg. Praxis. Tom. ii. n. 280*. See also *Romsee, Tom. ii. Art. 10. n. 2.*, and Rubricists *passim*.)

The exceptional character of this case is strongly brought out by this fact, that if a different feast of *obligation*, for instance, the feast of the principal Patron of the country, were to fall on Good Friday or Holy Saturday, no part of the "feriatio" would follow the feast to the day to which it should be transferred, but it would remain, as far as it is possible to observe it, on Good Friday or Holy Saturday. "Si (Festum de praecepto) occurrat Feria sexta in Parasceve, manet obligatio abstinendi ab operibus servilibus, sed non audiendi Sacrum neque assistendi officio hujus diei cum hoc nullibi praecipatur. Si in Sabbato sancto occurrat, missae privatae praeter unicam solemnem sine speciali indulto non permittuntur adeoque fideles, qui possunt, missae solemni interesse tenentur." (*De Herdt, Ibid.*)

In this passage is embodied the decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in the two following cases:—"Cum in Civitate Monopolitana Festum S. Francisci de Paula, quia de Patrono principali, celebratur de praecepto; cumque hoc anno incidat in Feriam sextam in Parasceve, per Vic. Cap. ejusdem Civitatis, S.R.C. demisse supplicata fuit declarare:—An cum officio transferendum veniat etiam praeceptum audiendi sacrum? Et eadem S.R.C. respondit: *Negative et in Feria sexta in Parasceve teneri audire Sacrum.*" 20 Mart. 1706 (3590.) And again, "Humillime S.R.C. supplicante Clero cathe-

dralis Barchinonen. pro declaratione infrascripti Dubii: An dum festum S. Georgii Patroni Principatus Cataluniae occurrit in Feria VI. majoris Hebdomadae, sive in Sabbato Sancto, ita ut in aliam diem non impeditam transferatur, eadem die, qua peragitur officium de S. Georgio adsit etiam obligatio audiendi Missam? Eadem S.R.C. respondit. *Pro translatione Officii et Missae, sed absque obligatione praecepti audiendi Sacrum et vacandi ab operibus.* Et ita decrevit ac servari mandavit. Die. 10. Dec., 1733. (3870.)

To return to the case which our subscriber proposes. The Feast of St. Andrew is, as we have said, transferred in virtue of the common rules given in the Breviary and Missal and there is no *special papal legislation* in the case. The consequence is then obvious, namely, that only the particular Mass and Office are transferred, and that the obligation, such as it is, remains attached to the 30th of November.

Now comes the second question which is implied in the case, whether the twofold obligation, that of the Sunday and of the retrenched Holiday, can be fulfilled by one Mass? We answer, of course, in the affirmative. The theological principle, which resolves the doubt, is too well known, and too often applied in practice, to need explanation. The parish priest acts upon it every time a Holiday of obligation falls on Sunday, for surely it never occurs to him that he is bound to say two Masses on the day, one on account of the Sunday, and another for the Holiday.

Diversis legibus potest satisfieri per unum actum, si illo unico actu totum ponatur quod per diversas leges praecipitur, nec alia sit legislatoris mens. Sic v.g. si festum aliquod occurrat in Dominica, satis est semel Sacro adesse. SCAVINI, *Tract. ii. Disp. i. cap. 7. quest. 4.*

SECOND QUESTION.

Were the Indulgences attached to the Feast of St. Andrew transferred?

The indulgences attached to the Feast of St. Andrew, in parishes where he is the patron, were not transferred from the 30th November, no more than was the "precept" of offering the Mass "pro populo." The Sacred Congregation of Rites when asked: An, translato Festo, in cujus die conceditur Indulgentia, transfertur etiam Indulgentia—answered "Negative." 30 Sept. 1679 (2764.)

Pius IX. decided, in a general Decree, that the indulgences of a feast are transferred with the translation of the Solemnity and public celebration, but not with the translation of the Office and Mass.—(See Decree in I. E. RECORD, p. 48.) But to transfer the solemnity of a feast requires also special Papal legislation, and it is never the result of merely following the general rules of translation given in the Breviary and Missal.

And now that we have replied to his welcome inquiry, our respected correspondent will allow us to correct an unconscious misrepresentation in his letter of what we wrote in the Record. We did not say that “the obligation of offering Mass ‘pro populo’ on the Feast of the Annunciation should be fulfilled on the 25th of March, even in case *everything* is transferred, the solemnity, Mass and Office, as in France.” This statement would not be correct. If *everything* were transferred, as may be done by special Papal legislation, the obligation of saying Mass *pro populo* would be transferred with the rest. This is what actually takes place, as we have explained, when the 25th of March is Good Friday, or Holy Saturday; and it is precisely because *everything* is not transferred, but only the Mass and Office, when the 25th of March happens to be Holy Thursday, that the obligation of celebrating Mass “pro populo” remains in France, where the Feast of the Annunciation is a retrenched Holiday, and the full Holiday obligation for parish priest and people in Ireland, where it is not retrenched.

THIRD QUESTION.

Are the “simple” clergy, who are seated in choir, required to genuflect, or only to uncover and bow, during the singing of the “Incarnatus” of the Creed?

This question was for a long time warmly discussed by the Rubricists, and is not yet quite out of the region of controversy. The chief points of interest in the discussion are briefly the following:—

In the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (lib. ii. cap. viii. n. 53) it is ordered that while the “Incarnatus,” &c., is being sung by the choir, the “*Canonici sedentes* . . . *profunde inclinant caput versus altare, alii genuflectant donec perficiatur dictus versiculus.*” The question was raised—who are the “*alii*” who genuflect: are they *other canons* who do not happen to be sitting at the time, or are they *all others* in choir except canons—for instance, the

simple clergy? Relating to this question we have the following decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites:—

A question is put and answered: "Qui ad 'Incarnatus est, &c.' genuflectere debeant, et etiam utrum sacerdos genuflectere debeat qui tunc temporis processit e Sacristia ad celebrandam Missam, aut ea finita redit ad Sacristiam? S.R.C. respondit:—*Fi tantum de choro qui stant tenentur ad genuflectionem, non alii extra chorum; diebus tamen Nativitatis Domini et Annunciationis B.M.V. omnes de choro etiam celebrans et ministri.*" Die 13 Junii, 1671.

In 1673 the Congregation again decided: "Omnes de choro stantes dum canuntur verba 'et Incarnatus, &c.' genuflectere debent: sedentes vero genuflectere non debent praeterquam in Nativitate Domini et in Annunciatione B.V.M., quibus diebus etiam sedentes genuflectere debent." 17th June, 1673.

Only four years later another decision on this point issued from the Congregation. "Ad 'Incarnatus' omnes nec excepto Episcopo, teneri genuflectere, quandocunque stantes incident in verba 'et Incarnatus est, &c.'; tum si ab ipsis ore proferantur, tum si cantoribus canantur, vel etiam si sedeant in ipsa Nativitatis die necnon Annunciationis B.V.M. festo. Ceteris vero diebus indiscriminatim sedentes omnes, nemine excepto, teneri caput detectum inclinare. Nec eo casu locum habere dispositionem Caeremonialis quod, caput inclinantibus canonicis, inferiores genuflectant."—15th Feb. 1659, 13th Feb. 1677. (1966, 2817.)

Finally, in 1848, the question is again put and answered. "In Caeremoniali Episcoporum, art. de Missa Pontif. legitur quod canonici sedere debeant ad verba 'Incarnatus est.' Quaeritur an hujusmodi praescriptio comprehendat omnes canonicos etiam simplici habitu choralis indutos, aut eos tantum, qui sacris paramentis induti sunt? Et S. eadem Congregatio rescripsit—Ab omnibus qui sunt in choro sedendum, praeterquam in diebus Nativitatis Domini et Annunciationis B.V.M. in quibus ab omnibus est genuflectendum." 22nd July, 1848 (5121.)

From these responses of the Sacred Congregation of Rites it is certain:

1. That on Christmas Day and the Feast of the Annunciation all in choir, simple clergy, canons and prelates, even the celebrant and his ministers, whether they are sitting or standing, are obliged to go on their knees while the verse "Incarnatus" is being sung.

2. That on other days all in choir, including even

Bishops who happen to be *standing* when the "Incarnatus" is begun, are obliged to kneel.

3. That this applies to those only who are in choir, and not, for instance, to a priest who happens to be returning to the sacristy on his way from the altar where he has just said Mass.

4. That canons, who are sitting in choir when the "Incarnatus" begins, should only uncover and bow the head profoundly. And this applies to all canons, whether they are "parati" or in simple choir dress.

These four points are certain, and it would seem to be also plainly decided that all without exception who are *seated* when the "Incarnatus" begins, and consequently the "simple" clergy, should not genuflect. "*Sedentes omnes, nemine excepto.*"—(15 Feb. 1659.) "*Omnes de choro stantes genuflectere debent, sedentes vero genuflectere non debent.*"—(17 June, 1673.)

This discussion, which seemed to be set at rest by these decisions, was again raised by the publication of a late decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Referring to the decree of July 2nd, 1848, it was asked:—

1. An hujusmodi responsio sit authentica?

2. Utrum in casu ab omnibus qui sunt in choro sedendum, etiam si non sint canonici, sed simplices sacerdotes superpelliceo et cotta induti?

Et S. eadem Congregatio respondit—ad primam, *affirmative*; ad secundam, "*Ab eis qui non sunt canonici Negative, nisi adsit contraria consuetudo.*" (21 July, 1855, *Rhedonen.*) According to this latest decision the simple clergy should not remain seated during the singing of the "Incarnatus," unless there is a custom to authorize the practice.

Notwithstanding this decree, De Herdt is of opinion that the simple clergy should not kneel in the circumstances. He says that, in the first place, it is very unlikely that the Sacred Congregation intended by this decree to change its opinion so often and so plainly expressed in former decrees; and, secondly, that the Congregation is not asked whether the "simplices sacerdotes," who are seated in choir, should genuflect—and this is the only question under discussion—but whether they must be seated? And the answer is "Negative," because while canons, in accordance with the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, are obliged to sit during the "Credo," the others are not so bound; and if they are not seated, they must of course kneel at the "Incarnatus."

R. B.

DOCUMENTS.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
 PAPAE XIII. EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA D.D. 28TH DEC. 1878.
 AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET
 EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET
 COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPISCOPIB
 ET EPISCOPIB UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COM-
 MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres. Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Quod Apostolica muneris ratio a nobis postulabat, jam inde a Pontificatus Nostri principio litteris encyclicis ad vos datis, venerabiles fratres, indicare haud praetermisimus, lethiferam pestem quae per artus intimos humanae societatis serpit, eamque in extremum discrimen adducit: simul etiam remedia efficacissima demonstravimus quibus ad salutem revocari et gravissima quae impendent pericula possit evadere. Sed ea, quae tunc deploravimus mala, usque adeo brevi increverunt, ut rursus ad vos verba convertere cogamur, propheta velut auribus Nostris insonante: *Clama, ne cesses, exalta quasi tuba vocem tuam.*¹ Nullo autem negotio intelligitis, venerabiles fratres, Nos de illa hominum secta loqui, qui diversis ac pene barbaris nominibus Socialistae, Communistae, vel Nihilistae appellantur, quique per universum orbem diffusi et iniquo inter se foedere arctissime colligati non amplius ab occultorum conventuum tenebris praesidium quaerunt, sed palam fidenterque in lucem prodeuntes, quod jam pridem inierunt consilium cujuslibet civilis societatis fundamenta convellendi perficere adnituntur. Ii nimirum sunt, qui, prout divina testantur eloquia: *carnem quidem maculant, dominationem spernunt, majestatem autem blasphemant.*² Nihil quod humanis divinisque legibus ad vitae incolumitatem et decus sapienter decretum est intactum vel integrum relinquunt. Sublimioribus potestatibus, quibus Apostolo monente omnem animam decet esse subjectam, quaeque a Deo jus imperandi mutuantur, obedientiam detrectant et perfectam omnium hominum in juribus et officiis praedicant aequalitatem. Naturalem viri ac mulieris unionem, gentibus vel barbaris sacram, dehonestant, ejusque vinculum, quo domestica societas principaliter continetur, infirmant aut etiam libidini permittunt.

Praesentium tandem bonorum illecti cupiditate, quae *radix est omnium malorum et quam quidam appetentes erraverunt a fide*³ jus proprietatis, naturali lege sancitum impugnant; et per immane facinus, cum omnium hominum necessitatibus consulere et desideriis satisfacere videantur, quidquid aut legitimae hereditatis titulo, aut ingenii manuumque labore, aut victus parcimonia acquisitum est rapere et commune habere contendunt. Atque haec quidem opinionum portentia in eorum conventibus publicant, libellis persuadent, ephemeridum nube in vulgus spargunt. Ex quo verenda regum majestas et imperium tantam seditiosae plebis subiit invidiam ut nefarii proditores, omnis freni impatientes, non semel brevi temporis intervallo in ipsos rerum publicarum Principes arma converterint.

¹ Is. lviii. 1.

² Jud. Epist. v. 8.

³ Tim. vi. 10.

Haec autem perfidorum hominum audacia, quae civili consortio graviore in dies ruinas minuitur, et omnium animos sollicita trepidatione percellit, causam et originem ab iis venenatis doctrinis repetit, quae superioribus temporibus tamquam vitiosa semina medios inter populos diffusae, tam pestiferos suo tempore fructus dederunt. Probe enim nostis, Venerabiles fratres, infensissimum bellum, quod in catholicam fidem inde a saeculo XVI. a Novatoribus commotum est, et quam maxime in dies hucusque invaluit, eo tendere ut omni revelatione submota et quolibet supernaturali ordine subverso, solius rationis inventis, seu potius deliramentis, aditus pateret.

Ejusmodi error, qui perperam a ratione sibi nomen usurpat, cum excellendi appetentiam naturaliter homini insertam pelliciat et acuat, omnisque generis cupiditatibus laxet habenas, sponte sua non modo plurimorum hominum mentes, sed civilem etiam societatem latissime pervasit. Hinc nova quadam impietate, ipsis vel ethnicis inaudita, respublicae constitutae sunt nulla Dei et ordinis ab eo praestituti habita ratione: publicam auctoritatem nec principium, nec majestatem, nec vim imperandi a Deo sumere dicitatum est, sed potius a populi multitudine, quae ab omni divina sanctione solutam se existamans, iis solummodo legibus subesse passa est, quas ipsi ad libitum tulisset. Supernaturalibus fidei veritatibus tamquam rationi inimicis impugnatis et rejectis, ipse humani generis Auctor ac Redemptor a studiorum Universitatibus, Lycaeis et Gymnasiis, atque ab omni publica humanae vitae consuetudine sensim et paulatim exulare cogitur. Futurae tandem aeternae vitae praemiis ac poenis oblivioni traditis, felicitatis ardens desiderium intra praesentis temporis spatium definitum est. Hisce doctrinis longe lateque disseminatis, hac tanta cogitandi agendique licentia ubique parta, mirum non est, quod infimae sortis homines, pauperculae domus vel officinae pertaesi, in aedes et fortunas ditiorum involare discupiant; mirum non est, quod nulla jam publicae privataeque vitae tranquillitas consistat, et ad extremam perniciem humanum genus jam pene devenerit.

Supremi autem Ecclesiae pastores, quibus dominici gregis ab hostium insidiis tutandi munus incumbit, mature periculum avertere et fidelium saluti consulere studuerunt. Ut enim primum conflari coeperunt clandestinae societates, quarum sinu errorum, quos memoravimus, semina jam tum fovebantur, Romani Pontifices, Clemens XII., et Benedictus XIV., impia sectarum consilia detegere et de perniciem, quae latenter instrueretur, totius orbis fideles admonere non praetermiserunt. Postquam vero ab iis, qui philosophorum nomine gloriabantur, effrenis quaedam libertas homini attributa est, et jus novum, ut aiunt, contra naturalem divinamque legem confingi et sanciri coeptum est, fel. mem. Pius Papa VI., statim iniquam earum doctrinarum indolem et falsitatem publicis documentis ostendit: simulque apostolica providentia ruinas praedixit, ad quas plebs misere decepta raperetur. Sed cum nihilominus nulla efficaci ratione cautum fuerit, ne prava earum dogmata magis in dies populis persuaderentur, neve in publica regnorum scita evaderent, Pius PP. VII. et Leo PP. XII. occultas sectas anathemate damnarunt, atque iterum de periculo, quod ab illis impendebat, societatem admonuerunt.

Omnibus denique manifestum est, quibus gravissimis verbis et quanta animi firmitate ac constantia gloriosus Decessor Noster Pius IX. f. m., sive allocutionibus habitis, sive litteris encyclicis ad totius orbis episcopos datis, tum contra iniqua sectarum conamina, tum nominatim contra jam ex ipsis erumpentem Socialismi pestem dimicaverit.

Dolendum autem est eos, quibus communis boni cura demandata est, impiorum hominum fraudibus circumventos et minis perterritos in Ecclesiam semper suspicioso vel etiam iniquo animo fuisse, non intelligentes sectarum conatus in irritum cessuros, si catholicae Ecclesiae doctrina, Romanorumque Pontificum auctoritas et penes principes et penes populos debito semper in honore mansisset.

Ecclesia namque *Dei vivi*, quae *columna est et firmamentum veritatis*¹⁾ eas doctrinas et praecepta tradit, quibus societatis incolumitati et quieti apprimè prospicitur et nefasta Socialismi propago radicitus evellitur.— Quamquam enimvero Socialistae ipse evangelio abutentes, ad male cautos facilius decipiendos, illud ad suam sententiam detorquere consueverint, tamen, tanta est inter eorum prava dogmata et purissimam Christi doctrinam dissensio, ut nulla major existat; *Quae enim participatio justitiae cum iniquitate? aut quae societas lucis ad tenebras?*²⁾ Ii profecto dictitare non disinunt, ut inuimus, omnes homines esse inter se natura aequales, ideoque contendunt, nec majestati honorem ac reverentiam, nec legibus, nisi forte ab ipsis ad placitum sancitis obedientiam deberi. Contra vero ex evangelicis documentis ea est hominum aequalitas, ut omnes eandem naturam sortiti, ad eandem filiorum Dei celsissimam dignitatem vocentur, simulque ut uno eodemque fine omnibus praestituto, singuli secundum eandem legem judicandi, sint poenas aut mercedem pro merito consecuturi. Inaequalitas tamen juris et potestatis ab ipso naturae Auctore dimanat *ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur*³⁾. Principum autem et subditorum animi mutuis officiis et juribus secundum catholicam doctrinam ac praecepta ita devinciuntur, ut et imperandi temperetur libido et obedientiae ratio facilis, firma et nobilissima efficiatur.

Sane Ecclesia subjectae multitudini apostolicum praeceptum jugiter inculcat: *Non est potestas, nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt a Deo ordinatae sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit: qui autem resistunt ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt.* Atque iterum *necessitate subditos esse jubet non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam; et omnibus debita reddere, cui tributum tributum, cui vectigal vectigal, cui timorem timorem, cui honorem honorem.*⁴⁾

Siquidem qui creavit et gubernat omnia, provida sua sapientia disposuit, ut infima per media, media per summa ad suos quacque fines perveniant. Sicut igitur in ipso regno coelesti Angelorum choros voluit esse distinctos aliosque aliis subjectos, sicut etiam in Ecclesia varios instituit ordinum gradus officiorumque diversitatem, ut non omnes essent Apostoli, non omnes Doctores, non omnes Pastores⁵⁾; ita etiam constituit in civili societate plures esse ordines, dignitate, juribus, potestate diversos, quo scilicet civitas, quemadmodum Ecclesia, unum esset corpus, multa membra complectens, alia aliis nobiliora, sed cuncta sibi invicem necessaria et de communi bono sollicita.

At vero ut populorum rectores potestate sibi concessa in aedificationem et non in destructionem utantur, Ecclesia Christi opportunissime monet etiam principibus supremi judicis severitatem imminere, et divinae Sapientiae verba usurpans, Dei nomine omnibus inclamat: *“Praebate aures vos, qui continetis multitudinem et placetis vobis in turbis nationum, quoniam data est a Domino potestas vobis et virtus ab Altissimo, qui interrogabit opera vestra et cogitationes scrutabitur . . . Quoniam judicium durissimum his qui praesunt fiet . . . Non enim subtrahet*

¹ Tim. iii. 15.² II. Cor. vi. 14.³ Ad. Ephes. iii. 15.⁴ Rom. xiii.⁵ I. Cor., vii.

*personam cujusquam Deus, nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam; quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et aequaliter cura est illi de omnibus; fortioribus autem fortior instat cruciatio*¹” Si tamen quandoque contingat temere et ultra modum publicam a principibus potestatem exerceri, catholicae Ecclesiae doctrina in eos insurgere proprio Marte non sinit, ne ordinis tranquillitas magis magisque turbetur, neve societas majus exinde detrimentum capiat. Cumque res eo devenerit, ut nulla alia spes salutis affulgeat, docet christianae patientiae meritis et instantibus ad Deum precibus remedium esse maturandum. Quod si legislatorum ac principum placita aliquid sanciverint aut jusserint quod divinae aut naturali legi repugnet, christiani nominis dignitas et officium atque apostolica sententia suadent *obediendum esse magis Deo quam hominibus*.²

Salutarem porro Ecclesiae virtutem, quae in civilis societatis ordinatissimum regimen et conservationem redundat, ipsa etiam domestica societas, quae omnis civitatis et regni principium est, necessario sentit et experitur. Notis enim, Ven. Fratres, rectam hujus societatis rationem, secundum naturalis juris necessitatem in indissolubili viri ac mulieris unione primo inniti, et mutuis parentes inter et filios, dominos ac servos officiis juribusque compleri. Nostis etiam per socialismi placita eam pene dissolvi, siquidem firmitate amissa quae ex religioso conjugio in ipsam refunditur, necesse ipsam patris in prolem potestatem, et prolis erga genitores officia maxime relaxari. Contra vero *honorabile in omnibus connubium*,³ quod in ipso mundi exordio ad humanam speciem propagandam et conservandam Deus ipse instituit et inseparabile decrevit, firmius etiam et sanctius Ecclesia docet evasisse per Christum, qui sacramenti ei contulit dignitatem et suae cum Ecclesia unionis formam voluit referre. Quapropter Apostolo monente⁴ sicut Christus caput est Ecclesiae, ita vir caput est mulieris, et quemadmodum Ecclesia subjecta est Christo, qui eam castissimo perpetuoque amore complectitur, ita et mulieres viris suis decet esse subjectas, ab ipsis vicissim fidei constantique effectum diligendas. Similiter patriae atque herilis potestatis ita Ecclesia rationem moderatur, ut ad filios ac famulos in officio continendos valeat, nec tamen praeter modum exerceat. Secundum namque catholica documenta in parentes et dominos coelestis Patris ac domini dimanat auctoritas, quae ideirco ab ipso non solum originem ac vim sumit, sed etiam naturam et indolem necesse est mutuatur! Hinc liberos Apostolus hortatur *obedire parentibus suis in Domino, et honorare patrum suum et matrem suam; quod est mandatum primum in promissione*.⁵ Parentibus autem mandat: *Et vos patres, nolite ad iracundiam provocare filios vestros, sed educate illos in disciplina et correctione Domini*.⁶ Rursus autem servis ac dominis per eundem Apostolum Divinum praeceptum proponitur, ut illi quidem obediant *dominiis carnalibus sicut Christo . . . cum bona voluntate servientes sicut Domino*, isti autem *remittant minas, scientes quia omnium Dominus est in coelis et personarum acceptio non est apud Deum*.⁷

Quae quidem omnia si secundum divinae voluntatis placitum a singulis, ad quos pertinet, serverentur, quaelibet profecto familia coelestis domus imaginem quandam prae se feret, et preclara exinde beneficia parta, non intra domesticos tantum parietes esse continerent, sed in ipsas respublicas uberrime dimanarent.—Publicae autem ac legis domesticae tranquillitati catholica sapientia, naturalis divinaeque

¹ Sap. vi.² Act v., 29.³ Hebr. xiii.⁴ Ad. Ephs. v.⁵ Ad Ephes. VI., 1, 2.⁶ Ib. v. 4.⁷ Ib. v. 5, 6, 7.

legis praeceptis suffulta, consultissime providit etiam per ea quae sentit ac docet de jure domini et partitione bonorum, quae ad vitae necessitatem et utilitatem sunt comparata. Cum enim Socialistae jus proprietatis, tanquam humanum inventum naturali hominum aequalitati repugnans traducant, et communionem bonorum affectantes, pauperiem haud aequo animo esse perferendam et ditiorum possessiones ac jura impune violari posse arbitrentur. Ecclesia multo satius et utilius inaequalitatem inter homines, corporis ingenique viribus naturaliter diversos, etiam in bonis possidendis agnoscit, et jus proprietatis ac domini, ab ipsa natura profectum intactum cuilibet et inviolatum esse jubet: novit enim furtum ac rapinam a Deo, omnis juris auctore ac vindice, ita fuisse prohibita, ut aliena vel concupiscere non liceat, furesque et raptores, non secus ac adulteri et idolatres a coelesti regno excludantur.

Nec tamen idcirco pauperum curam negliget, aut ipsorum necessitatibus consulere pia mater praetermittit: quinimo materno illos complectens affectu, et probe noscens eos gerere ipsius Christi personam, qui sibi praestitum beneficium putat, quod vel in minimum pauperem a quopiam fuerit collatum magno illos habet in honore: omni qua potest ope sublevat: domos atque hospitia iis excipiendis alendis et curandis ubique terrarum curat erigenda, eaque in suam recipit tutelam. Gravissimo divites urget praecepto, ut quod superest pauperibus tribuant; eosque divino terret iudicio, quo, nisi egenorum inopiae succurrant, aeternis sint suppliciis mulctandi. Tandem pauperum animos maxime recreat ac solatur, sive exemplum Christi objiciens, qui *cum esset dives propter nos egenus factus est*¹; sive ejusdem verba recolens, quibus pauperes beatos edixit et aeternae beatitudinis praemia sperare jussit.—Quis autem non videat optimam hanc esse vetustissimi inter pauperes et divites dissidii componendi rationem? Sicut enim ipsa rerum factorumque evidentiā demonstrat, ea ratione rejecta aut posthabita, alterutrum contingat necesse est, ut vel maxima humani generis pars in turpissimam mancipiorum conditionem relabatur, quae diu penes ethnicos obtinuit; aut humana societas continuīs sit agitata motibus, rapinis ac latrociniiis funestanda, prout recentibus etiam temporibus contigisse dolemus.—Quae cum ita sint, Ven. Fratres, nos, quibus modo totius Ecclesiae regimen incumbit, sicut a Pontificatus exordiis populis ac principibus dira tempestate jactatis portum commonstravimus, quo se tutissime reciperent, ita nunc extremo, quod instat periculo, commoti, apostolicam vocem ad eos rursus attollimus, per propriam ipsorum ac republicanae salutem iterumque precamur, obtestantes ut Ecclesiam, de publica regnorum prosperitate tam egregie meritam, magistram recipient planeque sentiant rationes regni et religionis ita esse conjunctas, ut quantum de hac detrahitur, tantum de subditorum officio et de imperii majestate decedat. Et cum ad Socialismi pestem advertendam tantam Ecclesiae Christi virtutem noverint inesse, quanta nec humanis legibus inest, nec magistratuum cohibitionibus nec militum armis, ipsam Ecclesiam in eam tandem conditionem libertatemque restituant, qua saluberrimam vim suam in totius humanae societatis commodum possit exercere.

Vos autem, Ven. Fratres, qui ingruentium malorum originem et indolem perspectam habetis, in id toto animi nisu ac contentione incumbite, ut Catholica doctrina in omnium animos inseratur atque alte descendat. Satagite ut vel a teneris annis omnes assuescant Deum filiali amore complecti, ejusque numen vereri; principum legumque

¹ I Cor. VIII., 9.

majestati obsequium praestare; a cupiditatibus temperare, et ordinem quem Deus sive in civili sive in domestica societate constituit, diligenter custodire. Insuper adlaboretis oportet, ut Ecclesiae catholicae filii neque nomen dare, neque abominatae sectae favere ulla ratione audeant: quin imo, per egregia facinora et honestam in omnibus agendi rationem ostendant, quam bene feliciterque humana consisteret societas, si singula membra recte factis et virtutibus praefulgerent.—Tandem cum socialismi sectatores ex hominum genere potissimum quaerantur, qui artes exercent, vel operas locant, quique laborum sorte pertaesi divitiarum spe ac bonorum promissione facillime alliciuntur, opportunum videtur, artificum atque opificum societates fovere, quae sub religionis tutela constitutae, omnes socios sua sorte contentos, operumque patientes efficiant et ad quietam ac tranquillam vitam agendam inducant.

Nostris autem vestrisque coeptis, Venerabiles Fratres, Ille aspiret, cui omnis boni principium et exitum acceptum referre cogimur. Caeterum in spem praesentissimi auxilii ipsa nos harum dierum erigit ratio, quibus Domini natalis dies anniversaria celebritate recolitur. Quam enim Christus nascens senescenti jam mundo et in malorum extrema pene dilapso novam intulit salutem, eam nos quoque sperare jubet; pacemque quam tunc per angelos hominibus nuntiavit, nobis etiam se daturum promisit. *Neque enim abbreviata est manus Domini, ut salvare nequeat, neque aggravata est auris ejus, ut non exaudiat.*¹ His igitur auspicatissimis diebus vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et fidelibus ecclesiarum vestrarum fausta omnia ac laeta ominantes bonorum omnium Datorem enixe precamur ut rursum *hominibus appareat benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri Dei*,² qui nos ab infensissimi hostis potestate ereptos in nobilissimam filiorum transtulit dignitatem. Atque ut citius ac plenius voti compotes simus, fervidas ad Deum preces et ipsi Nobiscum adhibete, Venerabiles Fratres, et beatae virginis Mariae ab origine immacolatae, ejusque sponsi Josephi, ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum suffragiis maxime confidimus, patrocinium interponite. Interim autem divinorum munerum auspicem Apostolicam benedictionem intimo cordis affectu vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, vestroque clero ac fidelibus populis universis in Domini impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 28 Decembris 1878, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ Is. liv. 1.

² Tit. iii. 4.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Most Rev. James M'Devitt, D.D., Bishop of Raphoe: a Memoir.
By the REV. JOHN M'DEVITT, D.D., Professor in All-Hallows College, Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 50, Upper Sackville-street. 1880.

THIS is a neat volume of some four hundred pages, admirably brought out by the eminent firm of Messrs. Gill & Son, Dublin. The close relation of the author to the deceased prelate specially qualify him for the work which he has undertaken, and which, we are happy to find, he has executed in a manner to reflect credit on himself, whilst imparting new lustre to the memory of his venerated brother. By judiciously interweaving with his own narrative, selections from the notes, sermons, and letters of the late bishop, the author succeeds in presenting to the public an interesting and, as appears to us, a not incomplete life of the subject of his memoir. Indeed, it is from these selections that the volume before us derives its chief merit. The chapters on Primary, Intermediate, and University Education set forth in a very strong light the claims of the late Dr. M'Devitt to obtain an honourable place among the benefactors of his Catholic fellow-countrymen; whilst the chapters entitled "Literary Progress," and "The Syllabus," contain valuable additions to our stock of treatises on Moral Philosophy, and will not fail to be highly prized by the students of that department of science. We had known much both from personal acquaintance and from public report of the learning, virtues, and pastoral zeal of the late Bishop of Raphoe, but we had not, before reading this memoir, understood the extent and variety of his literary attainments, or the fulness in holiness and merit of his comparatively short life.

Voices from the Heart. Sacred Poems by SISTER MARY ALPHONSUS DOWNING. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

WE have seldom seen a book whose title so aptly describes its contents as does the name of this beautiful little volume of poems. They are, indeed, "Voices from the Heart"—from a heart purified by suffering and etherealized by communion with God. Their tendency is ever heavenward: *Sursum Corda* is the key-note throughout. Even when, as rarely happens, the words are rather commonplace, and the melody somewhat harsh, the light of love floods the song with celestial radiance. Father Russell, in the *Irish Monthly*, has written about "Mary of the Nation" with the sympathy of a kindred poetic mind; but hardly anyone would recognize "Mary of the Nation" in this volume of poems, if not otherwise informed of the identity of authorship. She herself tells us of "the strong desire of worshipping which triumphed in her soul." In her bright and warm-hearted youthhood she worshipped almost to idolatry the heroes of "the phantom future splendid" of Ireland's nationality. The news of Mitchell's arrest, and the blighting of all her ardent hopes for her country's glorious future, almost broke her heart, but, at the same time, made her a saint. And, although she afterwards blamed herself for her foolish enthusiasm, and for all she had written

"in praise of danger and of wrong," we certainly cannot blame her. A young lady of eighteen cannot be expected to reason like a theologian. For that fervent young mind, patriotism was a religion; and there was, at least, something grand about the patriots of those days. They seemed to her men of heroic proportions, clothed in the halo of romance which was cast around them by eloquence, and poetry, and pure unselfish purpose. To say the truth, we could ill afford to lose from the literature of Ireland the splendid outpourings of their passionate hearts. And, for the same reason, we should be sorry, indeed, to lose the songs of "Mary of the Nation." We should much prefer the soul-stirring strains of her enthusiastic "folly" to the frosty silence of sober wisdom. But Sister Mary Alphonsus has utterly forgotten her former self in these poems. She sings of God only and his saints, of the beauty of holiness, and the happiness of suffering. Here and there we recognize the old familiar strain, but now it is altered to loftier harmonies, pure enough to mingle with the voices of the angels. She calls the angels her music masters. It is hardly a fancy. Perhaps she caught up her inspiration from the ever-present spirits of whom she sings so sweetly—

There are angels so near the throne of God,
They seem but the gems beneath it,
There are angels to smile on the humblest sod
Where the prayer of a child has breathed.

There are angels to watch by the graves we love,
And when we are kneeling near them,
They speak to our hearts of a God above,
Who knows his own time to cheer them.

The book is beautifully brought out by the Messrs. Gill. It has been revised by Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, and bears the *imprimatur* of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

Science and Scepticism. By STEPHEN M. LANIGAN. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1880.

"SCIENCE and Scepticism" is an elaborate and opportune "study of some principles which influence modern thought." The principles, with the results that flow from them, are easily ascertained by the bare mention of their exponents and advocates. Two men, representative of a certain class of physical scientists, are specially noticed—HAEKEL, a well-known German professor, author of the "Evolution of Man," and HUXLEY, Mr. Stooks of "The New Republic," who has lately expressed his views on the "Philosophy of Hume." Not even their warmest admirers will find fault with any expression of Mr. Lanigan's opinion regarding the acknowledged gifts and acquirements of these men. Yet the mission they have assumed, and the false principles on which they carry it forward, are, all the while, vigorously denounced and solidly confuted.

The great project, it seems, which many votaries of physical science, and chief among them the biologist and paleontologists, aim at effecting, is nothing short of general enlightenment of their fellow-men. Modest apostles of culture and progress! How proud they must feel of their position as self-chartered monopolists, to whom alone it is given to dispense the treasures of science and civilization. Religion, and a belief in moral obligations being impediments in their way, they

would feign get rid of them by asserting with much dogmatic 'vehemence that their theories only are true, that religion is a mockery, and moral obligation a vain illusion. There is nothing very new in the materialistic philosophy of the present age. "It is," writes Mr. Lanigan, p. 65, "the 'old, old, story,' the revolt of man's nature against authority—of infidelity against religion. Such antagonism has existed between desire and conscience from the earliest ages, and will probably continue to the end of this material universe." In Chap. II. Mr. Lanigan traces scepticism and agnosticism to the revolt of intellectual libertinism against moral control, and shows that Communism and Nihilism are but sceptical and agnostic principles carried into action against human laws. In this brief notice it is impossible to direct attention to much that is valuable and well reasoned in Mr. Lanigan's treatise. He exhibits the intolerant spirit of the new system of animalism in a long extract, pp. 79–83, from the preface of Professor Hækel's "*Evolution of Man*." This German physiologist frets and foams, and wildly raves against the Pope, and savagely assails the bishops and the Jesuits who were exiled or imprisoned by the infamous Falk Laws.

There is no part of Mr. Lanigan's treatment of his subject that will better repay careful perusal than his able refutation of Professor Huxley's view of the Philosophy of Locke. That Hume is not a disciple of Locke, that mental phenomena are accounted for by the one in a way not followed by the other, that the results of the theory of each are widely different, and that Huxley has erred in confounding the psychology of the sceptical and infidel Hume with that of Locke, are points satisfactorily established by Mr. Lanigan. This writer's metaphysical acumen and happy facility in analysing the subtle faculties and operations of the mind are strikingly evinced in his investigation of the purely sensational and sceptical theories of Hume, of the modified sensualism of Locke, and of the intellectualism of Kant.

It must be a matter of congratulation with all the lovers of moral order and religion to find an educated and gifted layman willing and able to enter the lists successfully against the most daring of the self-styled apostles of progress. It is quite refreshing to open Mr. Lanigan's pages, when we have put aside, with much weariness and some vexation of spirit, the vague and baseless psychological theories of men who deign to inform us that life is "the definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with co-existences or sequences;" or, "a series of movements and emotions;" or, "matter which has become self-conscious;" and that "the operations of the mind are mere functions of the brain, and the materials of consciousness are mere products of cerebral activity." Whilst the true fountains of all our knowledge are guarded, and the distinction between mind and matter upheld, and the reign of moral order sustained by such men 'as he whose work we here bring under notice, the doctrines of materialism and sensualism can never triumph. Indeed, their doctrines "are no nearer to proof now than they were in the time of Democritus or Epicurus. The Sceptical Philosophy is now no more able to satisfy the human intelligence than it was when taught by Protagoras and Hippias amid the luxurious refinement of the Athenian capital." p. 220. The author, may I add, has enhanced the value of his work by giving to his readers an extract on Scepticism from the rectorial address of Mr. Gladstone, delivered at Glasgow in December last.

Holy Family Manual and Hymn Book. By the Rev. JAMES CANTWELL, Adm., Thurles.

EVERYONE connected with the Confraternity of the Holy Family, whether as director, prefect, or member, will find this little book very useful. It contains precisely what is necessary and nothing more.

The "Manual" is divided into three parts. In the first part the author treats simply and briefly of the nature of Confraternities in general, and of the history, advantages, and rules of the Holy Family in particular. The second part contains the prayers and forms to be used at the various meetings of the Confraternity. The third part comprises a selection of hymns, with music. We doubt that the new music, to which some of the English hymns are set, will add to the general utility of the "Manual." Those whose ears are accustomed to the old, well-known airs, will scarcely be willing to change them for the new, however excellent the latter may be.

His Grace the Archbishop of Cashel, who, besides the sanction of his *Imprimatur*, has given the "Manual" a letter of recommendation, sums up its merits in these words:—"All the information needed for the establishment or conduct of a branch of the Holy Family, besides a great variety of useful facts respecting Confraternities generally, is very clearly and succinctly set down in this truly excellent 'Manual.'"

WE have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

FROM MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

Spiritual Reading for every day, made up from Holy Scripture. The Devout Life, and the Imitation of Christ. By the Rev. DOM. INNOCENT LE MASSON. Translated and slightly abridged by KENELM DIGBY BESTE, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip of Neri.

Opus Contemplationis Divi Bonaventurae: Points for Mental Prayer. Paraphrased by K. D. B.

The Lord's Prayer. By St. THOMAS ACQUINAS. Translated, with Prayers added, by FATHER RAWES, D.D.

FROM MESSRS. GILL & SONS, Dublin—

The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau in the Summer of 1871. By the Rev. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D. Fourth Edition.

The Prophecy of St. Malachy. By the Rev. M. J. O'BRIEN.

Little Books of the Holy Ghost. No. III.

Sketches of the Lives of Dominicans of olden times. By M. K.

Œuvres Complètes de S. E. LE CARDINAL DECHAMPS, Archevêque de Malines. 14 Vols.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1880.

REVELATION, GEOLOGY, THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

SCIENCE is knowledge. Philosophy is wisdom. Science and philosophy are united in our modern wise men; hence they are presumed to be as truthful as they are learned. The influence exercised on the community at large by men of acknowledged ability and learning is great for evil or for good. But if, in addition to the ordinary channels of information from which he has drawn his knowledge, a man is known to have dug into the mysterious depths of nature, and to have matured and arranged his discoveries in the solitude of a philosophical life, his influence becomes a mighty engine that sways the intellectual and very often the moral life of millions of the human race.

Philosophy was a moulder of public views and a director of public morals in pre-Christian times, and slowly retreating and fighting still, like a half-beaten army, it yielded its place grudgingly and sullenly to the early Christian preachers, who carried the faith through Italy, Asia Minor, and Greece. Now and again in the days of Trajan and the Antonines, and even through the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius, philosophy would rally her men in small bodies, and, like the *tirailleurs* of our modern warfare, surround and attack at various points that big Christian army which was advancing through the empire and gaining so many followers on its march. But as time went on the charges of philosophy became less brilliant, and its captains less brave, until the fall of the Roman Empire, when combative

philosophy abandoned the field, and appeared to yield the victory to revelation finally and for ever.

Modern scientists will justify themselves in seizing the sword of the fallen Brave of early Christian times, and again renewing the fight "between Reason and Revelation" on a principle that is easily understood.

They are men of *knowledge*. The ancient philosophers were men of *speculation*. The science of the ancients was inductive from some questionable axiom. Their science is positive, being founded on admitted discoveries. Hence, though ancient philosophers were justly driven out of the field through want of a solid base of operations, modern philosophers can hold their ground against all comers, leaning as they do on the strong fortress of facts.

Here, as it appears to me, is the principle on which the philosophers of our day justify their aggressiveness. They have examined the universe in a manner in which it was never examined before. From the bottom of the sea, from the mysterious depths of the earth, from the air, from the mighty expanse of the firmament, they have drawn their knowledge, and their knowledge consists of facts. Fact and truth are convertible terms; and no matter what the consequences may be, no matter how disastrous to faith and morality, they must bear witness to the fact, that is, the truth that is in them.

Modern philosophers are presumed to have consciences; but the consciences of some of them appear to me not to be sufficiently tender. Tremble they need not for the consequences of their facts; but for the theories they raise upon these facts they are directly responsible in a moral sense. It is the theorizing of these men on the acknowledged cleverness of the ape, and the teeming life of the world, that has made weak and unsteady minds doubt about the origin of the human species as described in Holy Writ. And perhaps the fossil remains of animals and reptiles, and the knives and potteries of man that they have discovered deep in the earth and water, have done more in their hands to shake the faith of the young generation in the narrative of the creation of the world than all the sophistries of ancient or modern times.

We behold a generation of unbelievers in France, Germany, and Italy, and with this unbelief some learned scientists must charge their consciences. In England, too, it is said, profanity advances with great and rapid strides; and again the cause may be traced to the chair of science.

Even in our own country, whose faith is a proverb, young men educated under liberal scientific professors show a tendency to free themselves from moral and intellectual restraints. Everywhere a pride of intellect is being generated which is widening the area of rebellion against revelation. A few years ago in these countries it was the Church that we saw pitted against the churches; now it is the schools pitted against the fundamental doctrines of all communities that call themselves Christian.

Where is it to end? Shall we bring back Pagan Rome and banish Christian love? And then the gladiators, and finally the "Christians to the lions"?

To stem the coming tide is clearly the duty of staunch believers in revelation. And yet how few opponents have the philosophers had to encounter! They march about in triumphal procession, and everyone appears to applaud them. They are thrown upon our shores under the name of the British Association, and they are fêted everywhere. In the morning they inspect our caves and climb our mountains, in the company of honest and believing men, to tell us before night that we are the descendants of apes and baboons, and that our life has originated in a chance combination of atoms!

It is a dangerous thing to wrestle with a giant. And hence timid men, though learned, retire from them, and bold men content themselves with flatly denying their conclusions without proving these conclusions to be false.

The very language in which the thoughts of the philosophers is shrouded is calculated to close the gate against those who ought to be their opponents. Who can follow them into their tangled mazes of thought? Who can penetrate that solid shell of terminology in which they encase themselves? When I told a facetious friend of mine a year ago that I proposed to dispute the conclusions of Darwin and Tyndall in a scientific paper, he said to me good-naturedly, "Take care what you do; you are scarcely capable of understanding their terms, much less of combating their results."

And I should regard it as excessively presumptuous of me to enter upon this combat, if I had only my own researches or powers; but fortunately I have been enabled to enlist on my side a few great collectors of scientific facts; and it is from their ample stores that I propose to draw the points and proofs that I shall bring forward. If there be any merit in what I am about to state, it must

merely be that of collecting and combining, while to others must go all the glory of painstaking research over sea and land, to discover by actual examination if what the philosophers say be true.

Everything leads us to believe that our globe is of immense antiquity. After the creation of our planet it is certain that for long ages it underwent various changes from the action of fire or water, or both elements combined. Moses writing on the subject, in the Book of Genesis, says: "The earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." Resting on its frame of porphyry and granite, which underlay it and permeated and supported it, as the spine and bones and ribs do the human body, our sphere seethed and swayed a turbid, unsettled mass, until God said: "Let the waters that are under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so done. And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering of the waters he called seas." Scientific writers are forced to admit the truth of the picture presented by the Inspired Word in this passage; for it is a favourite theory of theirs that the secondary rocks found in the depths of the earth were formed there by deposits from turbid waters on its surface.

Geologists tell us that for ages before the appearance of man on this sphere the earth was covered with vast forests, which, in the stillness of nature, undisturbed by voice or sound of living thing, grew their branches and shed their leaves, and when their term came died and fell down into the earth from which they had sprung. Century after century they deposited in the earth trunks and branches, gigantic relics of these primeval forests, until the vast accumulation pressing down, layer upon layer, formed a solid mass of vegetable deposit, endless in extent, and of great consistency and depth. These accumulations are the coal beds which are found in so many places, and which bear upon them the impress of their origin, inasmuch as they are often stamped with the images of the trees of which they are formed.

From an examination of the coal strata, in which but few remains of animal life are found, geologists are constrained to admit that the vegetable kingdom was the first in order of the great creations that took place, after the earth, by its separation from the water, had acquired consistency and firmness. Open the Book of Genesis, and you will find

that this scientific admission is in perfect accord with the Mosaic narrative; for between the morning and evening of the "third day," the very day on which the waters were driven off the earth's surface, He said: "Let the earth bring forth the green herb and such as may seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind; which may have seed in itself upon the earth. And it was done."

If Genesis and geology are in perfect harmony as to the fact that the plants and trees were the first living things put upon the earth's surface, they are equally agreed as to the period of the creation of the great reptiles and monsters of the deep. Close upon the coal beds, and spread over them like a carpet, geologists have discovered strata of chalk, green sand, and oolite, which contain a great accumulation of the remains of reptiles of a gigantic size. They have given them fanciful names, such as the *Ichthyosauri*, the *Plesiosauri*. But what is more to the point, they have exhumed them, and, from closely studying their anatomy, they have been enabled to build them up and exhibit their vast skeletons before us; and they have shown them to be a "frightful throng of lizard, compared to which our own are mere pigmies, which spread terror through the ante-diluvian seas."

Geologists admit that these creeping things were created posteriorly in point of time to the primitive forests, but anteriorly to the great animals that peopled the ancient world.

Again, let us open the Book of Genesis and follow the order of the work of the seven days. On the "third day," as we have seen, the vegetable world sprang into existence. On the "fourth day" the sun and moon were cast into the firmament. But on the "fifth day" God also said: "Let the waters bring forth the creeping creatures having life . . . And God created the great whales and every living and moving creature, which the waters brought forth."

So far revelation and geology walk hand in hand through the mysterious depths of the earth. The former chronicles the creation and life of plants and reptiles, the latter, in similar order, chronicles their decay and death. Equally startling are the coincidences that are presented to us as we continue to read the Divine record of creation in view of the strata that press upon the reptilian beds.

The ordering of life was progressive. After the waters, at the command of the Most High, had given birth to the

“creeping things,” a germ of fecundity was imparted to the earth, “to bring forth the living creature in its kind, cattle . . . and beasts of the earth, according to their kinds. And it was done.” Now, “the sixth day,” that is, the period immediately following the time of piscine creation, was devoted to the creation of the beasts of the earth. As the “fifth day” of creation corresponds with the “secondary” geological formations containing the remains of fishes and reptiles, we should expect to find in the “tertiary” formations the relics of the great animals created on the “sixth day.” And so it is. Animals great and small are there buried in the clays, sands, gravel, and limestones of those tertiary formations. Animals of our era, monkeys, bats, genets, and marmots; animals of singular form and colossal size, of which we have no representatives in our age; the dinotheria, in shape analogous to the elephant, but much larger; the gigantic mastodon; the megatherium, a kind of monstrous sloth, as large as an elephant; the sivatherium, a stag of enormous size, with four horns: all are found embedded together in their great tomb, witnesses to the grandeur of God’s first animal creation, as they are from the position they occupy in the depths of the earth to the truth of the Scripture narrative, which assigns to the mammals a date of creation subsequent to that of the marine reptiles and anterior to that of man. These are truths that cannot have escaped the observation of the scientific lights of our age, yet they seldom bring them forward, and more rarely comment upon them in a sense favourable to revelation. It will not, for some unexplained reason, suit them to argue thus:—“Geology is a recent science; Moses was not a geologist: therefore he was not informed by inspection or personal observation as to the position of things in the depths of the earth. He had no natural means of discovering that the strata of the vegetable kingdom were the lowest, and the strata of the animal kingdom the nearest to the earth’s surface, and that between them lay the strata of the great reptiles of the deep. And yet Moses writing his record of the origin of things, describes the birth and life of animals, reptiles, and plants in the same order in which geology depicts their decay and death.” Or as follows: “The revealed narrative of creation was in existence three thousand years before the earth was opened up and geology took its place as a science. The opened book of the earth’s deepest strata was found to correspond in its main features with the

early recitals of that Divine narrative. Therefore geology so far confirms revelation; and confirming and illustrating the early pages of Sacred Writ, it should naturally and even of necessity strengthen the faith of the believer." Such lines of argument would appear clear and conclusive to the man of ordinary mental capacity; but to the acute vision of our modern philosophers they seem offensive for their candour, and entirely below the scientific standard for their want of obscure terminology, and for perhaps "their unwise coquetting with authority."

A cyclopædist of some eminence gives the following as a correct classification of the earth's strata, beginning near the surface, and ending at the lowest geological depth. First stratum: "Recent deposits of clay, sand, gravel, limestones, &c., from existing rivers, lakes, &c., sometimes containing the remains of man or of his works." Second stratum: "Tertiary formations, composed chiefly of clays, sands, gravels, and limestones containing a mixture of extinct and recent animal remains." Third stratum: "Secondary formations, consisting of chalk, green sand, oolite, lias, new red sandstone, all abounding in organic remains chiefly marine, and all of extinct species." Fourth stratum: "Carboniferous system, consisting of the coal formations or mountain limestone; organic remains, all extinct." Fifth stratum: "The Devonian or old red sandstone . . . with extinct fishes." Sixth stratum: "The Silurian system, the upper and lower parts consisting of sandstones, often micaceous limestones, abounding in the oldest type of organic life and slates. Seventh stratum: "Primary formations . . . granite, porphyry, greenstone . . . a few organic remains in the newest beds only."

You may observe that this writer affirms that remains of organized beings are found in the deepest geological strata. And we should not expect it to be otherwise; for long before the creation of even the vegetable kingdom God had said, "Let there be light, and there was light." And to what purpose could be so early a creation of this bounteous blessing of light unless beings, however imperfectly organized, were created simultaneously with it to feel its influence, and in their way to thank the Great Creator for such a gift? There is a peculiar expression used in Genesis to express the action of the Divinity upon matter before the period of the creation of light. "The spirit of God," says Moses, "lay upon the water." The Hebrew word *merachepeth*, which I have translated by

the English word *lay*, implies incubation. The meaning of the passage is: "The spirit of God rested upon the waters generating life therein." And geology discovering in its lowest strata the vestiges of dawning life, has only come upon the remains of those primitive, though most imperfectly, organized beings drawn forth from the dead waves by that first Divine incubation.

But this does not affect in the smallest degree the agreement of geological research and Mosaic narrative on the *great* creations of life.

In examining the layers of the great tomb in which all are deposited, we follow the gradual advance of organization and the consequent progressive improvement of life. Beginning with the lowest order of shell-fish, the vital spark moved upwards, through the reptiles and fishes of the great deep, through the birds that floated through the liquid air, through the animals that burrowed in the earth or fed upon its surface, always seizing upon a more perfectly organized being until it entered into the most perfect of all—man—the masterpiece of creation, the greatest of the works of God! Though life passes along from the beginning always in an ascending scale, there is no blending of the beings that it animates, as Darwin would have us to believe; no gradual conversion of the body of the fish to the body of the terrene animal; of the body of the animal to the body of man. No monsters of the kind are found in the strata of the earth. Fishes of an extinct species, but fishes still! Animals of an extinct species, but animals! Nothing in their formation or organization as they lie in the depths of the earth to indicate that anything more than mere animal life was theirs; everything, on the contrary, in themselves and their surroundings, to convince us that they were brutes and nothing more. No dawning light of reason is shown in this series of beings as they lie before us from the beginning of the world; even the most intelligent of all animals (they of the monkey tribe) lying in their graves of perhaps ten thousand years, as formed, as organized—consequently as far from man and as near to man—as the most advanced of their species at the present day. Nor going back through this long series of living things do we find man in a more imperfectly formed state than at present, being gradually perfected in his organization by the revolution of ages. Nothing that is of man is found in the Silurian red sandstone, nor in the Devonian old sandstone, nor in the chalk or green sand, nor even

among the great animals of the tertiary formations. What remains of man is found near the surface, in the position that Moses assigns to him in the Book of Genesis, where he says, God, having created the earth and light, the animals and reptiles, completed his great work in these operative words: "Let us make man to our own image and likeness."

H. E. D.

(To be continued.)

A CRUISE ON LOUGH LURGAN.

THE critical reader may perhaps smile at me when I assure him that Lough Lurgan is a lake no longer. At some remote period on which history throws no light, it is thought it burst the land barrier which stood between it and the Atlantic, and has thus come to form one of our largest and most commodious Irish bays. Its ancient name,¹ "Lough Lurgan," is well nigh forgotten, and its modern name of "Galway Bay" is the only one with which ordinary readers are familiar. There are many who, when examining the cliffs of Aranmore, and gazing across on the still more majestic heights of Clare, fancy they see recorded there in nature's handwriting the story of the tremendous shock which severed the island from the mainland, and left the heaving ocean free to rush and swell and boom between those islands and the shore.² The view of the Connemara coast on the opposite side, with its fantastically shaped rocks, which seem from a distance to resemble the spires and domes of some weird city, confirms the opinion that the islands were once portions of the mainland.³

Indeed a similar convulsion occurred on the coast of Clare A.D. 799. The Four Masters⁴ tell us that "the sea divided the island of Fitha⁵ into three parts," and that the thunder storm was such on the occasion that one thousand and ten persons were killed in the adjoining country. But we shall leave to geologists and travellers the interest attaching to the sublime cliff-scenery of the Arran Islands

¹ Jar Connaught, p. 43.

² Miss Stokes tells us the lands are geologically a portion of the limestone district of Clare. "Early Christian Archit. of Ireland," p. 51.

³ Jar Connaught, p. 69.

⁴ Donovan's Edition, p. 411.

⁵ Now Mutton Island, near Kilmurry, Ibrickan.

and the adjoining coasts. It is my purpose to invite the reader to accompany me on a cruise on "Lough Lurgan," and visit some of the many places of interest to be found along its shores.

My friend and I entered a little sailing boat where the waters of the Corrib empty themselves with a noisy rush into the sea. Our pilot was a genuine Cladagh man, whose sonorous Irish periods would have been sweet music to the ears of Michael O'Clery, and whose confidence in the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas¹ was unbounded. Our little sail was quickly hoisted, and we sped on through the waters, covering our prow with a thousand crystals and myriad flakes of foam. The rocking of our skiff, as it rose and sank on the undulating ocean, suited our musing mood, and in truth my companion and I abandoned ourselves to the exquisite enjoyment of being thus pillowed securely on the ocean's bosom, while lost in such reveries as the scene and its surroundings were but too apt to conjure before us. The "Citie of the Tribes" steamed past us with its living freight of happy passengers, bound for the Lisdoonvarna springs, who seemed to enjoy the fresh sea breeze, laden with health, and the sparkling of the sunbeams on the shifting waves. But our thoughts were of the past; or if we were alive to present realities, it was that we might discover along this unknown coast well-nigh forgotten monuments, which were old and venerated before the Norman set foot on Irish soil . . . that we might muse among their ruins and examine them in that weird light with which history and tradition invest them.

Galway was fast fading from our view. But the mist had not yet shut out from us the curiously constructed spire of St. Nicholas' Cathedral. It reminded us of a day, over two hundred years ago, when the *interdict* of the Pope's Nuncio hung upon its closed portals; of a day when the chivalrous Rinucini sailed from the doomed city, disgusted by the divisions and selfishness of many of our countrymen, and foiled by the intrigues of Clanricarde and Ormond. Assuming the truth of Lynch's account, Galway was then a city of beauty, of opulence, and great commercial importance.

Its walls were of marble. Its stately edifices were of green marble also. "Its noble squares and fair proportions, symmetrically elegant, gladdened the eye, so much so that Galway has ever appeared to me what Jerusalem was to

¹ St. Nicholas of Myra is patron of Galway.

Jeremias.”¹ But the city of “*perfect beauty*” was doomed. Early the following year the plague carried away nearly four² thousand of its inhabitants. Three years later the “*urbs perfecti decoris*,” which Lynch describes in such exaggerated phrases, was a plundered city in the hands of the Cromwellians.

We turn our gaze westward, where the mountain rises boldly from the sea, lifting its scarred limestone summit to the clouds. That bold promontory is Black Head, more aptly designated in Irish “*Cean Boirne*,” *i.e.*, Burren Head. There, where its almost perpendicular side casts its shadow darkly on the waters, is Gleaninagh Bay, from which Lord Ormond, accompanied by Inchiquin and others, sailed for France on board the *Elizabeth of Jersey*, A.D. 1650.³

That narrow headland which we are approaching is Kilcolgan Point. It reminds our boatman that we are half-way across the bay. He tells us so, and thanks God. But our “cruise” is not to the opposite side. Our sturdy boatman, therefore, touches the helm; our little boat steadies herself for a moment, and then sweeping gracefully round with her prow to the east, she speeds along once more pleasantly through the waters. Along the northern shore, close to which we sail, the cultivated fields with their green corn crops incline gently to the sea. A short distance inland Ardfry House lies buried in its thick woodland shelter. It is the residence of Lord Wallscourt; but is much more remarkable as the residence of his illustrious ancestor, Sir R. Blake, Speaker of the Supreme Council of the Confederation.⁴ That village, with its church yonder, is “*Maree*.” It was from this remote shore that St. Enda sailed thirteen hundred years ago for his island sanctuary in Aranmore;⁵ and there too landed Lugad Mac Con “with his fleet of foreigners A.D. 250, and became King of Ireland by defeating Art Mac Conn, the reigning sovereign.”⁶ The battlefield, on which this bloody victory crowned the ambition of Lugad is but a few miles inland. It is situated between Kilcornan and the castle of Moyvela, and is called “*Turlogh Art*” to this day. Mr. Hardiman, in a valuable note to O’Flaherty on the subject, writes:⁷ “It would be creditable to the proprietor of the soil here, whoever he may be, to mark the classic spot with a suitable

¹ Vita Kerovani. ² Hardiman’s Galway. ³ Hard., Galway.

⁴ Description of Ireland A.D. 1598, p. 133.

⁵ Jar. Connaught, p. 42. AA. SS., p. 709.

⁶ Jar. Connaught, p. 43. ⁷ Loc cit.

monument." But the monument has not been erected. It is most probable that the proprietor knows nothing of the historical interest attaching to the field. Should we run up that armlet of the sea for a mile or so, we could visit the little village of Clarinbridge, built on the very site which O'Donnell selected for his encampment on his return from his successful raid on Clanricarde and Thomond A.D. 1600.¹ It was then known as Knocagaranbaun, and the name is still retained among many of the Irish speaking people of the district. A convent of the Sisters of Charity is embedded there in the trees. There they have been for years engaged in the heroic work of educating God's poor, and of consoling by their gentle ministrations countless hearts. Their little chapel has its art treasures. The altar piece is a splendid copy of Raphael's "Transfiguration." The face of the Mother of Sorrows looks so sweetly sad from its canvas there, that it seems to claim from the visitor the tribute of a tear. The chastely designed altar, encrusted with verde antique and lapis lazuli, will well reward a careful study. Our search, however, was mainly for such evidences of piety as bear upon them the traces of venerable antiquity. So we continue our sail.

East of Clarinbridge by about a mile, the sea flows up by some rich plantings; and thither we sail. Saint Colga,² one of the favourite disciples of Saint Columba, erected a monastery there upon the coast, about the close of the sixth century.³ The monastery was long famous. The death of one of its "aireneachs" is recorded in the year 1132.⁴ Kilcolgan, the town which sprang up around the monastery, was a place of some importance as early as the thirteenth century.⁵ But alas! for the vandalism of uneducated bigotry, hardly a trace of the monastery remains. It was torn down, and a Protestant place of worship, now a ruin, was erected on its foundation. However, despite the miserable profanation and barbarity that would endeavour to destroy every trace of so interesting a monument, enough remains to mark it out as the true site of St. Colga's monastery.

It was a singular mission, that of the good Saint Colga to his mother Cuillen.⁶ How happy he must have been to

¹ Four Masters (O'Donovan's edition).

² Adamnan's Life of Columba.

³ Dr. Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba; also Acta SS.

⁴ Four Masters.

⁵ Four Masters, A.D. 1258.

⁶ Lanigan, vol. ii., p. 328. A. S. H., p. 456.

find that, through the mercy of heaven and the direction of St. Columba, he was made the means of bringing back his fond mother to a life of penance and grace. It is the story of Monica and Augustine reversed, while retaining much of its touching pathos.

“Quickly now return to Ireland,”¹ said Columba to his faithful disciple Colga, “and interrogate your mother closely regarding her very grievous sin, which she does not wish to confess to any man.” In obedience to the saint’s directions Colga quitted Iona, and returned to Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, the district comprised within the present Diocese of Kilmacduagh, of which he was a native. His mother, much amazed at the nature of her son’s unexpected mission, at first denied her guilt. Aided, however, by grace, and humbled by the consciousness of her sin, she at length confessed it; and “doing penance according to the judgment of the saint, was absolved, wondering very much at what had been revealed regarding her.”²

When we remember that Saints Sorar and Aidus were also her sons, and that Foila was her sainted daughter, we shall be less surprised at the great grace of conversion thus accorded to Cuillen in her old age. What wonder that their prayers for the mother whom they so dearly loved, should have done a holy violence to heaven!

The record of St. Aidus’ death alone has come down to us. It is given in the Annals of Ulster thus:—A.D. 557, “St. Aidan O’Fiachrach died.” Father Walsh, speaking of the churches of Ballina and Tineagh Glasse, considers it probable they were *dedicated to this holy man*.³

St. Foila, like her brother Colga, built a church in her own native district of Aidhne. The ruins of her church may still be seen at Kileely (Kilfoila) about a mile east of the site of St. Colga’s monastery. Her great sanctity was attested by frequent miracles during her life. The still larger number of miracles performed at her tomb, obtained for her an enduring posthumous fame. Her shrine at Kileely Church, where her relics were preserved, continued to be visited by vast multitudes of pilgrims even as late as Colgan’s time; and that painstaking writer assures us that miracles were of daily occurrence there.⁴ But alas! in latter days the Saint’s patronage is little sought. Even the memory of the favours so often procured through her

¹ Adamnan’s Life of Columba.

² Adamnan’s Life of Columba.

³ Eccl. Hist., p. 577. ⁴ A. S. H., p. 456. Lanigan, vol. ii., p. 326.

intercession, has well nigh faded from the minds of the peasantry. Her feast once held on the 3rd March is celebrated no longer; and her church remains a neglected ruin. Portion of the northern side wall is a striking specimen of the cyclopean masonry peculiar to the age in which Foila lived. The rest of the church bears evidence of comparatively modern restoration. The sanctuary is lighted by two single lancet windows, one being in the eastern gable, and the other in the southern side wall; but the height of those lights, is greater than was usual in our most ancient churches. The doorway placed in the southern side wall is also modern, and possesses no feature of interest. The ruin as it now stands is a simple oblong, measuring fifty feet by sixteen.

Rovehagh,¹ where the O'Heynes, princes of Hy Fiachragh Aidhne, were inaugurated, is in the immediate vicinity of St. Foila's church. But the *red beech* (Rovehagh) is long since cut down. The fort is destroyed. Centuries have passed away since the coarbs of St. Colman MacDuagh invoked the blessings of heaven there on the chieftains of Aidhne. Even the inauguration stone has been removed. This same Rovehagh, was the scene of many a fierce fight between the Munster and Connaught tribes.

"An army was led by Dermot O'Brien, and the men of Munster into Connaught, and he slaughtered the inhabitants of Ruaidh-Bheitheach, where they left behind their provisions, their horses, their arms, and their armour."²

A.D. 1143 "an army was led by Turlogh O'Brien and the men of Munster and Connaught, and they cut down the Ruaidh-Bheitheach, and demolished its stone fort, after which they returned without booty or hostages."³

But the memory of fight and fray is well nigh forgotten. Few of the peasantry there have the slightest knowledge of the carnage which once purpled with blood the fields they now cultivate in peace.

The ruined fort of Dunkellin is also situated in this interesting neighbourhood. It was one of the principal residences of the third Earl of Clanricarde, the maternal ancestor of the present Redington⁴ family of Kilcorman. The fort gives its name to a barony in the diocese of Kilmacduagh

¹ Ruli Ruaidh-Bheilbeach. Four Masters.

² Four Masters, A.D. 1116.

³ Identified by O'Donovan as giving name to Rovehagh, in the parish of Kileely, and barony of Dunkellin.

⁴ State of Ireland A.D. 1598.

created A.D. 1585. It is completely ruined. The grass-grown mounds and crumbling masonry which remain, clearly attest its former great extent. The stone is still pointed out on which the Earls of Clanricarde were inaugurated, when they deemed it expedient for their own purposes to copy Irish customs. It is still called by the people of the district "*Cahir an Earla*," i.e., the *earl's chair*. It is probably the same which had been used at Rovehagh in more ancient times by the O'Hynes, and was appropriated by the De Burgos after they had established themselves in this part of Clanricarde.

In the immediate vicinity of St. Colga's monastery is another interesting monument—namely, the church of Dromacoo. It was but little less than a mile south-east of us. The breeze was invigorating, and came to us laden with the odours of the myriad wild flowers which opened their petals to the sunshine in the meadows along which we passed.

The church of Dromacoo is dedicated to Saint *Sarnait* (Sourney), who, like St. Colga and Foila, was descended from Dathy, through the noblest branch of the tribes of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. The Saint's genealogy is given by Mac Firbis.¹ Though the date of her birth is not given, it can be fairly shown that she belonged to the early part of the sixth century. She is the first of the saints of Aidhne, of whom history contains any record. It is much to be regretted that that record is so meagre. But neither the long interval of thirteen centuries, nor the comparative obscurity in which the Saint's history has been buried, have been able to efface a reverence for her memory from the minds of the good people of the district. Sourney is a favourite name among the females of the district to the present day. Mr. O'Donovan² informs us that there are wells dedicated to her in Aidhne. Saint Sourney's well at Dromacoo is immediately outside the cemetery wall, and on its western side. Its stone enclosure is in part broken down, and decayed vegetable matter and branches fill up the well. Some of the simple people of the district make the prescribed penitential rounds, and invoke the Saint's intercession there to the present day. At the south-eastern side of the church, and at the entrance to the cemetery, may be seen "*Leaba Sourney*," or Saint Sourney's bed. It is one of those stone cells in which many of our early saints loved to do penance.

¹ Manners and Customs, Hy Fiachrach, p. 55.

² Ibid., p. 54.

Its stone roof is still nearly perfect. It measures about six feet in length by four in breadth. Its exact height, it is not easy to ascertain, owing to the quantity of rubbish which has accumulated in and around it. It would seem to me to be scarcely four feet high. According to the uniform tradition of the locality, it was here that Saint Sourney spent a portion of her holy life. It reminds one of Harris's description of the Anchorite's cell at Foure, county Westmeath.¹ "He inhabited a small low cell, so narrow that a tall man can scarce stretch himself at length upon the floor."

The church is a very interesting ruin, and bears evident traces of restoration at different periods. A low cyclopean doorway with horizontal lintel, and the cyclopean masonry of a portion of the northern side wall, attest the great antiquity of those portions of the ruin. The eastern gable has a finely wrought double lancet of the early English period. The southern doorway is exceedingly striking. Few more splendid specimens of a Norman doorway are to be met with among our ancient ruins. Clustering columns with elaborately wrought capitals support its recessed arches, which are richly ornamented by lozenge, dentals, and other ornaments carefully executed. Dromacoo became a church of considerable importance in the middle ages. It had its college and "house of hospitality." The Annals of Kilronan, as well as the Four Masters, record the death of Fachtna O'Halgaith, coarb of Dromacoo, and official of Hy Fiachra, A.D. 1232. He "kept a house for the entertainment of strangers and of the sick, and also for the instruction and improvement of the country and the land."

In the church are many ancient gravestones, on some of which the name of O'Kilkelly is yet legible. It is the name of a noble and powerful Catholic family, who resided in this parish, and held the castle and estates of Cloughballymore as recently as the reign of Elizabeth.² The Most Rev. Dr. Kilkelly, who was consecrated bishop of his native diocese, Kilmacduagh, A.D. 1744, and was appointed administrator of Kilfenora in A.D. 1750,³ was a member of this family. This distinguished man studied in Louvain, and became master of theology. Having joined the Dominican Order he was elected its prior provincial in Ireland. He was also chosen amongst the theologians at the Casana-

¹ Petrie, p. 116.

² Manners and Customs Hy Fiachragh.

³ Hib. Dom. Dr. Brady's Epis. Succession.

tensian Library in Rome previous to his appointment to the See of Kilmacduagh.

Saint Sourney, Saint Foila, and her holy brothers having detained us rather long, we returned as quickly as possible through the richly planted and undulating grounds of Tyrone House to our little skiff on the shore, where our faithful boatman awaited us with some manifest impatience. However, the prospect of rest in the neighbouring little harbour of Kinvara, restored his temper to its normal agreeable condition. Perhaps it was to ascertain if we were open to the subtle influence of flattery that he declared he was much edified at the pains we were at to visit those holy places in

“Great Aidhne, land of saints.”¹

Once more our little sail is hoisted, and before a fresher breeze. With swelling canvas and straining cordage, our boat inclines for a little to the water, but she quickly rises again over the crested billows, like a sea bird that dips its pinions in the wave. Our voyage of about four miles more in a south-easterly direction is quickly accomplished. The coast is low and uninteresting; but we have hardly time to grow weary of its monotonous sterility before the castle and fortifications of Dunguaire stand in sight. The Castle rises from the water at one side of the little harbour. On an eminence at the opposite side we see the Convent of Mercy lately erected there, keeping watch and ward as it were, over the spiritual interests of the little town, which spreads like an amphitheatre beneath it. A rather elevated rising ground in the centre of the town is the old graveyard, “God’s acre,” in the centre of which stands the ruined church of St. Colman Hy Fiachrach. This church, though bearing many traces of comparatively modern restoration, is very ancient. As St. Colman Hy Fiachra, its founder (who is not to be confounded with St. Colman MacDuagh, his illustrious namesake and kinsman), was a disciple of St. Maidoc of Ferns, the erection of his church may be ascribed to the beginning of the seventh century.

This little town of Kinvara has an industrious and warm-hearted population of about six hundred, whose chief distinction is their sincere love of religion and of its sacred practices. It is primitive, as might be expected from its comparative isolation. The advent of a schooner from Bristol or Cardiff, with perhaps a cargo of coal, is regarded

¹ Manners and Customs Hy Fiachragh, p. 93.

there as an event of no small importance. The quays are usually filled with a flotilla of boats of various sizes, many of them similar to that in which we ourselves had sailed. Some have come from afar (*sic*) from Clifden or Greatman's Bay! others from less remote localities along the coast, little known to ordinary students of geography. But for all the hardy fishermen of the coast, the fine old Celtic language of Ireland is still the medium through which they maintain their animated conversations in noisy groups along the quays. It is gratifying to find the language of King Guaire still spoken where the good king dispensed his lavish hospitality, and where his royal bounty was sung in musical Irish verse by the laureates of Erin thirteen centuries ago.

At that remote period Kinvara was one of the chief places in the province. The king had his principal residence there. The castle which casts its dark shadow on the usually still waters of the bay, is built upon the exact site occupied by the ancient palace. It is to the present day called Dun Guaire. The Dun which has long since disappeared, occupied the elevated mound on which the castle stands. The present castle, with its Tudor windows, is modern. It was erected in the middle of the sixteenth century by Rory More O'Shaughnessy, lord of Kinelea, or the eastern districts of Aidhne. He destroyed the castle of his kinsman, O'Kilkelly, the ruins of which may still be traced, and erected the present castle within the ruined fort of his illustrious and royal ancestor Guaire.

The castle is in excellent preservation. It is a square tower strongly built, having the principal apartments lighted by large and well constructed windows. It is surrounded by a strong wall, which forms a regular octagon, having a low parapet with loopholes running round it; and is flanked by a small tower at one of the southern angles of the fortification. Ascending the spiral staircase to the summit, we found that it commanded a fair view of the ancient territory of Aidhne, the present diocese of Kilmacduagh, over which the O'Heynes, the O'Shaughnessys, and their kindred of southern Hy Fiachra once held sway. The wooded slopes of the Echte mountains, with their heathery summits, stand out well defined as its eastern boundary. If solitude is beautiful, then those heights of the Echte range are as beautiful to-day as when their beauty was sung a thousand years ago by the laureate of his nation, "the Ovid of Ireland,"—Flan, the son of Lonan. Extending in an unbroken plain northwards to Athenry

it is bounded on that side by the O'Flaherty's country and Hy Maine. The territory of Hy Fearmaic, in the modern barony of Inchiquin, forms its southern boundary, and lake and wood, and crag and ruined castle, and dun and fort, and cromleach and holy wells, and crumbling churches, impart to this district an interest that is unique, while the splendid Tower of Kilmacduagh seems to watch over those interesting relics of an interesting past. The sea and the rugged range of the Burren Hills form its western boundary. Indeed it is impossible to gaze upon those gigantic masses of limestone which rise in Burren to the majestic elevation of mountains, without being struck by their sublimity. "In the valleys at their feet great masses of rock, built of square blocks of limestone, rise like citadels, while the mountains lie in terraces of stone marked by flowing curves, line following line in slow succession till they seem to rise by giant steps to their smooth and rounded summits. At their base the land stretches out in flat horizontal lines of flagstone, which give all the repose of still water to the landscape, and when at early dawn far on the horizon, the level lines of the gray and desert plain are met by level lines of crimson light and bars of purple cloud in heaven, nothing can exceed the sublimity of the picture."¹ Indeed the plain which extends along the base of the mountain from Kinvara on one side to Kilmacduagh, and still further south, presents a scene unique in its sterile aspect. The general surface there consists of sheets of limestone, seamed and broken by thousands of irregular fissures. Here and there some few feet of sandy soil cover the undulations of the limestone; and whether covered with green crops or yellow corn, or yielding a scanty vegetation, give a pleasing variety to the gray stony landscape. An intricate network of limestone walls, which seem to serve no other purpose than that of disposing of the loose fragments of rocks which encumber the surface, intersect the entire district, and break to some extent the seeming repose of a wilderness which rests upon the locality. A stranger in the district might feel, with Miss Martineau and others, that the dreary desolation of the scene is but too suggestive of the deserts of Palestine. But the illusion is removed by the sight of the hamlets scattered here and there over the district, where a peaceable, religious, and industrious people are doomed to eke out a livelihood by ceaseless toil.

¹ Early Christian Irish Architecture, p. 51.

The departing sunlight warned us that our pilgrimage for the day should close. The purple tints reflected from the western horizon were fading from the summits of the hills, the outline of which was fast growing sombre and dark. And in truth we ourselves had felt that weariness had come upon us with the evening; so we descended and returned to the little town, resolved to resume on the morrow our musings and our cruise.

J. A. F.

“CELTIC” IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

PART I.—THE OSSIANIC TALES.

THE account given by Dr. Joyce of the prosperity of Dermid, or as he calls him, Dermat, with Grania, is not exactly that given by the Irish tale, as will be seen from a comparison of his version with Mr. Standish Hayes O’Grady’s more literal translation, published by the Ossianic Society, and to which we have frequently recourse with gratitude. We read in Dr. Joyce, “People said that no man of his time was richer than Dermat in gold, and silver and jewels, in sheep and cattle-herds.” We find in Mr. O’Grady, that “People used to say that there was not living at the same time with him a man richer in gold and silver, in kine and cattle-herds and sheep, and who made more preys than Diarmuid.” Dr. Joyce’s view of Dermat without his forays is almost imposed upon him by the beautiful heading he has given to the chapter, “Peace and Rest at last.” But the view of Dermat as still a great foray-maker, and no doubt hunter too, is needful for the sequence of the tale; and character is carefully preserved in our Irish Legend. Dermat, living with Grania, still loved the excitement of the battle and the chase.

The Lady Grania kept her old character too. It was hers to be suddenly capricious, and to love to have attentions paid her. We have seen how she made up her mind at her marriage feast to clope with Dermat, how she insisted on having the enchanted berries of which she heard him describe the attendant peril. We may add that when the giant had been killed, and Dermat bade her eat the fruit she had

desired, the dainty and troublesome princess refused to touch it, unless her husband in addition to having slain its guardian, took the trouble of plucking it with his own hands. Of course this capricious dame, who was such a torment in adversity, had vagaries every year and every day of every year in her prosperity; and of course Dermot, when not out hunting and preying, put up patiently with all. At last she pitched upon the most astounding vagary possible, and brought on the last dread catastrophe.

She would have Finn himself on a visit, to display and enhance her grandeur. Her complaisant husband was utterly amazed, but of course consented to his lady's will. Finn was invited, and Finn, as we already know, set out to come as a friendly potentate, with his son Ossian and Ossian's son Oscar, the true ally of Dermot, and the whole legion of Fenian hunting warriors. The night before their arrival Dermot is awakened from his sleep by the baying of a hound, and longs to see what chase is afoot. Grania with difficulty restrains him till morning, she is full of evil presentiments, she fears the cry of the hound is a magic device of some unfriendly fairy spirit, but with morning she agrees to let Dermot go. He goes forth, and on a lonely hillock meets Finn alone.

This whole passage is unquestionably singularly striking, and we are tempted to believe that among singularly striking passages, it stands absolutely unrivalled for simplicity and probability. There is nothing told except what seems most likely, what seems even dictated by the nature of the circumstances. The night of the approach of the great hunting warrior troop, what more natural than the baying of a hound? What more natural than that Dermot should be unwilling to be absent from the sport or peril? What more natural than that Grania should be filled with nightly fear, and restrain his eagerness till morning? What more natural than that thus going forth, while there was really a great and dangerous hunt taking place, Dermot should come somewhere upon one solitary Fenian? What more natural than that that solitary Fenian lagging behind in the chase should be the hale but now aged chief himself, the invited and expected Finn? And yet what solemn forebodings accompany us, and grow upon us step by step throughout these scenes! The nocturnal cry, the suggested magic, the uncertain hunt, the lonely encounter between old foes! And withal we breathe throughout, the fresh air of simple and impulsive

but not ignoble life, life adorned with bravery, strength, power, and affection; the wife in her better moments, the hearty hunter, the staunch warrior, the king-like chieftains of great tribes, are the forms that strike our view as we are made pause on the mountain side, to await the issue of the hunt. There is surely here the hand of a great, an astonishingly great master. What comes is greater still. There was nothing better understood by our old Irish story-tellers than the art of not letting interest flag.

There is no violence between Finn and Dermot. But Finn tells Dermot that the hunt is a boar-hunt, and a hunt of the very boar because of which, there are gesa on Dermot not to hunt any boar whatever. In other words, because it would be ruin to Dermot to slay this one boar, a solemn warning had been given that Dermot should avoid all boar-hunts. And Finn explains the reason of this portentous Counsel of Restriction, of which Dermot had been ignorant until the present moment, by relating to the doomed man a tale more strange and harrowing than any we have met yet. Dermot's father had cruelly killed Dermot's foster-brother in his childhood out of jealousy for Dermot, and the father of the murdered child, who was a magician, put forth his power of giving to the corpse an inferior kind of life, a sort of power which we shall see later on promised to be exerted in the case of Dermot himself. The slain foster-brother whose hopes of human life had been cut short, was changed into a boar destined to have the same span of life as Dermot; and this boar, this foster-brother of Dermot's was the object of the hunt. All this terrible news Finn pours out into the unfortunate Dermot's ears and advises him to retire from the path of the fatal boar.

Dermot surmises that the far-seeing Finn has planned this dreadful chase for his destruction, but it is not his noble nature to seek to sweeten his own bitter lot, by striving to avenge it beforehand on Finn, and turning his arms against him before he dies. His old instinct is supreme within him now, as in every hour of peril. He rejects Finn's advice to flee, he parts company with him, and awaits alone a combat with the enchanted boar, which is drawing near at full speed, and whose death he is warned he himself cannot long survive. Here is indeed in the magnificent old tale what critics must call an overwhelmingly tragic situation. Macbeth in his despair turning to fight in order to escape the cage of ignominy

has cast at any rate all perplexity behind him. He is clearly to fall by Macduff's sword. Dermot is indeed sure to meet misfortune, sure of death whether he slays the boar or the boar kills him, but how precisely he is to die is not yet clear; the Mysterious here increases the tragic horror of the catastrophe.¹

This is that on which a Greek chorus would love to dwell. This whole last day of Dermot's life supplies indeed the finest matter for a great tragedy after the old Greek model. The first meeting between Finn and Dermot would explain their extraordinary relations, how Finn comes invited to visit his old foe, how Dermot has been strangely roused to come forth and look upon the chase. If the taste of Euripides were to prevail, there would be a splendid choice of prologues, a soliloquy of Finn on approaching Grania's home, or some recital on Dermot's part relating the nocturnal cry and the ill-boding fears of Grania. Then after the opening dialogue of recognition, the news that Finn would give would fall on Dermot's ears like the horrors of his fate on *Œdipus*; there would be room here for many steps of wonder and wild passion; and a straggling band of hunting Fenians, with Ossian at their head, would form the most appropriate of choruses. Dermot would make his exit for his fight. The chorus would chant his mysterious fate, his courage unsubdued by any destiny; a messenger would, of course, recount the story of the combat; and Dermot and Finn would re-appear in the last scene, with which the reader is already so familiar, the scene of the fatally spilled water from the well.

With the exception of what we would attribute to the chorus, all the matter here suggested is found finely treated in the tale, and this alone is surely no lowly praise. We feel, however, the want of something corresponding to a chorus, a coryphæus or a Hamlet, some personage in the action, or the author himself outside it, to moralise occasionally. Our tale has nothing of the kind. We know this is a fault on the right side, we know that it is to some extent a proof of the truly dramatic taste and spirit of the old race, but, for all that, something in the way of a chorus's or an author's reflections is sometimes wanted. Beyond all question, before Dermot's last encounter, we ought to have been given some sort of Shakspearean "To

¹ Mr. Wilkie Collins, in "*Percy and the Prophet*," calls "the cruellest of all terrors—the terror of something unknown."

be or not to be," in some shape or form. There is no one in the tale to do anything of the kind.

There is indeed one character who possesses the elements of a coryphæus, and those elements were developed in a peculiar manner elsewhere in Irish literature. Ossian appears here as a thoughtful remonstrator against Finn, as a great narrator of long and wonderful anecdotes. So fully is this understood, that the long story about the hydra, which Dermot tells his brother outlaws, is actually delivered by him as a long speech, which he has heard pronounced by Ossian. It is Ossian himself who first explained to the outlaws the origin of the wonderful berries. Elsewhere in Irish literature Ossian appears, after ages passed in the fairy world, as a querulous old man lamenting in a younger and Christian Ireland, the long bygone days of the hunting warriors of Finn. Then at last he has all the character of a moraliser, but it is a moraliser, let us add, who is at the same time a desperate partisan, not a mere inhabited mask to spout forth the general sentiment; for individual character is most vividly depicted in ancient Celtic literature. But Ossian as we have him in the tale of Dermot and Grania, Ossian in the full prime of life, dutifully accompanying his father and differing from him with a respect which never allows him to proceed to the same extremities as his son Oscar, in defence of their common dear friend Dermot; this Ossian does not yet develop any sweeping general views, he as yet only tells stories and gives practical advice of a moderate tendency. We cannot but feel that though this extreme is better than the other, the undramatic, didactic extreme, nevertheless there has been here a great opening for an outburst of real genius completely thrown away.

The author relates Dermot's encounter with the enchanted boar, and we have then of course Dermot's appeal to Finn and the hero's death. That magnificent appeal fares hardly better in Dr. Joyce's hands than in Sir Samuel Ferguson's. We cannot blame Dr. Joyce. He has to make his translation all of a piece, suitable in every part as far as possible to English taste, and one change entails another. But we confess we turn sometimes from the beautiful verses of Sir Samuel and the delicate and idiomatic sentences of Dr. Joyce, not only to the Irish original but even to the literal translation of Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady. There even in the simple rendering—

"Had it been that night that I asked thee for a drink, thou wouldst have given it to me,"

and later on in the touching repetition brought in after a new recital of astonishing services to Finn—

“And had I asked a drink of thee that night, O Finn, I should have gotten it,”

we find something more deep and real than in all the refined variations of Sir Samuel Ferguson and Dr. Joyce. But we have no time to treat now of this subject. We must pass on to the death.

Here we feel grateful to Dr. Joyce for not insisting, like Sir Samuel, on making a preacher at the last moment out of poor Dermat, the last character in the world out of which one could hope to make one. Dr. Joyce allows Dermat to remain silent after his sigh, but he can't let him die as quietly as the old Irish story makes him. He insists on putting something in, on saying that Dermat's head fell back! This is indeed no very serious change, though what Dr. Joyce hopes to gain by it we cannot possibly imagine. For our part we should have thought that once the dying hero was to cease to speak, the more quietly he passed away the better.

But abandoning all minor criticism, turning to the main point of the great tale, let us in concluding this article call attention to the grand progressive heightening of interest towards the close. The speech of Dermat in itself is something wonderful even after all that has preceded. But the final circumstances of Dermat's death form, it seems to us, the most pathetic of catastrophes. To be so near Life and Happiness, to lose it for so little, to see as it were the saviour coming and behold him stop short, this is, it seems to us, the masterpiece of Tragedy. This was easily possible in the Irish Romance, because of the magic world which it embraced. In the modern romantic but unsupernatural Tragedy, the leader of the Romantic School in the most popular of his productions has struggled hard to rouse this highest interest by other means. In his *Ernani*, Victor Hugo shows us a brave and joyous young noble suddenly on his wedding night reminded by the sounding of a horn, that he is bound to redeem instantly a fatal promise, that of following his arch-enemy to die. He is summoned to release his hold on life and happiness, when they seem most within his grasp, but the forces brought to bear on him are not Nature and Magic, but an exaggerated Moral World, a thing perhaps not more difficult to believe in than Magic, but certainly less easy to

imagine. We do not think the famous modern has the advantage here. A price must be paid for the great working of a catastrophe of the kind we speak of, and the supposition of Magic is perhaps the cheapest price. At all events the catastrophe of Dermot's death is one of the highest order; and on the whole we do not hesitate to say that the Irish romance is in our opinion a far finer work than the tragedy of Ernani, is, in a word, a work to be numbered among the grandest compositions of all time.

J. J. O'C.

LATITUDINARIAN CHRISTIANITY.

II.

HAVING proved in the last number of the RECORD that the system of Latitudinarian Christianity is opposed to the teaching of Scripture and tradition, as well as to the dictates of common sense, I stated the Catholic belief on the question at issue in the following terms:—"That the entire doctrine of Christ *as proposed by His church* must be accepted by every Christian under pain of exclusion from the terms of salvation; and, consequently, that for those who *voluntarily* die outside the true church *salvation is impossible.*" In the present paper I propose to reply to the most popular objections ordinarily urged against this teaching, and shall conclude by directing attention to the consequences which must inevitably follow in the moral order from the principles of the Latitudinarian system.

(a) "*The Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation*" (say the Latitudinarians), "*is extremely intolerant; yet Catholics repudiate as a foul calumny the charge of intolerance, which is sometimes, and, as it would appear, not unreasonably, alleged against them.*"

This is, perhaps, the most popular of the many objections put forward against the Catholic teaching, and it is one well calculated to influence generous, but weak-minded and ill-instructed persons, because, unfortunately, the word "intolerance" is linked with some abuses committed in other days by the Civil Power in the name of religion. However, if we study the meaning of the term itself, apart from some lamentable associations connected with it, we

shall find that the prejudices which have arisen on this score against the Catholic doctrine are utterly groundless.

To understand this question fully, we must distinguish three kinds of intolerance—ecclesiastical, civil, and theological. The two first proceed from the will, and affect men's persons; the last is an act of the intellect, and alone is concerned with man's belief.

By *ecclesiastical* intolerance is meant the infliction of certain spiritual penalties, which the church imposes on those who obstinately reject any article of her faith, or violate the ordinances laid down for the guidance of her children. These punishments are designed either to correct the erring, or to remove from the Christian fold the danger of contamination, which might arise from the presence of an unworthy member. Of this kind, for instance, is excommunication, by which the church cuts off such unworthy members from the body of the faithful. That she possesses this power, and is bound in certain cases to exercise it, is conclusively proved from many passages of the New Testament; but even were there no guarantee for it in the inspired pages, yet would it belong to her in virtue of the natural law. For the Church, even regarded from a mere human standpoint, is a *society of men*, banded together, like every other society, for a common end, and she is, therefore, authorised by *natural* law to admit into her fold those whom she may judge worthy, and to expel such as may violate any of the conditions of the social contract of membership.¹

Civil intolerance consists in the *temporal penalties* inflicted on heretics, to prevent them from poisoning others with their pernicious doctrines. In regard to this matter the church has been grossly calumniated by men who have perverted history, confounding her actions with the proceedings of the Civil Powers. It would not be a difficult

¹ In confirmation of the statement that this power belongs to every society in virtue of the natural law, it may be remarked that sentences of excommunication were pronounced against evil-doers even in pagan times. Thus Sophocles (*Œdipus Rex*, 226–232) represents Œdipus as excommunicating the murderer of Laius. A similar passage occurs in Æschylus (*Choëphoræ* 285 seq.); and Cæsar thus describes the form of excommunication observed among the Druids in Gaul, “Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decretis non steterit sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pæna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum ii numero impiorum et sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt; aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur.” *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi., c. 12.

task to show that the Catholic church has never inflicted persecution simply for errors in faith, although Catholic governments have sometimes resorted to such temporal punishments, not indeed, as a general rule, so much because of the error itself, as because of its consequences to civil society. However, it would be quite foreign to my purpose to enter into this subject here, as in the present controversy with the Latitudinarians *there is absolutely no question concerning either ecclesiastical or civil intolerance.*

There remains, then, *theological intolerance*, which alone concerns us in the present paper, and by which is understood that incompatibility which may be found to exist between two theological propositions, such as, for instance, to assert that the pains of Hell are at once temporary and eternal; that Christ is, and is not, God.

Now in the Catholic church there is a very wide margin granted to freedom of opinion with regard to theological questions. There are some of these questions on which theologians agree as to the conclusion, but differ as to the philosophical method of explaining them. To this class belong those controversies which constitute almost the entire body of scholastic theology, and regarding which each one is at liberty to attach himself to that school which most commends itself to his judgment. Again, there are other questions which are held not to be *clearly* revealed—concerning which the sense of the Scriptures is obscure, tradition doubtful, and the Church has not as yet made any authoritative and definite pronouncement. On all such questions, likewise, Catholics may differ, and the Church allows them the widest latitude of opinion—so much so, indeed, that many a time she has strictly forbidden parties so contending to apply to one another the epithet *heretic*. We grant that history does record instances where conflicting schools of theology have exhibited bitter feelings of intolerance towards each other in questions of this class; but it must be borne in mind that they have done so in open violation of the prohibitions of the Church, and mostly under the influence of secular statesmen and princes. Lastly, there are theological truths which are *dogmas of faith*—which the Church holds and teaches to be divinely revealed, and with regard to these the Church is, and of necessity *MUST BE, intolerant*. For she cannot allow that it is optional to admit a proposition which contradicts a truth already proclaimed to be divinely revealed. This follows of necessity from what logicians call the principle of contradiction: since if

a proposition is once proved to be an article of faith, its contradictory proposition must necessarily be heretical. In this sense, then, and in this sense only, the Catholic church is intolerant; but in the same sense every rational man, as has been already shown,¹ must be intolerant in support of known truths in any department of knowledge whatsoever. Fools and dolts are the sole patrons of toleration where there is a question of antagonism between truth and falsehood.

And here I would remark that, though Protestants are ever ready to fling the charge of intolerance against Catholics because of their belief in the doctrine of exclusive salvation, this doctrine was preached by all the early (so-called) Reformers, and is explicitly set forth in all the public professions of Protestant faith. I might quote in support of this assertion the Helvetic Confession (art. xvii.) of 1536; the Saxon Confession (art. xii.) of 1531; the Scottish Confession (art. xvii.) of 1560; and several others to the same effect. I shall, however, content myself with appealing to the two most respectable non-Catholic churches of England and the United States, as being bodies in which we are more deeply interested. The 18th article of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Great Britain declares that "they also are to be accursed that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law." Moreover, the Athanasian creed is still retained in the Book of Common Prayer, although that creed, in most express and uncompromising terms, consigns to eternal damnation Unitarians, Methodists, and several other sects in the United Kingdom, which are classed under the general appellation of Protestants. Turning to America, we find that in the Profession of Faith published by the Presbyterian Church of the United States in 1821, and printed in Philadelphia by Anthony Finley, the second article, under the heading "of the church," (p. 125), is formulated in the following terms: "The visible church, which is also Catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the law), consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of their Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, *out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.*" It is evident, then, that when

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, April 1880, p. 128.

Protestants accuse the Catholic church of intolerance in regard to the doctrine of exclusive salvation, they not only utter meaningless words, invented to delude the ignorant and simple-minded, but are themselves guilty of the most glaring inconsistency, and reject the express teachings of their own sects.

(b) "*The Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation is utterly subversive of all kindly feelings among men; for Catholics hold that all persons will be eternally damned who do not think with themselves.*"

Here we have another popular calumny charged by the Latitudinarians against the Catholic church. We cannot expose it more effectually than by destroying the foundation on which it rests, and setting forth in the clearest terms what the church really does, and does not, believe on this subject of exclusive salvation. It is NOT the belief of Catholics, then, that all men will be eternally damned who do not think with themselves in religious matters; but Catholics do believe that those are in a state of damnation (a) who *wilfully* remain outside the communion of that body which they know to be the true Church of Christ; or (b) who doubting whether they really are members of the true church, to which they believe all men are bound to belong, yet wilfully continue in that state of doubt, without taking due measures to inform themselves which of the various Christian communities possesses the characteristic notes or marks of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Now, we may suppose the case of a man who, because of his early education, life-long associations and deep-seated prejudices, either does not know that there rests upon him a strict obligation of belonging to some one Christian communion to the exclusion of all others; or who knowing this obligation, yet firmly believes his own particular sect to be the true church, so that a suspicion of being in error never crosses his mind—in the case of such a one, the Catholic church *does not hold* that he is outside the terms of salvation, at least by reason of the faith which he professes. The reason is obvious. Membership with the Catholic church is necessary to salvation *solely by virtue of a divine precept* to that effect. Now, since an unknown law cannot be obligatory, invincible ignorance will excuse from the observance of this precept. For there can be no sin without liberty, and there can be no liberty without knowledge, since liberty presupposes deliberation. Therefore, Protestants who feel perfectly secure in their own faith,

so that a doubt or suspicion never enters their minds that they may possibly be outside the pale of the true church, are *by no means* excluded from the terms of salvation, because of this mere *material* heresy. This is the opinion of S. Augustine,¹ and Suarez expressly states that it is endorsed by all theologians, and by the Fathers of the Early Church.² It is further confirmed by the fact that the Church has condemned the 68th proposition of Baius, which asserts that "purely negative infidelity is a sin in those to whom Christ has not been preached."³ For though in this proposition the question more immediately concerns infidels, yet the same doctrine must apply to heretics who labour under invincible ignorance, since they are precisely in the same condition as far as assent to error is concerned.

Here, perhaps, a Latitudinarian may remark that my distinction in favour of those who labour under invincible ignorance is practically useless; inasmuch as I cannot determine who those are that may be in this state, and, consequently, must regard with feelings of unkindliness all who do not belong to the Catholic communion.

To this I reply, in the first place, that I cannot determine who may or may not be in a state of invincible ignorance with regard to the true church, nor does the maintenance of social good feeling and charity with my fellow-man at all require that I should do so. I do but enunciate a doctrine taught by the Church, and supported by Scripture, reason, and tradition: *the application of that doctrine* to particular individuals is quite another matter, which can be determined by God alone, Who reads the secrets of hearts. This may be illustrated by a parallel

¹ "Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim, quam non audacia sæ præsumptionis pepererunt, sed a seductis in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi." S. Augustinus, Ep. 43, Edit. Maur. (alias 162).

² Suarez (De Fide, disp. XIX., sect. 3) puts this question :—"Utrum sit de ratione hæresis ut voluntarie et cum pertinacia committatur?" and he replies (n. 1), "In primo puncto hujus articuli generaliter sumpto nulla est difficultas; certum est enim de ratione hæresis esse, ut voluntarie fiat. Ita docent omnes theologi, D. Thomas, 2, 2, q. 11. a. 2, et 1 p., q. 32, a. 4, et reliqui scholastici . . . et patres antiqui, &c. Again, in n. 9, Suarez says :—"Primo statuendum est *peritiam* esse de ratione hæresis. In hoc fundamento conveniunt omnes doctores allegati."

³ "Infidelitas pure negativa in his in quibus Christus non est prædicatus, peccatum est" (prop. lxxviii).

case. Every Christian is bound to believe that a person who dies in a state of mortal sin is condemned to Hell for all eternity. But who will be rash enough to *apply* this doctrine, and take it upon himself to decide that any particular individual has departed from life in that state—a fact of which the Supreme Judge only can be cognisant? Just, then, as the social relations of a Christian with his fellow-man are not disturbed by the fact of his believing that a vast number of them will perish because of unrepented sin, so neither are the relations of a Catholic with his Protestant neighbour suspended, though he may believe that even the majority of those who are outside the true church, are not excused by invincible ignorance from the crime of heresy.

But I may go still further, and state that Catholics, so far from cherishing unkindly or uncharitable feelings towards their Protestant fellow-countrymen, never cease to think kindly of them, pray that God's light may one day bring them into the true fold, and entertain hopes that, at least in these countries, very many of them are excused from the guilt of heresy by reason of invincible ignorance. Surely if there is one man in the world who knows the state of Protestant feeling in the United Kingdom, and who may at the same time be taken as a learned and orthodox exponent of the doctrine of the Catholic church on a subject which cost himself many years of anxious thought and interior trial, that man is the illustrious Cardinal Newman. My readers, therefore, will, I feel confident, read with pleasure the following passage from one of the great Oratorian's works, in which he discusses the question of the extent to which invincible ignorance may be supposed to prevail in the Anglican communion:—"I suppose," writes Cardinal Newman, "as regards this country . . . we may entertain most reasonable hopes that vast multitudes are in a state of invincible ignorance; so that those among them who are living a life really religious and conscientious, may be looked upon with interest and even pleasure, though a mournful pleasure, in the midst of the pain which a Catholic feels at their ignorant prejudices against what he knows to be true. Amongst the most bitter railers against the Church in this country, may be found those who are influenced by divine grace, and are at present travelling towards heaven, whatever be their ultimate destiny. . . . Nay, while such persons think as at present, they are bound to act accordingly, and only so far to connect themselves with us as their conscience

allows. 'When persons who have been brought up in heresy,' says a Catholic theologian,¹ 'are persuaded from their childhood that we are the enemies of God's word, are idolators, pestilent deceivers, and therefore, as pests, to be avoided, they cannot, while their persuasion lasts, hear us with a safe conscience, and they labour under invincible ignorance, inasmuch as they doubt not that they are in a good way.'

"Nor does it suffice, in order to throw them out of this irresponsible state, and to make them guilty of their ignorance, that there are means actually in their power of getting rid of it. For instance, say they have no conscientious feeling against frequenting Catholic chapels, conversing with Catholics, or reading their books; and say they are thrown into the neighbourhood of the one or the company of the other, and do not avail themselves of their opportunities; still these persons do not become responsible for their present ignorance till such time as they actually feel it, till a doubt crosses them on the subject, and the thought comes upon them that inquiry is a duty. And thus Protestants may be living in the midst of Catholic light, and labouring under the densest and most stupid prejudices; and yet we may be able to view them with hope, though with anxiety, with the hope that the question has never occurred to them, strange as it may seem, whether we are not right and they wrong. Nay, I will say something further still; they may be so circumstanced that it is quite certain, that in course of time, this ignorance will be removed, and doubt will be suggested to them, and the necessity of inquiry consequently imposed, and according to our best judgment, fallible of course as it is, we may be quite certain too, that, when that time comes, they will refuse to enquire, and will quench the doubt; yet should it so happen that they are cut off by death before that time has arrived, (I am putting an hypothetical case) we may have as much hope of their salvation as if we had had no such foreboding about them on our minds; for there is nothing to show that they were not taken away on purpose, in order that their ignorance might be their excuse."²

For the rest, that the Catholic Church, whilst rigorously adhering to the doctrine of exclusive salvation, commands the members of her communion, not only to live in social

¹ Busembaum, vol. 1. p. 54.

² Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans, p. 309, seq. (Burns and Oates), 4th ed.

harmony with those who profess a different faith, but even to love and serve them, is conclusively proved from the words of the very catechisms which she places in the hands of her little ones. For when impressing on them the observance of the Second great Commandment of the New Law—"thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—she takes care to instruct them that by the words "thy neighbour" they are to understand "mankind of every description, *even those who injure us, or differ from us in religion.*"¹

(c) "*But,*" says the Latitudinarian, "*the Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation is cruel in the extreme—quite irreconcilable with our ideas of the mercy and goodness of God.*"

To this objection, so soothing to our self-love, I would reply in the first place, that the Latitudinarians seek to exalt God's mercy at the expense of His truth. God possesses all perfections equally in an infinite degree, and He is not only infinitely merciful, but is also essential truth. Now, it has been already shown that the system of the Latitudinarians implies the assertion that God is equally indifferent to truth and falsehood. Therefore, the patrons of this system, while seemingly jealous of God's attribute of mercy, would blasphemously deny to him the attribute of essential truth.

Furthermore, if this plea put forward by the Latitudinarians were valid, it would destroy *in toto* the doctrine of future punishment, and the word Hell must be expunged from the vocabulary of Christians. For we are no less obliged to believe every truth which God has revealed, than to perform what He has commanded and to avoid what has been forbidden by Him; since, as St. Paul teaches, "without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. xi., 6). If, therefore, it be alleged as cruel on God's part to punish criminal heresy with eternal damnation, how, we ask, will it not be equally cruel to consign to future punishment those who criminally violate the commandments of God? Nay, of the two, the latter must appear by far more cruel, inasmuch as our corrupt nature feels a strong propensity towards acts which are forbidden to the followers of Christ under pain of eternal exclusion from the kingdom of heaven. If, therefore, the Latitudinarians would appear consistent, they must either admit that there is nothing repugnant to God's mercy in the Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation, or they must deny altogether the existence of a future state

¹ Butler's Catechism, Lesson XIX.

of punishment, and proclaim that God is alike indifferent whether men receive His doctrines or obey His commands.

Nay, I will go still further, and say that this misunderstood and selfish notion of the mercy of God, which the Latitudinarian Christians put forward in opposition to the Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation, might be retorted by an Atheist as an argument to overthrow belief in the very existence of God. For the Atheist may ask the Latitudinarian, how can you reconcile the existence of moral and physical evil in this world with your idea of an infinitely good and merciful Creator? It would be quite foreign to the purpose of this paper to enter into such a question; but enough, I trust, has been said to show that the objection of the Latitudinarians drawn from the goodness and mercy of God, would, if valid against the Catholic teaching of exclusive salvation, prove equally valid in overthrowing all revealed and natural religion.

(d) *“At all events, this doctrine of exclusive salvation, even though we may believe it, is one to be kept in the background as much as possible; for it is directly opposed to the spirit of the times, and grates harshly on the ears of our fellow-men who are outside the pale of the Church.”*

This objection comes from the Catholic patrons of Latitudinarianism—silly, empty-headed, half-educated men and women, whose vanity prompts them to seek the applause and esteem of the fashionable world, but whose weakness and ignorance draw down upon them instead, its ridicule and well-merited contempt. These are the creatures who, clinging to the skirts of Protestants, will be ashamed to make the sign of the cross when dining in public, affect to make light of the laws regarding fast and abstinence, think that the Pope is much better off without his temporal sovereignty, and declare “United Italy” to be a political necessity of the times; who dearly love the idea of a matrimonial alliance with a Protestant family, send their children to Protestant schools to cultivate the valuable acquaintance of Lord Fitznoodle’s sons, or the Hon. Misses Flirtaway, speak slightly of their parish priest, drawing unfavourable contrasts between him and the elegant and accomplished Anglican rector—the Rev. Horatio Croquet Smalltalk—in a word, who so demean themselves as though they considered it the greatest misfortune of their lives to have been born members of the one true church.

Now, we are very far from thinking that Catholics should be ever needlessly parading their faith, and offen-

sively obtruding it upon their non-Catholic neighbours. Such a course would serve only to alienate them more and more from the Church, and bring her divine doctrines into disesteem and hatred. But there *are* times and circumstances when every Catholic must boldly and unequivocally make manifest the faith that is in him ; when any pandering to the world's erroneous notions, any weak and mean endeavour to effect a compromise between them and the tenets and practices of the Church, is in itself *a species of Apostacy*. The words of the Redeemer upon this point are explicit and emphatic : " Whosoever," says Christ, " shall deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in Heaven " (Matt. x., 33). And St. Paul declares that " with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation " (Romans x., 10). Whoever, then, hears Catholic truth assailed, or sees Catholic interests imperilled, is bound both by his duty to God and to his neighbour to come forward boldly in defence of both, as far as it lies in his power to do so. For how can that man be said to love God, who patiently listens to blasphemies against His revealed truths, and to insults directed against His spouse—the Church ? And how can he be said to love his neighbour, who, *when a favourable opportunity offers*, shrinks through timidity or poor human respect from the endeavour to win him back from error and place him within the one true fold, wherein alone salvation can be found ?

" *But the spirit of the times is against this course,*" says the mean-souled, shuffling Catholic. And what of that ? I ask in reply. Did the apostles, the doctors, the fathers of the church, bear witness to her doctrines " with bated breath and whisp'ring humbleness," in order to be in harmony with the spirit of *their* times ? Did the countless martyrs, who shed their blood for Christ rather than sacrifice an iota of His doctrine, accommodate themselves to the spirit of the times in which they lived ? Why, if such a principle had been universally adopted in ages past, Christianity would not have survived the apostles ; for never yet was there a creed so thoroughly at variance with the spirit of the age in which it sprung into existence. *The spirit of the times*, indeed ! What ! if the spirit of the times be evil, are we to hold our peace, and allow it to pursue its triumphant course without opposition ? If we look outside the domain of religion, we shall find that never yet was there a great reform won, whose advocates had not at first to do violent

battle with the spirit of the times. There is not an earnest worker in the political world whose work is not, in a great measure, a life-long struggle against the spirit of *his* times. We may illustrate this by a reference to the great electoral contest which is just now drawing to a close in these countries. We need scarcely remind our readers that the spirit of the times in Great Britain in 1874 was very decidedly Conservative. Did Mr. Gladstone and his associates rest satisfied with this condition of affairs, lest they might offend the tender susceptibilities of the Tories? By no means: they employed every agency at their command to correct and reform the spirit of the times. In doing so, they did not shrink from encountering public odium, and on some occasions even public violence; and, as the result of their energy, earnestness, and perseverance, they see the spirit of 1874 utterly undone in 1880, and a new spirit prepared to guide the destinies of the British Empire.

Why, then, should we hear this senseless babblement about accommodating ourselves to the spirit of the times, when the holiest interests of religion and God's Church are at stake? The spirit of the times is never wholly good; it is mostly evil. The spirit of this nineteenth century above all others is pre-eminently materialistic; and the Catholic who seeks to fashion his opinions or his life by its teachings, might as well pass over openly to the Latitudinarian camp, for he is no longer a Catholic save in name.

II. Let us, next, briefly glance at the consequences which must follow in the moral order from the principles of Latitudinarian Christianity. And, first of all, what is the rule of conduct which the Latitudinarians set up for themselves? As in matters of faith, so in questions affecting the ordering of their lives, they profess to be guided solely by the teachings of the New Testament, interpreted according to each one's private judgment. We have already seen this principle put forward in an extract from the will of Charles Dickens, with which we headed our first paper on this subject.¹ It is stated still more explicitly, if possible, in a letter addressed by the same distinguished writer, at an earlier period, to one of his sons, which may be read in the collection of his letters edited within the present year by his sister-in-law and eldest daughter, and published by Chapman and Hall, London.

¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, April 1880, p. 121.

"You know," writes Dickens, "that you have never been hampered with religious forms of restraint, and that with mere unmeaning forms I have no sympathy. But I most strongly and affectionately impress upon you the priceless value of the New Testament, and the study of that book as the one unfailing guide in life. Deeply respecting it, and bowing down before the character of our Saviour, as separated from the vain constructions and inventions of men, you cannot go very wrong, and will always preserve at heart a true spirit of veneration and humility."

It is simply incomprehensible how any man familiar with the history of the past, could assert that whosoever shapes his conduct by the teaching of the New Testament, *as interpreted by his private judgment*, "cannot go very wrong." Why, the most revolting doctrines that have ever shocked Christian sentiment, the most atrocious crimes that have ever disgraced the world, have been justified by men who cited texts from the pages of the New Testament for this purpose. The Father of Latitudinarianism, Luther, sought to undermine the foundation of all morality, by teaching that good works are useless, and that for the true believer in Christ there no longer exists a Decalogue¹; that we shall not hereafter have to render an account of the actions done during our lifetime²; that God Himself is the author of sin³; and that the more profligate is a man's life, the more secure does he make his salvation⁴. Similar doctrines were taught by the other early Reformers, whose words the reader may find quoted in Moehler's "Symbolism." Such teaching met with ready acceptance among thousands; the doctrine of private interpretation was soon reduced to practice; and,

¹ "Summa ars et sapientia Christiana est nescire legem, ignorare opera et totam justitiam votivam; sola fides justificat, et non fides quæ dilectionem includit. Sola fides necessaria est ut justi simus, cætera omnia libera, *neque præcepta amplius neque prohibita*." Luther præf. ad cap. 2, in Ep. ad Galatas.

² "Si Christus specie irati judicis aut legislatoris apparuerit, qui exigit rationem transactæ vitæ, certo sciamus *eum furiosum esse diabolum, non Christum*." Comm. ad Galatas, fol. 299 (Ed. Witemburg).

³ "Nam et mala opera in impiis Deus operatur."

⁴ "Qui anxie laborant in operibus faciunt sibi magnum negotium, ægre enim revocari ad gratiam possunt; animus autem et conscientia dum parat opera, nihil aliud facit quam ut se ad diffidendum Deo exerceat, et quo magis laborat eo firmiorem habitum gignit ad diffidendum Deo et fidendum propriis operibus. Hoc numquam facit scortum aliquod. Qui enim in apertis flagitiis vivit, habet animum semper de peccatis saucium. Neque ulla merita aut bona opera habet quibus niti possit. *Facilius autem salveatur quam sanctus aliquis*." Tom. III. oper. latin. fol. 353. (Ed. Jenæ.)

some six years after Luther had commenced to preach his new Evangel, the Anabaptists arose in Germany, to overthrow the altar and the throne. Under the leadership of Muncer, Storck, John of Leyden, and others of less note, they plunged into every excess, and spread devastation over the fairest portions of their fatherland, while human blood deluged Westphalia, Saxony, Pomerania, Bavaria, Alsace, Lorraine, and a portion of Switzerland. At a later period we find Cromwell and the Puritans in England overturning the throne, placing the head of their sovereign on the block, and "bound together by this sacrament of blood," as Macaulay expresses it, executing in every part of the United Kingdom deeds of horror, which they gloried in, and justified by liberal quotations from Sacred Writ. At the present day the Divorce Court, sanctioned in Bible-loving England, is a most fruitful source of immorality; while the greatest plague-spot on the American Continent is Mormonism, whose adherents profess to be guided by the teachings of the New Testament as interpreted by themselves.

We might multiply such instances to almost any extent, but the little that we have written is abundantly sufficient to show that those who set up the New Testament, interpreted by each one's private judgment, as the guide of their moral conduct, may "go very wrong" indeed, and plunge into every crime of which human malice is capable. Nor will this appear at all strange, if we reflect that man in his fallen state feels a very strong propensity to evil. Hence, if his own judgment is to be his sole guide in interpreting the law of Jesus Christ, his self-love will lead him to tone down those passages which tend to exercise a restraining influence over his passions, whereas he will interpret in the widest and most liberal manner possible those texts which seem to favour human liberty. A single glance at the standard of morality established by Latitudinarianism in modern society will convince us of the truth of this remark. What, really, is the highest moral standard to which a Christian is bound to aspire in the non-Catholic world at the present day? It is comprised in this short formula—"Be an Honest Man." Do not injure your neighbour in his property or character; pay twenty shillings in the pound; be loyal to the throne and constitution of your country; discharge your duties towards society, and thereby you are entitled to rank as a saint in the Latitudinarian calendar. Surely, this is reducing the Ten Commandments within very narrow limits. In the first place, it puts no restraint upon

a man's *thoughts*. With this standard set up before him, one may indulge as much as he pleases in secret thoughts and desires of lust, anger, revenge, pride, and covetousness, and still be "an honest man;" for these thoughts and desires, no matter how odious to God, cannot possibly injure *society* so long as they remain confined to one's own heart and are not carried into execution. In the next place, this code leaves out of sight man's duties towards God: it imposes on him no obligation of private prayer, or even of public worship. A man may live a practical Atheist, and yet fulfil all the requirements of the moral code of Latitudinarianism. There are millions of such men in the world now-a-days, who are returned in the census as belonging to some particular sect, yet who never, from year to year, breathe a single prayer to God either in private or in public, and all the while are held in high esteem by their Latitudinarian brethren as "upright, good, honest men," who are certain at death to be summoned from their counting-house or the Stock Exchange to occupy no mean place in the kingdom of Heaven. Again, the Latitudinarian system of morality makes no account whatever of the *counsels* so solemnly inculcated in the Gospel; if it condescends to notice "the Sermon on the Mount," it is to consider it as something rather degrading to the manliness of our nature, and unsuited to the spirit of the times. Above all, the cultivation of the virtue of purity is notoriously regarded as an *impossibility* by those whom the Latitudinarians would style "good, honest men."

That this estimate of the moral tone prevailing under the Latitudinarian system is not exaggerated, might easily be proved by appealing to sources of indisputable authority for evidence of the condition of moral feeling among non-Catholic communions. To do so, however, would unduly extend the limits of this paper; but I cannot refrain from referring the reader who may be curious on this point, to the "Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.," published by the present Dean of Westminster. Here he will find that in the universities and public schools of England—institutions availed of solely by the most enlightened classes, and nominally conducted under religious control—*vice* is prevalent in its most appalling forms; while the only virtue rigidly enforced is "*manliness*" of character—that *virtue* "par excellence" of the old Pagan Romans. Nor can I omit quoting to the same purpose the following striking passage from the pen of Cardinal Newman. "There

have been Protestants whose idea of enlightened Christianity has been a strenuous antagonism to what they consider the unmanliness and unreasonableness of Catholic morality, an antipathy to the precepts of patience, meekness, forgiveness of injuries, and chastity. All this they have considered a woman's religion, the ornament of monks, of the sick, the feeble, and the old. Lust, revenge, ambition, courage, pride—these they have fancied make the man, and want of them the slave. No one could fairly accuse such men of any great change of their convictions, if they were one day found to have taken up the profession of Islam.”¹

So long, then, as every man is permitted to shape his own moral code from the pages of the New Testament, he must infallibly fall back upon purely *natural* religion; he can scarce expect to be better than, if even quite so good as, that model old Pagan, Cato the Censor. And if the moral code of Christianity is to be brought down to the level of pure naturalism, what, we ask, has been the use of revelation? To what purpose did Christ come upon earth and found a Church, if He furnished men with no more certain helps towards the ordering of their lives than human reason could have supplied? Nay, further still, why did He take His departure from earth without having left His followers *any definite moral code whatsoever*? since, *practically*, the hypothesis of the Latitudinarians amounts to this. For if it be permitted to men to interpret His words as they please, what the men of one age or country may judge virtuous, the men of another age and another country may pronounce deadly sin. Precepts that may be judged suitable to the temperament of the people of one climate, may be thought too difficult of observance by the dwellers in another zone; and thus the Christian standard of morality will have no *objective reality*, but will depend for its existence on the whims and passions of individuals, and the varying accidental circumstances of life.

Such is the moral code of Latitudinarianism; it has but one commandment—“*Be honest, be just and benevolent to your fellow-men.*” Voltaire epitomised this code a century ago in a single well-known line:—

Qu'on soit juste, il suffit, le reste est arbitraire.

It is still more pointedly set forth by a recent writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, with whose words I shall close this paper:—“Morality is the art of making life and its liberties

¹ “Grammar of Assent,” p. 241.

and gladnesses more complete. Here and there there exists a lot which is, and to its end must remain, without pleasure, comfort, or hope. Such terrible cases it is one end of virtue to cause to cease from among us. Let all that *perpetuates their supply* be called vice, or sin, and cease."¹

From what has been written we may deduce the three following conclusions:—(a) that the true doctrines of Christianity cannot be ascertained *with certainty* otherwise than from the Church of Christ, which He has constituted His representative upon earth, and sole infallible guide of men in matters appertaining to faith and morals; (b) that those who know themselves to be outside the pale of the true Church, or who entertain doubts on the subject, are bound to seek admission into her fold under pain of exclusion from the terms of salvation; (c) that Catholics, who believe that they enjoy the privilege of membership with the only true Church of Christ, are bound to listen to her voice with child-like docility, and to cherish her practices with the most exact fidelity, if they would avoid the danger of being insensibly but effectually drawn into the mazes of Latitudinarian Christianity, and so, ultimately, into utter infidelity.

W. H.

A QUESTION REGARDING THE *HAIL MARY*.

THE question has frequently been raised, whether in the *Hail Mary* we should say "*our* Lord is with thee," or, "*the* Lord is with thee." Usage, I believe, whether among the laity or among the clergy, is by no means uniform. Unquestionably both forms of expression are to be found in authorized prayer books. And moreover—strange as the statement may seem to those who may have been accustomed to regard the English translation of the Bible in ordinary use among the Catholics of these countries, as the Douay or Rhemish version—our ordinary English translation agrees with the Protestant "Authorized" version in translating the words of the Archangel's salutation, "*the* Lord is with thee," while the Douay version has the other form, "*our* Lord is with thee."

¹See *The Nineteenth Century*. December, 1879, p. 1019.

Without undertaking to pronounce with confidence as to the incorrectness of either usage, I will set forth some points of interest that may help in the solution of the question.

I. Cardinal Wiseman has the following interesting reference to it in his essay on Catholic versions of Scripture.¹ Expressing his disapproval of the general character of the alterations made in the Douay version by Dr. Challoner, who is thus to so large an extent the author of the translation now in use among Catholics, the Cardinal wrote:—

“To call it any longer the Douay or Rhemish version is a abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published; and so far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are in general for the worse. For, though Dr. Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms which the old translators had retained,² he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion, where it was congenial, at once, to the genius of our language, and to the construction of the original,³ and by the insertion of particles where they were by no means necessary.⁴ Any chapter of the New Testament will substantiate this remark.⁵ . . .

¹ *Dublin Review*. April, 1837. The Essay is reprinted in the collected Essays of his Eminence. Vol. i., pp. 73–100. London, 1853.‡

² It may be interesting to add an example of this. The text, “Beneficentiæ autem et communionis nolite oblivisci: talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus” (Heb. xiii., 16) stands as follows in the Rhemish version:—“And beneficence and communication do not forget; for with such hosts God is promerited.”

Dr. Challoner altered the text thus: “And do not forget to do good and to impart; for by such sacrifices God’s favour is obtained.”

The English “Authorized” version is: “But to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.”

³ The position of the words “forget not” in the text just quoted, furnishes a striking illustration of Cardinal Wiseman’s remark.

⁴ It may be well to set down here the judgment of an eminent living scholar, which, after all, perhaps, is not entirely at variance with the view taken from another standpoint by Cardinal Wiseman. “I have used,” says F. Coleridge, in his ‘Life of our Life’ (vol. i. preface, p. 8), “though not without a very few verbal alterations where the meaning of the original has evidently been missed, the Rheims translation of the New Testament which is familiar to Catholic readers. That translation has often been decried, but *I am persuaded that it is as beautiful and as accurate as any that exists*. I have used it in its present state as it is found in the Catholic Bibles in common use.”

⁵ Somewhat further on in his Essay, Cardinal Wiseman remarks that “it had been well if Dr. Challoner’s alterations had given stability to the text, and formed a standard to which subsequent editors had conformed. But far from this being the case, new and often important modifications have been made in every edition which has followed, till at length many may appear rather new versions than revisions of the old.”

“There is another alteration of more importance, especially when considered in reference to the present times, and the influence it has had upon established forms of Catholic speech.

“In the first edition, in conformity to Catholic usage in England, the word ‘Dominus’ is almost always translated by ‘Our Lord.’ The emended text changed the pronoun into an article, and says, ‘The Lord.’ In the *Ave Maria*, Catholics have always, till lately, been accustomed to say, ‘Our Lord is with thee,’ as it is in that version, *and as it was always used in England, even before that translation was made.* But, in conformity with the change of the text, we have observed of late a tendency to introduce into the prayers a similar variation, and to say, ‘The Lord is with thee’: a change which we strongly deprecate, as stiff, *cantish*, destructive of the unction which the prayer breathes, and of that union which the pronoun inspires between the reciter and Her who is addressed.

“We have no hesitation in saying that this difference, trifling as many will consider it, expresses strongly the different spirits of our and other religions. It never has been the custom of the Catholic Church to say, ‘*the Redeemer, the Saviour, the Lord, the Virgin.*’ ‘Redemptor *noster*, Dominus *noster*,’ and so, ‘*our Saviour, our Lord, our Lady,*’ are the terms sanctioned, and therefore, consecrated by Catholic usage since the time of the Fathers. We own it grates our ears, and jars upon our feelings, to hear the former *essentially un-Catholic forms* used by preachers and writers: they want affection: they are insipid, formal: they remind us of Geneva caps, and smack of predestination.

“The Rheims translators have explained their reason for their translation in a note, as follows: ‘We Catholics must not say ‘*The Lord,*’ but ‘*Our Lord*’; as we say ‘*Our Lady*’ for His mother, not ‘*The Lady.*’ Let us keep our forefathers’ words, and we shall easily keep our old and true faith, which we had of the first Christians.’

“Nor is such a modification of the word ‘Dominus’ peculiar to the English Catholics; the Syriac version, and after it the Syriac Church, calls Christ, not simply ‘*The Lord,*’ (morio) but ‘*Our Lord,*’ (morau) even where the Greek has *ὁ Κύριος*.

“If it be considered too great a departure from accuracy in translation to restore the pronoun in the text of our version, let us at least preserve it in our instructions, and still more in our formularies of prayer.”¹

II. Throughout this interesting criticism it seems to be assumed that the question regarding the use of the article or the pronoun in the Hail Mary is the same as that

¹ The italics in this quotation are my own, with the exception of the word *cantish*, which I find italicised in the Essay as reprinted by the Cardinal in the first volume of his collected Essays on Various Subjects.

which is at issue in the case of the two expressions, "*The Redeemer*" and "*Our Redeemer*," or, "*The Saviour*" and "*Our Saviour*." And no doubt if such were the case, there could be but little hesitation in deciding in favour of the use of the *pronoun* and not the *article*, as the only form of speech consistent with Catholic usage, and expressive of the warmth of devotion inspired by Catholic faith.

But as a matter of fact it must be borne in mind that the question is altogether a different one. Let us take the Commentary of the Bishop of Galway¹ on the verse of St. Luke (i. 28) where the address of the Archangel is recorded :

"*The Lord is with thee.* This was an ancient form of salutation in use amongst the Jews (Judges, vi. 13 ; Ruth, ii. 4).

"The words are understood by some commentators of the *future abode of our Lord* in her chaste womb in the mystery of the Incarnation, which it is clear from verse 31 did not yet take place.

"But taken in connexion with the context, and the words 'full of grace, blessed art thou amongst women,' which are in the present, the phrase must be understood of her present condition. They express the cause of her being 'full of grace.' She was so because '*the Lord was with her.*' These words imply a *singular and special assistance on the part of God*, which preserved her from all sin, filled her with all grace, and fitted her for the great end for which she was destined.

"The words '*the Lord is with thee,*' and the like, both in the Old Testament and in the New, when uttered by God, or by one commissioned by Him, always denote a special assistance on the part of God, and His presence with the person addressed, for the purpose of effectually accomplishing the end for which such assistance is given."

Dr. McEvilly here naturally refers to the exhaustive treatment of this point, with which all who have read Dr. Murray's *Tractatus de Ecclesia* must be familiar.²

Thus, then, we learn that the "*Dominus*" of the Vulgate, and *ὁ Κύριος* of the Greek text, do not refer to "*Our Lord*," Christ Incarnate, but to "*The Lord*," the Deity, the Jehovah of the Jews ; and that consequently the ingenious criticism of Cardinal Wiseman loses, to say the least, much of its force.

¹ *An Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke*, by the Most Rev. Dr. McEvilly. Dublin, 1879.

² *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi*, Auctore P. Murray. Disp. xi., nn. 51-79.

III. I must not omit to notice a point of some importance raised a few years ago by a writer in the *Tablet* newspaper, in the course of an interesting discussion on this question. I regret I am unable to name the writer, as his letter was anonymous. It will be seen that the view suggested by him is one that must not be overlooked. His statement ran as follows :—

“In old English, the style ‘*Our Lord*’ was used with reference to God—not exclusively, as in modern English and all other languages, to God the Son, to Jesus Christ; but also to God, the Creator and Supreme Being, and even to God the Father, or God the Holy Ghost, in contradistinction to God the Son. I am fully aware that this was a peculiarity of the English, but it is a peculiarity quite familiar to students of our early literature. I could easily fill much space with illustrations of this fact; but it is useless to multiply examples indefinitely, I will only add a very few.”¹

From those few I select the following :—

1. “*Our Lord*” applied to the One God, without special reference to any one Person of the Blessed Trinity. In the *Cursor Mundi*, 14th century, as published by the Early English Text Society,² we read: “*Our Lord of heaven* spake to [Noah] then, &c. (line 1631.) And again: “*Our Lord* spake yet to Moses: Thou do, said he, &c.” (line 6642). And again: “Then said *Our Lord* to Nathan: Go to the King David, &c.” (line 7913).

2. “*Our Lord*” applied one of the other Persons of the Blessed Trinity in contradistinction to God the Son—a still more striking usage. In the same work we read in the narrative of the Angelic Salutation: “*Our Lord* has chosen thee His spouse, and God’s Son shall be born of thee” (lines 10859-10861).

But indeed it is unnecessary to travel outside the Rhemish version itself for most abundant evidence of this old English usage.

If we take, for instance, the first chapter of St. Luke, in which the words of the text under discussion occur, we find the following plain instances of it:

“And [Zachary and Elizabeth] were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of *our Lord* (in omnibus mandatis et justificationibus *Domini*) without blame,” &c.

¹ See Letter of V. I. X. in the *Tablet* of May 20th, 1876.

² I have thought it well to modernize the spelling in this and the following extracts.

“And [Zachary] went forth to offer incense, entering into the temple of *our Lord* (in templum *Domini*),” &c.

“And there appeared to him an Angel of *our Lord* (Angelus Domino),” &c.

“Elizabeth hid herself five months, saying: ‘For thus hath *our Lord* done to me’ (sic fecit mihi *Dominus*),” &c.

“And Mary said: ‘My soul doth magnify *our Lord*’ (Magnificat anima mea *Dominum*),” &c.¹

Thus, then, we see that the Rhemish translators adopted the expression “*Our Lord*” as the translation of ὁ Κύριος, *Dominus*, not merely when the expression referred to the Second Person Incarnate, but also to designate God, the Supreme Being, the Jehovah of the Hebrews.

Hence it was that they translated the *Dominus tecum* of the Angel’s salutation, “*Our Lord* is with thee,” just as they translated the Evangelist’s designation of St. Gabriel, *Angelus Domini*, by the corresponding phrase, “an Angel of *our Lord*.”

But, however generally this peculiar phraseology may formerly have prevailed, it is certain that it has long since gone into disuse. In saying the *Angelus*, we do not follow the Rhemish translators in saying, “The Angel of *Our Lord* declared unto Mary.” Neither, then, it would seem, ought we to follow them in saying, “*Our Lord* is with thee.” Indeed it does not seem too much to add that the use of such an expression is calculated now to mislead as to the meaning of the words. Unquestionably the assumption that they refer to “*Our Lord*” Incarnate underlies much of the criticism of those who object to the use of the article, and urge the adoption of the pronoun. It is not easy, for instance, to suppose that the argument of Cardinal Wiseman rested on any other foundation.

W. J. W.

¹ The references to the texts thus quoted are St. Luke i., 6, 8, 11, 25, 46. The text of the Angel’s address to the Blessed Virgin, *Dominus tecum*, is in the 28th verse of the same chapter.

LITURGY.

THE MASS AND OFFICE OF THE DEAD.

WE purpose to explain the more important liturgical questions relating to the Mass and Office of the Dead. The subject has been suggested to us as a practical one. The Requiem Mass and the Office of the Dead have come to be functions of such frequent occurrence in our country that no Irish priest should be without the fullest information on the rubrics that regulate every part of them. It is, however, a matter for regret that this fulness of information is not easily accessible to all, and, accordingly, some points have been submitted to us with the request that we would give a detailed exposition of them in the pages of the RECORD.

In this Paper we will explain on what days it is allowable to celebrate a Requiem Mass.

The days on which a Requiem Mass may be said are "*privileged*" and "*non-privileged*" days. The distinction is too elementary to call for any explanation. We mention it in this place only because we shall have to refer, from the very beginning, to the two classes of days under these names by which they are commonly known.

First Principle.—It is forbidden to celebrate a Requiem Mass in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed. We place this principle in the first place, because it applies to the Requiem Mass of every kind—the private or low Mass, the Missa Cantata, and the Solemn Mass—and to all days, the privileged as well as the non-privileged. The exact nature and extent of this prohibition are as follows:—

(a) A Requiem Mass, solemn or private, is not allowed at the *altar* where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed either in the monstrance on the throne, or in the ciborium in the open tabernacle. The Sacred Congregation of Rites was asked, "*Durante expositione Sanctissimi in pixide, an, permittente Rubrica, possint in ecclesia vel aliis capellis celebrari Missae de Requiem?*" The Congregation replied, "*Missae de Requiem extra altare, ubi est expositum SS. Sacramentum, poterunt celebrari, dummodo tamen Oratio coram Sacramento non est ex publica causa.*" 7th May, 1746 (n. 4181).

(b) A Requiem Mass is not allowed, except on All Souls Day, in a church where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the Quarante Ore or for any public cause, even though

it is intended to celebrate the Mass at a different altar from that of the Exposition. This follows from the *Instructio Clementina*, in which we read, “Non celebrentur Missae de Requiem tempore quo peragitur Oratio Quadragenta Horarum;” and from the decree just quoted (7th May, 1848). This is also the teaching of Gardellini, who in his commentary on the *Instructio Clementina* writes thus:—“Itaque si (per decretum 7 May, 1746) absolute et absque ulla limitatione aut declaratione excipitur etiam simplex expositio cum pyxide, dum publica causa concurrit, ita ut, hoc accedente, nequeant in aliis altaribus et capellis Missae de Requiem celebrari, quia, publica concurrente causa, Expositio, quocunque modo fiat, semper aliquam solemnitatem habet: potiori jure, juxta Sacrae Congregationis sensum, tales Missae erunt interdicendae, dum solemnissima est Expositio pro Oratione quadragenta horarum.”

(c) The usual Requiem Masses are allowed on *All Souls Day* in a church where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the Quarante Ore, or for a public cause, but not at the altar of Exposition. “An in ecclesiis, in quibus expositum manet SS. Eucharistiae Sacramentum fidelium adorationi in tempore perpetuae Orationis, quae dicitur Quadragenta Horarum, occurrente die Commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum liceat recitare officium defunctorum et celebrare Missam solemnem et etiam Missas privatas itidem defunctorum? Et an eodem casu excipiendum sit altare in quo habetur SS. Sacramentum.”

The Congregation replied to both “*Affirmative.*” 16 Sept., 1801. (4477.)

(d) Finally, Requiem Masses may be said on any day of suitable rite at other altars than that of the Exposition in a church where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed in the ciborium in the open tabernacle for a purpose that is *not public*. This is supposed in the decision of the Congregation, dated 7 May, 1846, which we cited above.

Second Principle.—On days that are not privileged the Requiem Mass follows the rules of the ordinary and non-privileged Votive Masses, as to the days on which they may be celebrated. That is to say, a Requiem Mass, whether it be a solemn one or private, is not allowed (a) on a double feast; ¹ (b) on Sunday; ² (c) within the five

¹ Rub. Gen. Missae, V. 2. S.R.C. 3 June, 1662; 5 Aug. 1662; 1 Dec., 1466; 20 July, 13 Aug., 1669; 14 June, 1692; 3 Dec., 1701; 13 July, 1709; 27 Feb., 1847.

² Rub Gen. Missae, V. 2. S.C.R., 28 Sept., 1676.

privileged Octaves of the Epiphany,¹ Easter,¹ Pentecost,¹ Corpus Christi,¹ and Christmas;² (d) on Ash Wednesday;³ (e) during Holy Week;⁴ (f) and on the vigils of Pentecost,⁵ Christmas,⁵ and the Epiphany.⁶ Consequently, these days being excepted, the Requiem Mass, private or solemn, may be said on "*simples*," "*ferias*," and "*semi-doubles*."

It should be noted that this rule prohibiting Requiem Mass on "*doubles*" does not apply to what are known in the rubrics as double offices "*ad libitum*."⁷ When questioned on this point the Sacred Congregation replied:—

"In casu proposito, *cum officium sit ad libitum*, quamvis sub ritu duplici, posse sacerdotes confluentes celebrare Missam de Requiem. S.R.C., 24 Dec., 1691. (3251.)

The consideration of the principle just laid down regarding non-privileged days naturally suggests the following inquiry. Is it allowable for a priest, whose office is of the semidouble or ferial rite, to say a Requiem Mass in a church where a double feast is being kept? The case is a practical one. It is likely to occur to many priests in the course of each year. A priest, for instance, is sojourning for a short time out of his diocese. He, of course, follows the calendar of his diocese in regulating his office. Now in his diocesan calendar a certain day is set down as a semidouble feast, and accordingly he goes to the church of the place with the intention of saying a Requiem Mass. But, on arriving at the church, he learns that here they are celebrating a different feast, and that this feast is a "*double*." The same difficulty might occur in one's own diocese, and even in the different churches of the same parish. What is he to do? May he celebrate the Requiem Mass?

In these circumstances the priest is not allowed to say the Requiem Mass. This follows from the obligation of conforming to the colour of the office of the church in which one celebrates. (S.R.C., 7 May, 1746, n. 13. 12 Nov. 1831.) And all doubt is removed by the following decision of the Sacred Congregation, which applies to the particular case we are considering. "*Sacerdotem saecularem, sive capellanum, sive non, qui recitavit officium semiduplex, vel simplex, vel feriale, illo die celebrans in aliqua ecclesia*

¹ S.R.C., 28 Sept. 1675. ² 25 Sept., 1706; 15 Sept. 1714.

³ 28 Sept., 1675.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ 10 Dec., 1718.

⁷ "*Officia stricte dicta "ad libitum" ita inscribuntur non quatenus pro libito semper omitti vel recitari possunt; sed quatenus in quodam casu ad libitum omitti vel recitari possunt; et si impediuntur, non transferri uti festa praeceptiva, sed omitti debent, ut ex dicendis patebit.*" De Herdt, *Praxis Sac. Liturg.*, Tom. ii., n. 284.

regularium in qua recitatum est ab ipsis regularibus eodem die officium duplex de non praecepto, prout de Sancto aliquo sui ordinis, non posse dicere Missam de Requiem." 9 June, 1668. (2438.)

And now if we suppose the case to be reversed, what is to be done: that is, if the priest has said a double office, but a semi-double or simple feast is being kept in the church where he is to celebrate Mass, is it allowable for him to take advantage of the lower rite of the church for the purpose of saying a Requiem Mass?

Even in these circumstances he is not allowed to say a Requiem Mass. This point also has been decided by the congregation. "An sacerdotes qui recitant officium de festo duplici, confluentes ad ecclesias sive regularium sive aliorum, ubi dicitur officium de semiduplici, possint ibi dicere Missas privatas defunctorum? Resp.—*Negative*." 7 May, 1746 (4181).

There are, however, two exceptions to this ruling. First, if the priest who is attached to the church is under an obligation to say a Requiem Mass on that day, and his place be taken by the stranger-priest, then, as his representative, as one who has taken on himself the obligation of the priest of the church, the stranger is allowed to say the Requiem Mass. "Sacerdotes regulares addictos seu vocatos ad satisfaciendum oneribus alicujus ecclesiae, posse celebrare Missas de Sancto sive de Requiem, ad formam et ritum ejusdem ecclesiae, juxta rubricas Missalis Romani." S. R. C. 15 Dec., 1691 (3259).

The other exceptional case is: when solemn obsequies are being celebrated in the church at the time of his Mass on that day. "An sacerdotibus qui recitaverint officium alicujus Sancti duplicis, licitum sit celebrare Missam de Requie in aliena ecclesia, ubi non dicitur officium duplex, imo fiunt exequiæ pro aliquo defuncto, praesente corpore, vel anniversarium?" S. R. C. respondit "*Affirmative*," 4 Mar., 1866.

We now pass to the Privileged days.

Here it is necessary to understand, at the very outset, that the rubrics and decisions of the S. Congregation of Rites require the Requiem Mass on the Privileged days to be chanted. A private or low Requiem Mass enjoys no privilege, except by Special Indult. "Missae privatae de Requiem, etiam corpore praesente et insepulto, dici non possunt diebus quibus fit de officio duplici, vel aliis a Rubrica exceptis, et quaecunque consuetudo in contrarium, abusus esse declaratur," S. R. C., 29 Jan., 1752 (4223). And

again, "An, praesente cadavere, liceat celebrare Missam privatam *de Requiem* in ecclesiis ruralibus et aliis ubi Missa non solet cantari, diebus quibus permittitur unica Missa sollemnis de Requie, praesente cadavere? Resp. *Juxta alia decreta non licere.*" 23 May, 1835 (4748).

To this rule there is one exception. It regards the anniversary which is *founded for the day of the death* as it occurs from year to year. In churches where it is not usual, owing to the want of priests, to sing the Mass, it is allowed on such an occasion to celebrate a private Requiem Mass on *minor* doubles. This is the meaning of the following decree. "Utrum in ecclesiis parochialibus ruralibus in quibus per annum plerumque unus tantum sacerdos celebrat et sine cantu, possit dici Missa de Requiem, quando anniversaria ex testatorum dispositione, eorum recurrente obitus die, vel quando dies 3^a 7^a vel 30^a incidunt in festum duplex minus?" Resp. S. R. C. "Quoad Missas et anniversaria recurrente obitus die, *affirmative*; in reliquis, *negative.*" 19 June, 1700 (3565).

We have said that the private or low Mass enjoys no privilege, except by Special Indult. Now, in this country we have an Indult. It was granted by Pius IX., (29 June, 1862) at the request of our bishops. It allows one and only one private Requiem Mass, *when the body is present*, on all days except doubles of the first and second class, days of obligation and the privileged Ferias, Octaves, and Vigils, in districts where priests are wanting to celebrate a Solemn Mass. We should attend to the terms of this Indult, for while giving to it a large and favorable interpretation, we are not justified in extending the concession beyond its clearly defined limits. "Beatissime Pater, Episcopi Hiberniae ad pedes Beatitudinis Tuae provoluti, humillime supplicant ut facultatem concedere digneris, qua, in iis locis in quibus ob sacerdotum inopiam Missa sollemnis celebrari non possit, legi possint etiam in festis duplicibus Missae Privatae de Requiem, praesente cadavere?" "Ex audientia Sanctissimi habita die 29 Junii, 1862. SS. Dominus Noster Divina Providenta Papa IX . . . benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces, exceptis duplicibus primae vel secundae classis, festis de praecepto servandis, feriis, vigiliis et octavis privilegiatis. Datum Romae ex aedibus, &c. Facultas haec intelligitur de unica Missa privata casu in quo Missa sollemnis celebrari non potest."

It is, then, necessary that the Requiem Mass on the privileged days be sung. But here one is likely to ask

whether a Missa Cantata will suffice, or is a Missa Solemnis necessary? We believe that a Missa Cantata enjoys these privileges. First, in almost all the decrees of the Sacred Congregation relating to this question, it is only required that the Mass be chanted, and this condition is complied with in the Missa Cantata. Secondly, the Missa Cantata *de Requiem* shares in other respects in the privileges of the Missa Solemnis. Thus, it was decided by the Sacred Congregation on the 12th Aug., 1854:—"Unicam orationem dicendam in Missa *de Requie* cum cantu." Now, there seems to be no doubt that the Congregation intended to include the Missa Cantata in this decision, for when asked by the Archbishop of Quebec in 1875, "Quae et quot orationes dicendae sunt in talibus Missis (cantatis *de Requie*)," it sends him for a reply to this decision of the 12th Aug., 1854. Thirdly, the archbishop put another question, which called forth an answer that is even more pertinent as an illustration of the mind of the Congregation. In 1835 an Indult was granted to the diocese of Quebec, whereby "*Missae de Requie* arbitrio Rmi. Archiepiscopi pro tempore cani valeant diebus, in quibus occurrat festum duplicis minoris tantum, exceptis, &c." The archbishop in 1875 asks for an interpretation of the expression "*missae cum cantu*" in this form: "An indultum praedictum extendatur ad Missas cum cantu, etiamsi non habeantur ministri sacri, nec fiat absolutio?" And the Congregation replied, "*Affirmative.*" 4 Sept, 1875. Again, if the Missa Cantata did not suffice, the privileges of the 3rd, 7th, 30th, and anniversary days would be almost useless in very many parishes where priests are wanting to celebrate the Missa Solemnis.

Finally, this opinion is commonly taught by the rubricists, and is, we believe, acted on in France and elsewhere.

With these preliminary remarks as to the kind of Mass that is necessary, we may proceed to state the extent of the concessions made in favour of the different Privileged days.

The Privileged days may be classified thus:—

1. The day of death or burial, or any of the intermediate days, the body being present in the church where the Mass is sung.

2. The day of death or burial, or the intermediate days, the body being absent from the church "*ob causam rationabilem*," but not buried.

3. The day after burial, the body having been buried, "*ob causam rationabilem*" the previous evening, and before a Requiem Mass was said over the deceased person.

4. The day on which the death of one “de gremio congregationis,” is announced to the community or congregation.

5. The 3rd, 7th, and 30th day from the death or burial.

6. The anniversary.

We shall treat of these days in the order in which they are set down.

First Class of Privileged Days.—The day of death or burial, or any of the intermediate days, the body being present in the church where the Mass is sung. This is the class to which the most extensive privileges are granted.

On these days a Requiem Mass may be chanted on any day :

Except (a) on a double of the first class, which is also a feast “de praecepto.” “An dici possit Missa de Requiem, corpore praesente, diebus primae classis cum multo apparatu et pompa exteriori celebratis licet non festivis de praecepto ? Resp. *Affirmative*, dummodo non sit titularis.” 8 April, 1808 (4507).

(b) On the Feast of the Titular of the Church (S. R. C. *ibid*).

(c) On the three last days of Holy Week. “Utrum in majori Hebdomada, *excepto triduo* . . . ante Pascha . . . possit cantari Missa unica sollemnis de Requiem in sepultura cadaveris ?” Resp. “*Affirmative*.” 29 June, 1752 (4223).

Retrenched holidays of the first class, except the Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Pentecost week, are included among the prohibited days. And when the solemnity of one of these first-class Feasts of obligation is transferred to the following Sunday, as happens in France in regard to certain Feasts, the Requiem Mass is forbidden on both days—the day on which the retrenched holiday falls and the following Sunday.

“An licet cantare Missam de requiem, praesente corpore, in Dominicis in quas transfertur solemnitas illorum festorum primae classis ? An illud licet in ipso die festivitatis ? Resp. *Servetur rubrica sicut ante reductionem festorum et extendatur etiam ad Dominicam*.” S. R. C. 23rd May, 1835 (5743).

“Poterit, praesente cadavere, unica Missa pro defunctis celebrari feria secunda post Pascha aut Pentecostes.” 2 Sept., 1741 (4119).¹

From this rule, which is put in a negative form, it follows that, *praesente cadavere*, a solemn Mass may be said.

(a) On the Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Pentecost week.

¹ S. R. C. 29 Jan., 1752. 2 Sept., 1741.

(b) On all first-class feasts which are not “de praecepto,” or among the retrenched Holidays.¹

(c) On doubles of the second class, even though they be Feasts “de praecepto.”²

(d) On Sundays, even though they are Sundays of the first class, such as the first Sunday of Advent or Palm Sunday.³ To this there are, however, two exceptions. We have mentioned one of them above, namely, when the solemnity of a first-class feast of obligation is transferred to the following Sunday, as happens in the case of certain Feasts in France. The second exception is in favour of churches where only one Mass is celebrated on Sundays and other days of obligation. In this case, the Requiem Mass is to be deferred till the next free day.

“An iis in locis ubi una tantum celebratur Missa diebus dominicis et festivis per annum (non tamen solemnioribus) dum aliquis mane sepelitur et Missa dicitur ante sepulturam, corpore praesente, debeat haec Missa dici *de Requiem*, ut in die obitus, vel potius tanquam Missa conventualis, cui populus assistit, debeat cantari de die et Missa *de Requiem* transferri ad primam diem non impeditam.” Resp. “*Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.*” 26 Jan., 1793 (4448).

(e) During the Privileged Octaves,⁴ Vigils,⁴ and Ferias,⁴ except the three last days of Holy Week.⁵

Second Class of Privileged Days.—The day of death or burial, or any of the intermediate days, the body being absent, “*ob causam rationabilem*,” from the church where the Mass is sung, but not being buried.

By the reasonable cause the rubricists generally understand some such grave reason as the danger of communicating the infectious disease of which the person died, or the prohibition proceeding from the law of the country which may require the corpse to be kept elsewhere.

On these days the Requiem Mass is forbidden:—

(a) On all days on which it is forbidden when the body is present.

(b) On all doubles of the first-class, even though not “de praecepto.”

Hence in this case the Solemn Mass is allowed (a) on doubles of the second class, even when they are “de praecepto;” (b) on Sundays; (c) during Privileged Octaves, and on the Privileged Vigils, and Ferias, except the three last days of Holy Week.

¹ S.R.C., 27 March, 1779. 8th April, 1808.

² 23 Sept., 1809.

⁴ 27 March, 1779.

² 23 May, 1603.

⁵ 16 April, 1831.

We will quote a few of the decrees which authorise the Rubricists in laying down these conclusions:—

“Potestne celebrari die duplici primae classis non festivo, si corpus pridie sepultum sit?” Resp. “Haec Missa (unica Solemnis *de Requiem*) non decantabitur in duplici primae classis haud festivo, si corpus praesens non fuerit aut pridie sepultum.” 2 Sept., 1741 (3970).

“Missa unica sollemnis, insepulto corpore, celebrari poterit etiam in dominicis et festis diebus, non tamen sollemnibus primae classis,” 29 Jan., 1752 (4223).

Again, “Generalia decreta permittunt ut valeat Missa sollemnis *de Requie* cantari etiam secunda et tertia feria Paschatis et Pentecostes, praesente corpore. In Hetruria prohibitum cum sit cadavera exponere, poterit haec Missa locum habere quando cadaver asservatur in conclavi proximo ecclesiae?” Resp. *Negative, sed servetur decretum in Florentin.* 25 April, 1781. S.R.C., Aug. 1839. The decree of the 25th of April, to which reference is made, allows the Mass *de Requiem* “diebus etiam festivis de praecepto et duplicibus secundae classis,” even when the body is not present in the church. R. B.

[In our next number we shall deal with the remaining Privileged Days, and other questions relating to the subject of Requiem Masses.]

DOCUMENTS.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE “STATIONS OF THE CROSS.”

ALTHOUGH anxious to bring together within the limits of the first volume of the present series of the RECORD, all the Encyclicals and other more important Official Documents issued by His Holiness Leo XIII. since the commencement of his Pontificate, still we shall not omit to publish, from time to time, under the head of Documents, practical decisions which have been recently given by one or other of the Roman Congregations.

We know that it will be of interest to many of our readers to learn the usual course of submitting an important question for decision to the Roman Tribunals, and the different stages through which the question passes before its final decision. These stages are indicated in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*¹ under the headings *Compendium Facti*

¹ *Acta Sanctae Sedis* in *Compendium* opportune Redacta et Illustrata Studio et Cura Josephi Pennacchi, et Victorii Piazzesi. Romae.

or *Decretum*, *Votum Consultoris*, *Disceptatio Synoptica*, *Dubia*, which usually precede the decision, and after these we find under a separate heading, *Ex Quibus Colliges*, the inference of the Editor of the *Acta* from all the preceding data.

As we hope to publish in many future numbers of the RECORD, not only the actual decisions given on important questions, as set forth in the *Acta*, but also the summary of the discussion which precedes the final decision of each question, we beg to present to our readers in this number (a) an explanation of the usual mode of procedure followed by the Roman Congregations in examining particular questions, and (b) an illustration of this procedure as applied to some decisions regarding the "Stations of the Cross."

We have been favoured by a distinguished Prelate well versed in the *Stylus Curiae Romanae* with the following interesting account of the usual formalities observed by the Roman Congregations in the decision of cases.

PROCEDURE OF THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS.

"The routine of the important questions is pretty much the same in all the Congregations in Rome. Take for instance the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. When a case arises, say from Ireland, and the papers connected with it are deposited in Propaganda, they are all consigned to the *Under-Secretary* (Minutante) for Ireland; when he has them duly arranged he brings them before the *Congressio* or Private Meeting which is held in Propaganda every week, and at which the Cardinal-Prefect, the Monsignor-Secretary, and the seven Under-Secretaries assist. At the *Congressio* a Canonist Consultor is fixed on, to whom the papers are transmitted, and who, in due time, sends in his *Votum* on the case: this is the "*Votum Consultoris*."

"Besides the general principles of Canon Law each Congregation has its own traditions, and hence the papers, as a rule, are given to the Archivist of the Congregation, with the aid of whose annotations the Assistant-Secretary draws up the *Animadversiones ex officio*, which are always of great importance in the case."

"When all this is done the matter comes on again at the next *Congressio*, and the *Dubia* are then formulized, and the Cardinal *Ponente* is chosen. Though all the Cardinals take part in their respective Congregations, one is specially assigned to take charge of each important question proposed. For instance, Cardinal Bilio was the Cardinal

Ponente for the Decrees of the National Synod of Maynooth, in regard to which the *Dubia* were no fewer than 120. If the Cardinal *Ponente* deems it expedient, a *Disceptatio Synoptica* is drawn up under his direction by any Canonists or Theologians whom he may select, or more generally by his own Uditore, who, as a rule, is well versed in all matters of Canon Law. All these papers are printed, and form what is called the *Ponenza*, of which a copy is sent to each of the Consultors of the Congregation a fortnight before the day fixed for the Meeting of Cardinals. The Meeting or *Congregation* of Cardinals is generally held on Monday, and preparatory to it a Meeting of the Consultors, who are about 24 in number, is held on the preceding Thursday. At this Meeting of the Consultors (who have all received the full *Ponenza*) each one gives his opinion, and the Secretary of the Congregation (who always presides at each meeting) reports the opinions to the Cardinals when they assemble. When the Cardinals meet, the Cardinal-Prefect presides, and the Cardinal *Ponente* is, so to say, the speaker on the question. If the Cardinals are not agreed, the matter is adjourned to their next meeting. When their decision is formulized, it is submitted on the following Sunday to the Pope by the Secretary of the Congregation, and then receives the sanction of His Holiness."

DECISIONS REGARDING THE "STATIONS OF THE CROSS."

The following Decisions regarding the *time* when the "Stations of the Cross" may be blessed and the *material* of which the *crosses* must be made, for the purpose of attaching the Indulgences to them, will be of interest to some of our clerical readers. They will also serve to illustrate some of the more important points of procedure explained by our Right Rev. Correspondent. These Decisions are found in the *Acta S. Sedis*, Fasciculus III. vol. xii., 1879.

At the end of each Decision will be given a summary of the conclusions to which the Decision leads.

SMIRNEN.

QUOAD BENEDICTIONEM CRUCIUM ET TABULARUM PRO STATIONIBUS VIAE CRUCIS.

Decretum. Cum in Smirnensi Archidiocesi exortum fuerit dubium : *An pro validitate benedictionis Crucium Stationum viae Crucis requiratur, ut benedictio detur ante ipsarum affixionem, vel sufficiat ut post affixionem imperiatur*, pro ipsius resolutione supplex libellus huic S. Indulgentiarum Congregationi a Rmo, Archiepiscopo fuit porrectus.

Emi Patres in Congregatione Generali habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 20 Junii, 1879, auditis Consultorum votis rescripserunt : *Negative* ad primam partem ; *Affirmative* ad secundam. Et facta per me

infrascriptum Secretarium relatione SSmo. Dno. N. Leoni Papae XIII. in Audientia diei 21 dicti mensis et anni, Sauctitas sua votum S. Congregationis benigne adprobavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis propositae die 21 Junii, 1879.

Al. Card. OREGLIA A. S. Stephano Praef.

A. PANICI, Secretarius.

DISCEPTATIO SYNOPTICA.

VOTUM CONSULTORIS. Omnia perlegisse, ait iste, decreta s. C. Indulgentiarum quoad *Viam Crucis*; nullumque reperiisse, quo concederetur cruces et tabulas benedicere postquam erectae fuerint. Quinimo innui semper reperiit, *servandam in omnibus consuetudinem*. Ad exemplum protulit decretum in *Nauccien*, relatum a Prinzivalli pag. 454. "Episcopus Nanceiensis postulat utrum erectio et benedictio Stationum *Viae Crucis* in Ecclesia vel Oratorio ita fieri possit, ut ante caeremoniam vel etiam die praecedenti quatuordecim cruces cum tabulis pictis, si quae sint, suspendantur in locis praefixis, et earum benedictio fiat a sacerdote ad eas ante aram converso, quibus expletis, Sacerdos ad singulas cruces genuflexus incensat et orat more solito, vel utium expositio et suspensio fieri debeat durante caeremonia, quod quidem esset difficillimum." Sacra Cong. respondit: "*servandam in omnibus consuetudinem*." Atque ita decrevit die 31 Ianuarii 1848.

Ast ritualis *viae crucis* Ordinis Franciscani praescribit, ut benedicantur tabulae et cruces et ad locum suum ponantur. Hinc iuxta decretum supra relatum, et constantem consuetudinem colligi posse videtur, benedictionem, ut valida et efficax sit, prius conficiendam esse, quam tabulae et cruces erigantur.

Quae conclusio roborari videtur per verba decreti ab Antistite ipso Smirnen, citati in una *Incerti loci*. Quaeritur: "An benedictionem tabularum et crucium facta a Sacerdote legitime delegato, alter quicumque tabulas collocare possit, privatim sine caeremoniis, et etiam in alio tempore?" Resp. *Affirmative*.¹

Duo relata decreta, ait Consultor, conformia sunt; et in quaesito, verbum est de benedictione antecederet crucibus et tabulis data a Sacerdote, necessariam praedito facultate; idque appositum est in petitione quae fit, an idest quisvis Sacerdos conficere possit *Viae Crucis* erectionem. Sacra Congr. respondit: *Affirmative*; et ita respondendo, idem est, ait Consultor, ac dixisset, quemlibet Sacerdotem benedictionem facere posse, quum adimpletum sit quidquid in subiecta materia exposcitur a consuetudine; quae innuit, benedictionem crucium et tabularum praemittendam esse earundem affixioni ut valida sit.

ANIMADVERSIONES EX OFFICIO. Dubio ab Archiepiscopo Smirneni proposito causam dedisse videtur responsum a S. C. Ind. datum die 22 Augusti 1842, iamque relatum in Synopsi voti Consultoris.

Ex quo decreto argui potest: si pro valida habetur benedictio, cum actus affixionis non fiat insimul, sed impertiatu tempore distincto atque etiam a diverso sacerdote, ecurr pro valida non erit habenda, si potiusquam eodem tempore vel antea impertiatu, crucium et tabularum affixione iam peracta? Consultor tamen negativam sequutus est sen-

¹ Sacra Indulgentiarum Cong. sub die 22 Augusti responso *Affirmative* praemisit, quod in erectione *Viae Crucis*, benedicendae tantum sint *Cruces*, minime vero *Tabulae*, seu *Picturae*.

tentiam, innixus decreto edito in *Nanceien*, 31 Ian. 1848; atque hoc cum alio decreto edito 22 Augusti 1842 concilians dubitandi rationem resolvit.

Attamen regerere non posse videtur *Nanceien*. quia s. Congr. minime respondisset *Negative* ad primam partem, et *Affirmative* ad secundam, ceu respondendum erat si voluisset absolute reprobare atque interdicare, ut benedictio post affixionem impertiretur, sed respondit simpliciter "*sereandam in omnibus consuetudinem*." Ideoque haud exclusit benedictionem postea etiam dari posse, si huiusmodi consuetudo aliquo in loco inoleverit.

Quod autem s. Congr. respondendo *servandum in omnibus consuetudinem*, minime intellexerit observantiam iniungere cuiuslibet consuetudinis, sed unice atque examussim observantiam supradictae generalis et constantis consuetudinis, extra dubium ponitur a traditis in Voto tunc edito, cuique inhaerens s. Cong. illud protulit responsum. Et clarius apparebit ab hac generali et constanti consuetudine non esse deflectendum, et reprobendam esse quamlibet peculiarem ab ea descendentem, si animadvertatur, illius observantiam fuisse explicitè iniunctam a summis Pontificibus Clemente XII. et Benedicto XIV. dum facultas conceditur, pia loca Viae Crucis erigendi in Ecclesiis et aliis piis locis Ministro Generali Ord. Min. de observantia non subiectis. Inter caeteras conditiones, quibus concessio istaec alligatur, reperitur *ut quoad illa sic deinceps erigenda modus et forma scrvantur, quibus eiusmodi erectiones in Ecclesiis, et locis Ordinis praedicti fieri hactenus consueverunt*. Quod quidem fuit rursum enixe inculcatum in monitis pro recte peragendo pio Viae Crucis exercitio a s. Cong. Indul. iussu Clementis XII. evulgatis die 3 Aprilis, 1731: ibi enim traditur n. 3 quod (Stationes) erigi debeant formâ consuetâ et hactenus servatâ in dicto Ordine.

To this Decree the Editor of the *Acta S. Sedis* subjoins the following:

"Ex quibus (*i.e.* ex Decreto; ex Voto Consultoris; et ex Animadversionibus ex officio) colliges.

I. Pro validitate benedictionis Crucium Stationum Viae Crucis haud requiri, ut benedictio detur *ante* ipsarum affixionem, sed sufficere ut *post* affixionem earundem impertiatur.

II. Per hanc dubii resolutionem videri Emos Cardinales nullomodo derogare voluisse antiquae consuetudini, qua Franciscalis Ordo, ex privilegio, stationes Viae Crucis erigere usus est, sed constituisse benedictionem rite perfici posse etiam *post* crucium erectionem.

III. Ideoque crucium benedictionem validam atque efficacem habendam esse videri, sive *ante*, sive *post* earundem crucium erectionem impertiri velit.

IV. Pro Viae Crucis erectione haud benedici posse Tabulas et Pictures, sed benedictionem cohibendam esse ad *Crucis* solummodo."

Acta Sanctae Sedis. Vol. xii. Fascic. iii. p. 126.

From the foregoing decision it is obvious that the *crosses*, and not the pictures nor the frames in which the pictures are enclosed, must be blessed, in order that the indulgences of the Way of the Cross may be gained.

These crosses, as we know from the Roman Ritual (Appendix, p. 120. Mecklin, 1872) should be made of *wood*. For, the Rubric in reference to the Benedictio Crucium says, *quae ex ligno esse debent*.

It is of great importance, therefore, to determine the exact force of this Rubric. Does the Rubric express a recommendation merely, or is it so urgent that unless wood is used as the material of the crosses, the indulgence cannot be attached to them?

Again, may a combination of wood and of some metal be used in making the crosses? Thus, if a wooden cross is fitted into a hollow

metal cross, so that the metal surface is presented to the people, will this combination satisfy the requirements of the Rubric?

To these questions we find satisfactory answers in the following Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences:—

Decretum S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum quoad cruces stationum viae Crucis, die 23 Nov., 1878.

In Gallia mos invaluit quatuordecim tabellas una cum crucibus pro stationibus viae Crucis ex ferro, saepe in typos fuso condendi, quibus ferreis crucibus inversis totidem lignae applicantur, quae tamen nullo videri possunt modo a coram adstantibus. Cum autem plures ab hac sacra Congregatione definitum fuerit, indulgentias pro pio viae Crucis exercitio concessas, crucibus tantum rite benedictis esse adnexas; cumque in appendice ad Rituale Romanum, typis s. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide editum anno 1864 pag. 404, et anno 1874, pag. 108, traditum reperiatur, cruces praedictas esse debere ligneas. Hinc Episcopus Auranensis merito dubitans, num juxta praefatam consuetudinem conditionibus satisfiat ad indulgentiarum acquisitionem necessariis, per suum Vicarium supplex adiit hanc s. Congregationem, ab ea exposulans trium dubiorum resolutionem.

I. An illud “Ex ligno debent esse cruces” quod legitur in appendice ad Rituale Romanum editum anno 1864 ex typis s. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide page 404, obliget sub poena nullitatis?

Et quatenus affirmative.

II. An huic praecepto sufficienter satisfacit supradicta appositio totidem crucum lignearum, etsi coram abstantibus invisibilium, ad partem adversam crucum ferrearum?

III. An consulendum sit Sanctissimo pro sanatione Crucis viarum hujusmodi jam erectarum?

In Congregatione generali habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 15 Novembris 1878. Emmi Patres rescripserunt.

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Negative.

Ad III. Attenta bona fide consulendum SSmo pro convalidatione Stationum sic erectarum, et pro facultatibus necessariis et opportunis concedendis eidem Episcopo Oratori, qui sive per se, sive per alium Sacerdotem sibi benevisum cruces ligneas privatim benedicat, easque benedictas, meliori quo fieri potest modo, ne scandalum oriatur, ita stationibus superponat ut ab omnibus conspici possint.

Factaque de his omnibus per me infrascriptum dictae Cong. Sec. SSmo D. N. Leoni Papae XIII. in Audientia diei 23 Nov., 1878, relatione, Sanctitas Sua s. Cong. resolutionem benigne approbavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem s. Cong. die et anno ut supra.

Al Card Oreglia A. S. Stephano, Praefectus.

A. Panici, Secretarius.

From these Decisions we may conclude.

1° That the different “Stations” may be blessed either *before* or *after* they have been erected or fixed in the places which they are to occupy in the church.

2° That it is to the *crosses* and not to the pictures nor to the frames that the indulgence is attached.

3° That the crosses must be made of *wood*, and made in such a way as to enable the people who kneel before them to see the wooden crosses.

ED. I. E. R.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau in the Summer of 1871. By the REV. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D. Fourth Edition. Burns & Oates, London. 1880.

We heartily recommend Dr. Molloy's book to two classes of persons—first, to those who intend to be present this year at the Passion Play; and, secondly, to those who, though unable to undertake the journey, are still anxious to know as much about Ober-Ammergau and its sacred drama as may be known from books. To the former class the new edition of Dr. Molloy's book will prove a most valuable and interesting guide, while to the latter it will give in a short compass, and in a style admirably suited to the subject, all the information which the general reader cares to acquire.

In the preface to this fourth edition, Dr. Molloy gives some very interesting particulars regarding the representation of the present year, which is to open on Monday the 17th of this month and to be repeated on all Sundays, as well as on special week days, up to the 26th of the following September. Ober-Ammergau, he tells his readers, "may be reached from Munich by an easy and pleasant journey of six or seven hours, three hours' railway from Munich to Murnau, and about four hours' drive, through a beautiful country, from Murnau to Ober-Ammergau. Facilities for posting will be found at Murnau, which is one of the chief posting stations on the high road between Munich and Innsbruck."

Few travellers, we believe, will set out from Ireland on this delightful excursion without bringing Dr. Molloy's volume, as an agreeable vade mecum, with them.

Que faut-il penser des Nouveaux Livres de Chant Liturgique de Ratisbonne? Par l'ABBÉ Th. N., Curé d' A.—J. Deuxième Edition. Rennes, 1880.

THE answer which the author of this *brochure* would give to the question on his title page, may more easily be inferred from his closing sentence, in which he denounces as "charlatanism" the enterprise so signally favoured by the Holy See, than from the "Protestation" with which he begins his pamphlet, or from the "Appendix" of Official Documents with which he brings it to a close.

The "Protestation" is an humble declaration that the author has no other thought than to accept, "even by anticipation," "with filial respect," and "absolute obedience," "without reserve," and "without *arrière-pensée*," the judgment of the supreme authority of the church.

The "Appendix" sets forth in full, arranged in parallel columns, in the original Latin, and in a French translation, the Documents above referred to. These are ten in number: eight Decrees

of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and two Papal Briefs. The Decrees of the Sacred Congregation declare that the production of those works, though conducted, so far as regards the typographical arrangements, by a German publisher, was superintended with special care, "*directa fuit singulari diligentia*," by a Commission in Rome, officially appointed for the purpose by the Sacred Congregation of Rites; that *not even a single page* of the printed books, "*nec unicum ejusdem editionis folium*," had passed through the press without the special and careful revision of the Commission thus appointed, and the approval and *signature*, not merely of those officials, but of the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation itself; and, in fine, that the works thus revised are "approved" by the Holy See, and declared "authentic," and that they are certified to contain that very "*Cantum Gregorianum, quem semper Ecclesia Romana retinuit, proindeque ex traditione conformior haberi potest illi quem in Sacram Liturgiam Summus Pontifex Sanctus Gregorius Magnus invexerat*." Furthermore, the Papal Briefs—one from the late Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX, the other from our present Holy Father—commend in the strongest terms the zeal and energy of the publisher who has so loyally and so usefully co-operated with the Holy See in its effort to give effect to one of its dearest wishes, "*quod sit Nobis maxime in votis*;" and they most earnestly recommend to all the Bishops of the Church, and to all who have a care for the maintenance of her sacred music, the liturgical works thus published under the official supervision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and with a personal approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff, altogether unprecedented:—"*Hanc ipsam Editionem tuis sumptibus et laboribus exaratam, Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis, iisque omnibus quibus Musices Sacrae cura est, magnopere commendamus: eo vel magis quod sit Nobis maxime in votis, ut, cum in ceteris quae ad sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una, cunctis in locis ac Dioecesibus, eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia*."

But, with the exception of the "Protestation" and the Documents in the "Appendix," the pamphlet before us is from first to last a violent attack on the publisher thus commended by the Holy See, and on the liturgical works thus stamped with the approval of the supreme liturgical authority.

M. l'Abbé Th. N., has made up his mind that, notwithstanding the emphatic approval of Rome, "charlatanism" is the fitting designation of the enterprise thus signally favoured. The Holy See may extol the energy of the publisher whose services and resources have been with so much spirit placed at its disposal; it may lavish its favours upon him, raising him, in recognition of his services, to the dignity of a knighthood; it may "approve" his edition as "authentic," and "earnestly" recommend its adoption by every Bishop throughout the Church. But the Abbé Th. N., Curé of A.-J., is not discouraged. Resting on the solid ground of

Scripture and Theology, he can bid defiance to M. Pustet and all his works. The trade rivals of the great Ratisbon publisher may still breathe freely: for what is all that M. Pustet has done but "charlatanism"? And how can "charlatanism" prevail against the Infallible Church?

And so we read in the closing sentence of the Abbé's elaborate dissertation of 63 pages:—"Les éditeurs . . . peuvent donc se rassurer: Rome n'agit jamais à la légère. On peut exploiter ses encouragements; mais . . . les portes du charlatanisme, *pas plus que celles de l'enfer (!)*, ne prévaudront jamais contre elle."

Some of our readers, no doubt, will feel an interest in examining for themselves the train of reasoning by which the author has worked himself into believing that language such as this is consistent on the one hand with the Protestation with which the pamphlet opens, and on the other, with the Official Documents which it so candidly sets forth.

The pamphlet is plainly the work of a writer by no means wanting in erudition as regards the archæological aspect of the topics of which he treats. All the more deeply, therefore, must we regret that the tone and temper of his observations are such as to render it impossible for us to recommend his little work to the favourable notice of our readers.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From MESSRS. GILL & SONS, Dublin—

Catechism of Perseverance. By Monsignor GAUME, vol. 2.

The Life of John Murphy, Priest and Patriot. By a Catholic Priest.

The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. By the Very Rev. U. J. Canon BOURKE.

The Life and Labours of St. Augustin. By the Very Rev. U. J. Canon BOURKE.

The History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh. By the Rev. JOHN GALLOGLY, C.C.

The Catholic Church and Modern Society. By Cardinal MANNING.

From MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

The Strike and The Drunkard's Death. Reprinted from "Sick Calls," by Father PRICE.

Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority. By Dr. WARD.

Anglican Jurisdiction. Is it Valid? By J. D. BREEN, O.S.B.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1880.

ISCHL.

A FEW days ago we met a clerical friend leaving the shop of a Catholic publisher in Dublin with a determined expression in his countenance, and Dr. Molloy's charming little book on the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau, in his hand.

"So you are going to Ober-Ammergau," say we, both interrogatively and affirmatively, at least as far as one inflection of the voice can be made to express both. "Yes," he replies, "I think I ought not to postpone it again for another ten years."

We glance at his face, try to read his thoughts and sound the depths of his answer. He is thinking why *now*. It is not death that is in his mind, but the probable parish and the possible mitre, which may come in the way of the summer vacation.

"Well," we add dogmatically, "if you do go to Ober-Ammergau you must be sure to go to Ischl."

He looks puzzled—as well he may—seeing that the conclusion (as he would say) does not follow from the premises: and then he naturally and almost angrily asks—

"Where is Ischl, what is it, and why must I go there?"

"Can we answer all these questions here in the street?"

"Perhaps not," he apologetically replies, "but"—as though struck with a brilliant idea—"why not write a paper about it in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD?" and off he goes, leaving us to regret our interference and to weigh his suggestion.

So as we walk home, we think that perhaps he is right; and that a paper on Ischl may be of use to him and to

others who may have Ober-Ammergau in their vacation plans: for Ischl is within easy reach of Munich, and that seems to be generally laid down as the starting point for the dramatic Tyrolese village.

Ischl is sometimes described as the capital of the *Saltzkammergut*, which does not at once convey a very definite idea to an ungermanic mind. So it may be as well to explain that there is a large district in Upper Austria rich in salt mines, which property belongs to the Crown, and is consequently managed by what we should call the Exchequer; clubbing all these facts together we get in true German fashion, a big, compound word, which we may translate freely into "The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Salt Estate," but with this difference that the revenue thence arising belongs to the Crown, and not to the nation; so on second thoughts we may render it more accurately as "the privy-purse-salt-property."

But be this best rendered how it may, Ischl is the capital of this salt producing district; and as a capital ever should be, it is the residence of the monarch during a certain portion of the year; and indeed shares regularly with Vienna that envied privilege. But a mining district, even with a royal residence, conveys any idea but a correct one of what Ischl really is: for to an English mind it might suggest a grim Balmoral in the Black Country. So we must inform our readers that such mines as those of the *Saltzkammergut*, are of a clear and exceeding genteel character.

The salt is not dug, but soaked, not to say coaxed out; and when it leaves the mine it dashes along amid forests and over mountains in quaint wooden pipes, of primitive design and construction rude enough. A kind of salt Vartry, bearing in its bright waters a precious treasure, in the realization of which the water itself has to be evaporated away. Books tell us that the peculiar way of extracting the salt from the mines is necessitated by the nature of the soil, and the fact that the mineral is not found in strata, but completely intermingled with the earth. A shovelful of earth would yield about as much salt as would season the frugal meal of the miner, and as that shovelful would be difficult to get at, there would be but a small return for the Exchequer Chamber. So water is turned on at little cost beyond the labour of opening a passage from the hill above, and down it works its way amid the solid rocks into the soft earth beneath: the salt dissolves, the earth falls to

the bottom of the water that has now become brine : and nought remains but to draw off the liquid and send it on its wild and daring way through channels of hollow trunks of trees, until it reaches its destination—Ischl perhaps, as ours will soon be when we have said a word more in explanation of these quaint and cleanly mines.

The usual way of proceeding is to drive a horizontal shaft into the upper part of the side of a mountain ; until the salt earth is reached, so when you want to visit a mine at Ischl you must begin by a sharp climb up a mountain, then you work your way down, shaft after shaft, until you reach the bottom and find yourself even then high up the mountain side.

The rising of one of these salt chambers is curious, but as regular as possible. The water poured in attacks the salt, and the earth falls to the bottom, the brine floating above it ; more water is let in until the space which the earth has vacated is filled again, and then of course more salt is dissolved, the earth falls steadily and bears up the water above it, and so the chamber does not grow larger, nor higher, but itself rises through the mountain until it would reach the top were there salt earth to feed it ; but after a time, when the brine is salt enough, it is drawn off and sent down on its way to the evaporating works. Then the loose earth is beaten down into a hard floor, more water is let in, and the same process renewed, with, of course, the same result. It is amusing enough to visit one of these mines, and a day at Ischl may be well spent in this way. But the name of the district has led us away, or at least kept us back from the little capital itself ; which however is but natural, seeing that Ischl owes its existence to the salt mines over which it reigns, for what would it be without the *Salzkammergut* ?

Let us now go to Ischl, but how ? There are three ways which we have used, and for all we know there may be others ; but a choice among three will, perhaps, be enough. Our first visit was by road from Salzburg, a glorious mountain drive it was, and a dignified ; seeing that two modest tourists, who not unfrequently carried their all upon their backs and tramped their way, started in a carriage and pair, which ere long grew into a carriage and four.

Grand climbing was there, and abrupt descents were not rare. At times we had beautiful lakes down, far down below us, with mountain ranges closing them in, and glimpses of still more distant ones sparkling through abrupt

openings. There we tumbled down upon and skirted the lakes which we had descried from above, and left them for fresh climbs and other waters beyond. Various as well as numerous were their bright waters which sparkled like gems in the green settings of the trees, and the brown cresting of the rocks. Some, as the Fuschel See, were small, like ornamental waters in a spacious park, fringed with a rich verdure, and a gravelly road; others, like St. Wolfgang's lake, were closed in by mountains, which rose sheer out of the waters, along a ridge of which wound a narrow uninviting path, where all seemed to depend upon the strength and quietness of our horses. Nor are holy suggestions wanting here. The comparatively wild road we travel, what is its rudeness compared with that by which the great apostle St. Wolfgang himself traversed these mountainous regions, when he brought Christianity among the fierce pagans who dwelt in seemingly inaccessible fastnesses? The shrine of the great missionary is in a bright little church, which reflects itself in the broad lake, on whose margin it stands under the shadow of the lofty Schafberg. It is a place of famous pilgrimage: but lying on the opposite shore we can but pay our visit from a distance.

When we reach Ischl our horses have to do their best to dash up to a grand hotel (Bauer), which stands at a noble elevation above the adjacent roads and streets. Every thing about it is on a grand scale, not omitting the charges, which indeed are remarkable, even in this land of high prices.

When we visited Ischl last summer we were on our way home from Vienna, so we made our entrance into the Salzkammergut by another way. Indeed we had no intention of going thither at all when we quitted the Imperial City (Kaizerstadt), as the Viennese delight in calling their beautiful and gay capital; but as we railed along the right bank of the Danube our eyes and hearts were drawn from its historic waters, (which in truth at this part of its course have little beauty to recommend them), to the inland view which is very charming in its undulations, and to the grand range of mountains which lies beyond. "What mountains are those?" inquires our companion. "A part of the Julian range," we reply, and in its nearer spurs lies Ischl. "We must go there," we add almost of necessity, though our route is laid down from Linz to Passau; for who can get within sight of that wild region and not be magnetically drawn to it? So we rail on to Linz, the capital of Upper Austria; and the next day we take the line for Salzburg.

Not that we are going to re-visit Ischl by our former route, but only to leave the line at Lambach, and to take the branch line to Gmunden; and here we may give an useful hint to anyone who may follow our steps to be careful in taking his ticket at Linz to let it be clearly understood that he intends to travel by steamboat from Gmunden to Ebensee down the beautiful lake Traunsee, and not by railway all the way to Ischl. When we were here before there was no other way but by rail and boat, but now a new line runs the whole distance, skirting the Traunsee, and so the voyage will be altogether lost if a ticket is taken for Ischl by rail. The error, if made, may be partially corrected by returning from Ischl by the steamer from Ebensee; but the voyage from Gmunden to Ebensee is far more interesting than that in the contrary direction; for in the former case you leave the comparatively tame shore of Gmunden behind you and steam into the ever-increasing grandeur and sublimity of the upper part of the lake which culminates at Ebensee.

Moreover, the railway journey from Lambach to Gmunden boat-pier is a thing not to be missed. It is a single line along a narrow road through a fine forest. The pace is so moderate, and the trees close in so snugly on both sides, that we are scarcely conscious of railing at all, while the open carriages complete the illusion, and the railway journey resolves itself into a pleasant forest drive. Gmunden invites, and not in vain, numbers of travellers to linger there. It is so charmingly situated on the margin of the glorious lake, with gentle hills—at least they seem such in comparison with the mountains beyond—rising on all sides, crowned and dotted about with villa-residences for royal, noble, and gentle people (the late King of Hanover usually resided here after he lost his dominions); and even its little town with its salt trade has an aristocratic look in virtue of its white houses with green doors, and front gardens, as though conscious that it is a depot of a royal monopoly, and has only the brightest, whitest, and cleanest of minerals in store.

And then the tiny steamer and the nine miles of lake; what can be more delicious on a bright afternoon after the ordinary railing to Lambach, and the extraordinary divergence to Gmunden. As we advance on our voyage, which lasts about an hour and a half, the scenery, which is soft and beautiful at Gmunden, grows up into wildness and grandeur, gradually and in due progression. The Traun-

stein is here the monarch of mountains ; it seems with its sheer precipice overhanging the lake as though it would fall and crush us, as the gallant little steamer whistles defiantly and calls for an echo as it dashes across the lake and around a village-crowned promontory, which shuts off Gmunden and its gentle charms, and buries itself and us in the arms of the surrounding mountains. Towering heights look over the nearer ones as we approach, and retire as we draw near the shore, giving us a glimpse, as it were, of what awaits us in Ischl, and we almost grow impatient at the occasional delay at little landing stations, so inviting appears Ebensee and the land that lies beyond.

We land, and find the railway train awaiting us. We almost regret that it is so ; for we have not forgotten the pleasant drive of two hours up the valley of the Traun, with scenery on either hand that no railway carriage can show effectively. The one we are in, it is true, is a fair sized room, with seats running round, and an open space in the middle, so that one is free to move from side to side ; at least one would be free were there not people sitting on every seat who do not understand such erratic movements, but make themselves grim and stiff in the midst of their innumerable small packages, as though it were a duty to be in harmony with the rigid line and the inflexible metal which constitute the iron king. However, the journey is not a long one, while the bold cliffs that shut in the valley on either side, opening from time to time into side glens which reveal still loftier and more imposing heights beyond, afford varying and ever-striking pictures, which strive to group themselves in our minds as maps for future wanderings, or at least for home pictures, when Ischl is once more left far behind.

So now having brought ourselves and our readers by two different routes into the capital of the Salzkammergut, and indicated another by direct railway travelling all the way for the sake of those who have not a moment to spare, we may settle ourselves quietly down in Ischl, and point out some of its attractions at our ease. But it so happens that our second visit is paid when Ischl is not quiet nor at ease, and indeed like most fidgetty people, seems unwilling to let us alone to "take our ease in our inn." For in the first place there is no inn that can receive us ; not even space enough is there for two humble tourists, whose luggage is carried in one hand, and whose requirements under pressure are as modest as their *impedimenta*. At first we

think that the very modesty of our appearance is against us, and that as we are not dashing up in a carriage and pair, with portmanteaus and travelling bags, we are not considered worthy of the attentions of mine host. But it is not so: there is literally no room in any of the large and handsome hotels, come we ever so grandly. At length the Porter of an hotel—that all-important personage who is the real master of the situation, and whose title we never write even mentally except with a capital P—takes us in hand, and secures a room for us in a less pretentious establishment, where we find ourselves comfortable enough, and feel thankful for any decent roof to shelter us.

Ischl, it seems, is in festival. It is not only the height of the season, but it is the Emperor's birthday week, and moreover, the Emperor and Empress are both here. Little wonder then is it that the aristocracy congregated and that the middle classes swarm from Vienna to rub shoulders with their betters, and to bask in the warm sunshine of the royal countenances. Indeed we are all basking at Ischl just now, for the air is sultry beyond expression, and when the sun goes down, as it does early, behind the surrounding mountains, it seems to have left its heat behind to keep us simmering amid the bright festivities.

During our afternoon stroll along the banks of the dashing and noisy Traun, under the shade of the fine trees which form a double avenue between the river and the houses, we notice busy preparations for the evening illuminations, and, sooth to say, we cast somewhat disdainful glances at the paper lanterns which are being strung up on all sides, forgetting in our warmth that views behind the scenes are never effective; but coming out again when the sun has gone and left nothing but its heat behind, we are as much surprised as charmed with the bright picture which meets our eyes.

The Traun, as well it deserves to be, is gaily decorated along both its banks, and the wooden bridge which crosses it is a blaze of coloured light, and seems like a brilliant decoration on the breast of the river god. Among the trees flash—no, that is not the word, but—twinkle lamps innumerable. There is a delicious softness in the whole scene, which suggests not a city illumination with its flaming gas, but a fairy picture, a midsummer night's dream, an Oriental feast of roses! It would be almost tame were it not for the vigorous dash of the Traun, whose rapid and troubled waters glitter with varied colours, and increase the bril-

liancy of the scene by giving life and motion to the illuminations that reflect themselves therein. On a sudden music is heard in the distance, mingling faintly with the sound of the hurrying waters; it grows more distinct, and just then a bright star appears, which gradually grows larger and larger; it is the home of melody, and as it advances we see it floating upon the river a decorated barge, filled with musicians. It pauses, and the music ceases; and then another band is heard below the high terrace where we are seated, another glittering outline is seen ascending the Traun, discoursing beautiful music as it slowly moves along. Is the Traun fascinated, and has it forget to hurry on with its usual haste? So it seems, for both vessels move gently, the one against the stream no slower than that which comes with it. We are too prosaic to rest content with this poetic thought; so we must needs investigate for ourselves, and thus dissolve the enchantment by observing how one barge is checked in its way and the other advanced by means of ropes. So we are once more, as it were, behind the scenes, and spoil the effect by overmuch curiosity.

Everybody, of course, is out of doors to enjoy the festival. The crowd is too great to distinguish who is who, and so the imperial party is unrecognised in the general throng. It is a rustic fête, however, and so there is no "rough" element to mar the pleasure and decorum of the scene, where every other class seems to have its representatives. Perhaps we should record the fact that fireworks were not wanting, but of so mild and unobtrusive a character were they, that they almost escaped notice save from the very rural part of the gathering. Much more effective were the coloured lights that were kindled from time to time along the banks of the river, and still more so were they when they appeared on the overhanging hills. It was, in short, a charming scene, and must have gladdened the hearts of the right royal pair, who saw, in these simple offerings, a tribute of affection from the people amongst whom they spend so much of their summer vacation.

Our readers can hardly have failed to remark how often and in how many forms the Traun has come before them. We have already spoken of the Traunsee, or lake to which the river gives its name, the Traunerthal, or valley through which it courses its way from Ischl to Ebensee, and here at Ischl, where it forms as it were the high street, along and

about which the little capital groups itself. Need we then say what an important thing—or ought we not boldly to say personage—the Traun is?

Nor do we exaggerate the importance of the noisy and active river. For what would Ischl be without it? From a commercial point of view, what would be the use of the salt when buried in the adjacent mountains, did not the tributaries of the Traun pour their waters into the earth and wash out the imperial treasure? And when that has been brought to Ischl, evaporated and caked into silvery white blocks, how could it get out of the mountain-encompassed capital were there not the water-way, which the impetuous river has worked for itself through the rocks down to the very Danube? A wild way in truth it is, full of the rocks with which it has battled so successfully in past ages, and which now are—

“Gracing in captive bonds his chariot wheels.”

But still with all its eddies, cross-currents, and at places, its bold waterfalls, it is a practicable way; and so the Traun is both the manufacturer and the carrier of the salt, and as such a most important personage. But from a non-commercial point of view also, and looking merely to the comfort and delectation of the visitors—if merely can be used when an emperor and empress, to say nothing of nobles, are concerned. The Traun provides the baths which are such an important feature of the place. We may say as Hood did, of a very different river—

“Drink of it, lave in it, then, if you can.”

Not that the Traun, simple and pure, is unfit for such purposes; but when it is salted for medicinal uses, it seems to us to be trying enough.

Let the reader imagine himself shut up in a kind of wooden cage with the bottom full of holes, and suspended from the roof of the evaporating house over the boiling brine, so that he may be steamed like a joint of meat, and imbibe into his system the clouds of vapours which pickle and cook him at the same time. If this process does not suit you, or if you are not sufficiently pickled, you may leave these saline vapour-baths (*salz-dampf-bäder*), and wallow like—well, never mind what—in a mud-bath (*schlamm-bäd*), which is literally the slime brought from the pits of the salt mines. Perhaps after these, you may feel inclined for a swim in something clean, and then the Traun is ready at hand, to unsalt and literally to freshen you.

Bathing however, as every body knows, is never considered complete in any spa, without drinking also. People come alike for internal and external lotions; and so we have a Trinkhalle, where mineral waters of varied flavours, more or less nasty, and it is to be hoped of corresponding efficacy, are to be met with. But to do the Austrians justice, they much prefer the whey cure (*molke kur*), which the goats, cows, and ewes provide, and which commends itself to the most robust traveller, and the greatest despiser of unpleasant drinks.

To return, however, to the Traun, upon whose merits we are dissertating, it is in addition to all that we have said, a connecting link between the many lakes which adorn the Salzkammergut, a silver thread upon which those sparkling gems are strung, and one of the many pleasant ways by which the wildest and most enchanting districts of this beautiful region are reached. And now that we have paid the honor due both to the salt and the river, the chief institutions of the place, let us say something of what they have made, and which the fashionable world of Vienna has adopted as its own, the wild and beautiful Ischl itself.

Buried amid the mountains, the small capital of salt land stands on what seems to be the only level space which can be found in the neighbourhood. It is a tiny valley where several glens meet; and small as is Ischl, it has already outgrown its level bed and climbed several of the adjacent heights. Our hotel stands high above the level of the Traun, and looks down upon the streets below and over the gardens of the Emperor's villa, which embosoms itself in trees. The octagon which opens out from our sitting-room, and forms one of the corner towers of the Bauer hotel, has four windows, whilst the four remaining sides, exclusive of the entrance, are fitted with looking-glasses. Each window commands the entrance of a separate valley, and each glass has its own especial reflected view. Beautiful indeed are these pictures thus framed for our enjoyment. Wild are the rocks which occupy the foreground; grand the mountains which close them in behind. The sternness, however, which these words imply is warmed into life and beauty by the rich foliage which everywhere abounds. It is nature in all its endearing charms. It invites to a gentle strole or to a healthy climb; its ways wind in graceful undulations around the lower heights, or breast the mountains which sentinel the favoured spot. The

invalid or the idler may linger at pleasure beneath a sylvan shade, and if the path rises at all above its wonted slope, there is sure to be a rustic bench, or, when the space admits, a pretty alcove dedicated to some illustrious lady, or to a celebrated beauty whose name is interwoven with the pleasant memories which live at Ischl. There is an endless variety in these walks which usually climb gently to some commanding point of view; and when, as not unfrequently happens, that is gained, another and a bolder climb presents itself, which more than repays the fresh exertion; and so on we go from point to point, until heights, which at first were not dreamed of, are attained; for each stage upwards reveals wilder and grander scenery, the more distant mountains seeming to rise to meet us, and as it were to beckon us onward to the sterner Alpine range, which backs almost every grand view the mountains of Ischl command. Such are the healthful rambles that abound in Ischl itself, which share with the public rooms, the river promenade, and the garden music, the daily routine of easy life; but of course there are longer, wilder, and more exciting expeditions which will satisfy the most determined pedestrian and the most dauntless climber. Ischl, indeed, is an admirable centre for expeditions of all kinds, and what such a centre implies every active tourist well knows. There is the comfort of an excellent hotel, the assurance of pleasant and refined society, and the lighter recreations which are in truth the best repose after the active enjoyment of the day is over. For this reason, perhaps, it is that Ischl is not so much the resort of the passing tourist, as the summer home of the numbers that flock thither. It is a place to linger in, and so its visitors measure their stay not by days but by weeks or months; and thus it has little of that fever of excitement, that bustle of a railway or steamboat station, which makes it almost impossible for an irresolute traveller to avoid hurrying on, as we must all have felt, for instance, at towns on the Rhine. People of course come and go at the hotels, but the passages are not blocked up with gigantic American travelling chests, which never venture beyond the entrances they are so soon to leave; nor do we find the faces of yesterday exchanged for strange ones to-day, which express by their weariness and nervousness the rush they seem condemned to make onwards—ever onwards. People here are at home, and when you join them you soon feel at home also. You meet in the promenade, you stroll up an inviting path,

you meet again in an alcove, the ladies knitting, or at some rustic work which never impedes conversation, while the gentlemen read or smoke. If you are ready for an excursion probably some one will suggest a plan and perhaps accompany you; and when you return to the hotel you are no longer a stranger, and seldom need feel alone. But of course mere hurriers cannot look for this. Need we say more to recommend Ischl to those who will be near it when on their way to Ober-Ammergau?

H. B.

REVELATION, GEOLOGY, THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

I SAY designedly, "what remains of man or of his works" is found comparatively near the surface; for of primeval man in his entirety neither skeleton nor fossilized form has up to this time been discovered. There have been great mistakes and delusions in connection with this subject. It is not many years since the learned men of Paris were thrown into a ferment by the discovery of a great skeleton on the banks of the Rhone. History and science were called upon to clear up the mysteries connected with it. A human skeleton it was pronounced to be by the critics, and after a close and lengthened examination of it, they concluded that it was nearly two thousand years old. Finally they identified it as the skeleton of Teutobocchus, who was defeated by the Roman general Marius before the dawn of Christianity. After enjoying immense popularity for some time, it suddenly lost its repute and character; for the learned De Blainville proved to the satisfaction of all the savants that it was "nothing more than the skeleton of a narrow-toothed mastodon."

In the days of the immortal Cuvier another historic skeleton was discovered by a Swiss naturalist named Scheuchzer, in the quarries of Gluringen, in Switzerland. Again the critics were called upon, and they decided that it was not less than four thousand years old, and that it might have been a witness of the rising of the waters of the Deluge. Is it wonderful that it was valued at its weight in gold? Cuvier was attracted to it; admired it at first

view, examined it with his piercing eye, doubted about its authenticity, and finally demonstrated in a clear and brilliant manner that it was not the skeleton of man, but of a gigantic salamander.

The fossil man, of what the philosophers denominate *pre-historic times* has not yet been found. But geologists have certainly discovered objects wrought by the hands of man of unknown antiquity, and some of them are under the impression that certain bones that they have discovered belong to a race that peopled the earth long before the most ancient historic period. While we are on this subject, it will not be out of place to represent to ourselves in detail the real and fancied discoveries of human works and bones by the scientists of our day.

In a cave near Torquay, in England, among the bones of animals of a species long extinct, was found, a few years ago, what was believed to be the jawbone of a human being. The position of the cave was such, surrounded by deep valleys, that scientific men were of opinion that the bones must have been conveyed there previously to the excavation of these valleys; and these valleys, they said, must have been excavated by flood or deluge of primitive times. The argument in favour of pre-historic man founded on this discovery may be easily disposed of; for Mr. Tyndall himself has had the candour to admit that the now celebrated jawbone of Torquay is the jawbone of a bear.

A French geologist, M. Boucher de Perthes, is said to have found in the drift gravel in the neighbourhood of Abbeville human remains mixed with flint instruments. These "precious" remains consist of a human tooth and jaw, and they were found at a depth of fifteen feet from the surface. If, on prolonged critical examination, these remains should retain their present repute, they may be found useful in scientifically confirming the Scripture narrative of the Deluge. But as they were found *in the drift*, and not *in the primitive strata*, it is difficult to understand how they can be made use of as an argument in favour of pre-historic man.

Whatever delusions there may have been regarding the discovery of human skeletons and bones of antediluvian date, there is no denying the fact that human potteries, weapons, and knives of untold antiquity have been brought to light by geological exploration, and that human habitations have been discovered in positions in which they may have lain for a thousand years or more. Of these relics of

man's earliest life upon earth, some were found under the mud of the Delta of the Nile ; some were found under the gravel of the valley of the Somme ; and some were found under layers of stalagmite, mixed among the bones of extinct forms of the lion, bear, hyena, of the mammoth and mastodon. And the human habitations referred to were found deep under the waters of lakes in Scotland, Denmark, and Switzerland.

It was assumed that these mud and gravel deposits took centuries innumerable to accumulate ; that these lake dwellings having gradually sunk into the position they occupy, and the rate of descent in a hundred years being something very trifling, must have taken many thousand years to arrive at their present level ; and that the stalagmite beds, under which knives and weapons of flint and stone were found among the bones of extinct animals, could not have been laid down within the period of profane or sacred history.

And when we find such *assumptions* as these regarded as *established facts*, we are prepared for flippant, if not profane, observations, such as that made by Mr. Tyndall at the last meeting of the British Association in Belfast : "There can be no doubt as to the fact that man existed before all history." Or that of another interesting scientific writer : "It seems difficult to understand how any unprejudiced person who has really examined the evidence can refuse to believe that man lived on this globe many thousands of years before history began." (*The Stream of Life on our Globe*, chap. ii.)

It is no easy task for a moderately intelligent man to balance his ideas between the theories of modern scientists. Tyndall will have us to believe that man has been upon the earth for ten thousand years, or twice that period, but all through as man. Darwin tells us that man has been on the earth for myriads of years, but not as a man all through, but as an ape or a monkey. The human skulls and flint instruments of Tyndall are against the theory of Darwin's gradual development ; and Darwin's animated leaves and intellectual shell-fish and talking baboons have no place in the caves of the extinct animals or the stalagmite beds of Tyndall and his followers !

The pre-historic man (as he is named) of recent philosophic schools is like Shelley's modern Prometheus, a myth and a fiction. Still he has a concourse of approvers and followers. He is supposed by them to

represent a generation that lived upon this earth ages before the dawn of any history that we have. Now, history is sacred and profane. The date of profane history is pretty well ascertained. Homer, the first of historic poets, and Hesiod, his contemporary, lived about 2,800 years ago. Herodotus wrote about 2,300 years before our time. The pre-historic man is supposed to have lived before Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus, and before the heroes of whom they sung and the princes of whom they wrote. The Egyptians gave themselves a history of 11,340, but it is now well ascertained that the history of that nation falls far short of the date assigned to the Deluge in the Bible. The pre-historic man is supposed to have existed before the Egyptians. The Vedas, or sacred books of the Hindoos, which, they say, were revealed to Bramha in the very beginning of the world, scarcely go back 3,200. The pre-historic man is supposed to have witnessed the compilation of the Vedas, being then some thousands of years old.

So far as regards profane history. The pre-historic man, in point of antiquity, is supposed to hold a similar relation to sacred history. He existed, they will tell you, before Moses! He existed before Noah!! He existed before Adam!!! This is the meaning of the pre-historic man, if the word has any significance; that man so frequently referred to by geologists, so flippantly talked about by scientific lecturers, so taken for granted by modern schoolboys; a man that lived and worked ages before man is spoken of in profane history, ages before the period assigned to man's creation in the revealed Word of God.

Now, viewing this subject with as little prejudice as one can hold in respect to a daring and profane theory, and endeavouring to discuss it in a strictly philosophical and scientific spirit, we ask, as men of clear heads, strong minds, and common sense, if anything of man or his works found under the surface of the earth or water evinces his pre-historic existence? Science unquestionably demonstrates that man was contemporary with the mastodon and with extinct forms of the bear and other animals; but this does not prove that he is pre-historic: for the mastodon appears in the drift as well as in the ice and in the tertiary formations, and the date of the existence of the cave bears and hyenas cannot be even approximately ascertained. Science also demonstrates that man existed on this earth for the number of years (whatever this may be) that certain layers of stalagmite took to accumulate, and certain gravel de-

posits in the Somme and mud deposits in the Delta of the Nile, and peat deposits on certain ancient human habitations; and it proves that he is coeval with certain dwellings that are found under European lakes.

Dr. Southall has written a very interesting book entitled "The Epoch of the Mammoth," in which he undertakes to dispose of the arguments against Christian tradition founded on these scientific facts; and he does so, to my mind, in a plausible and convincing manner. He shows that, at the rate of deposits observed in many existing rivers, layers of stalagnite have been laid down in as many *months* as *centuries* are assigned for them by geologists. And he infers that man is not proved to be pre-historic because his flints and knives are found under thick layers of stalagnite. He proves that there is "no tenable reason for assuming the permanent uniformity of the rate of deposit of river mud." And he infers that man is not proved to be pre-historic because his potteries are found under the mud of the Delta of the Nile. And he makes a common sense statement, which every right-minded man must approve, that not in the course of *thousands*, but in that of a *few scores* of years, floods and convulsions of nature, such as are frequently witnessed in the present era, might have buried the flint tools, the Egyptian potteries, and the Swiss and other lake houses and villages as they are now found."

But it is not alone the position in which man's works are found in the earth that is made an argument in favour of his pre-historic existence; the very works themselves are supposed to prove a continuous stream of human life through myriads of ages.

A curious and ingenious argument is founded on the form and nature of axes, arrow-heads and knives that have been exhumed. Some of them are of flint, some of them are of bronze, some of them are of steel. Of the flint knives and axes, some are chipped and others are polished. Corresponding with these four descriptions of implements scientists distinguish four great geological periods, which they name respectively—1, the Paleolithic Age, or age of chipped stone weapons; 2, the Neolithic Age, or the age of polished stone weapons; 3, the Age of Bronze; and 4, the Age of Iron. Each of these ages is said to be of immense extent, particularly the two former, the duration of which is supposed to be incalculable. Man has existed on earth during all these long ages. Now, if the succession and duration, according to the scientific view, of these ages

was proved and not assumed, it would follow that man who lived through them was upon this earth before the period assigned to his creation in Genesis. But the succession of these ages has not been proved.

An eminent writer on geological fallacies says : “ There is no proof . . . that the paleo-celts of Britain, the neolithic perforated axes of Switzerland, the bronze of Etruria, and the steel of Greece may not all have been contemporary.” “ There is,” says the same writer, “ unquestionable demonstration that the Neolithic Age—that is to say, the time when polished stone weapons were used, or at any rate buried in Switzerland and elsewhere—was an age of high civilization and extensive commerce in other parts of the world.” The writer in question might have added that the present age, the most civilized of all, is the age of chipped flint arrow-heads among some remote tribes, and of polished stone clubs among others ; that it is, at the same time, a paleolithic and neolithic age in the islands of the South Sea, while it is the age of bronze and iron in civilized communities. “ In the lake villages and elsewhere,” says another painstaking writer, “ among the rudest relics of remote times, among celts and knives made of native slate and flint, are found weapons of nephite brought from Central Asia, and of jade brought from the remotest Indies. This proves beyond doubt that while the comparatively savage tribes sheltered on Swiss mountains or Scandinavian fiords, were hindered in their progress by want of metallurgical skill, the more favoured nations of the Mediterranean and of Asia had reached a civilization of a very high order. It may have been the civilization of Assyria and of the primitive Pharaohs ; it may also have been the civilization of post-Homeric Greece, or even of the later Rome. In short, there are no certain or strong proofs that these supposed relics of an indefinitely remote antiquity are not subsequent to the date assigned, we need not say, to the Deluge, but to the Exodus or the reign of Solomon.”

Divested of all obscurity, the argument as to man's antiquity between Christian believers and a certain school of modern scientists, is as follows. We say, with the writer of the Book of Genesis, that man has been a few thousand years upon earth. They say that man has been upon earth during a succession of almost infinite ages. We prove the truth of our assertion by the authority of the oldest Book in the world, the veracity and authenticity of which are demonstrated by inherent and outward evi-

dence; and we confirm this proof by geological research, which places the remains of man and of his works in the upper strata of the earth's crust. Every argument that they advance in favour of this view is open to this great objection, that it rests on assumptions which, as we have seen, are proved to be fallacious, namely—that there have been no convulsions in the period before iron, altering the position of man's remains in the earth, that the rate of deposit of mud, stalagmite, and gravel, in existing rivers, has been uniform and of infinite tediousness, and that the four great geological periods have been successive all over the earth.

The traces of a great deluge, occurring in the post-tertiary period, are everywhere illustrating the Mosaic account of the drowning of the first generation of men, and the birth of a new generation from Noah. The works of antediluvian man have been found, throwing some light upon the Mosaic account of man's first origin from Adam. The derivation of all existing languages from one primitive language, now admitted by all linguistic scholars, is in accordance with the Mosaic account of the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babel. The Mosaic account of the Eastern origin of the human race is confirmed by numerous coincidences of profane history. And this glorious record of man's early and continuous life upon earth is to be set aside for theories, which, apart from their scientific value, bear upon them the stamp of absurdity.

From Mr. Tyndall we shall now pass to Mr. Darwin—from the dead friend of the former to the living friend of the latter; or, to explain ourselves more clearly, we bid farewell to the pre-historic man, and take the liberty of introducing to our readers an individual equally remarkable—though haply not a worker in bronze, iron, or flint—the gorilla!

The gorilla is the greatest of apes. With everything of the monkey about him, but his fun (for the gorilla is not facetious but ferocious), he has some characteristics which are peculiarly his own. Some naturalists have said that he attempts to imitate the human voice, but this is incorrect, for he screams and roars most horribly. But, if the gorilla does not imitate the voice of man, he appears to try to imitate his gait, for he shambles along on his two hind legs in a shuffling manner. His fifth finger is somewhat like the human thumb; and his face, blinking and scowl-

ing under his bushy forehead, bears a certain resemblance to that of a very ugly human being. When I saw, in the British Museum, for the first time, the embalmed form of De Chaillu's great gorilla, I began to ask myself if I had ever seen a man like him. And while I was pausing and musing over the subject, the face of an old friend, long dead, obtruded itself on my memory. Yes! I even think I know a living man that bears a striking facial resemblance to this great gorilla. For all this, the gorilla is a perfect ape, covered with hair, and with the low, receding forehead which denotes the possession of merely animal instinct. During the meeting of the British Association in Dublin, in the year 1878, an eminent lecturer flippantly announced that "there is more difference between the highest and lowest order of apes than there is between the former and man," the meaning of which must be that the gorilla is nearer to man than to a stupid member of his own species. If I was disposed to be facetious, in discussing so serious a subject, I would reply to this axiom by paraphrasing a well-known song, and saying almost in the words of the Scottish bard, "An ape's an ape for a' that." But, speaking seriously, I must say that a more misleading or less candid proposition was seldom advanced. The gorilla, in brain and intelligence, is farther by numberless degrees from man, than the lowest type of the monkey tribe is from the gorilla. The gorilla is brighter than an ordinary monkey, just as the latter is brighter than a land tortoise; but the gorilla's brightness has a limit, like that of this most stupid animal, and that is the line of demarcation that divides instinct from reason. The hand and face of this monster may bear a sort of resemblance to those of the lowest type of the human race, and, under this respect, he may be more like to man than to the "purple monkey." But, with his wild and fugitive habits, his ferocious temper, his screaming wail and his repulsive gestures, his shaggy body and his small brain cavity, he is as much a wild beast as any denizen of the forest.

The gorilla, outside his immediate circle, has made but few friends. He is not an animal to get attached to for his own sake. But, for his fancied resemblance to man, he has one great admirer. Mr. Darwin regards him as a link connecting his infinite series of polypodes, oysters, rattlesnakes, wild cats, prairie dogs, ring-tailed monkeys, and orang-outangs, with man. "He is the highest type of the ape," says this philosopher, "and he is not much removed

from the lowest type of man." The whole Darwinian theory rests upon the assumption that man has come to his present state of civilization from the lowest state of barbarism. The progenitors of the most gifted of the human race have been savages, according to him, in whom reason was entirely obscured by the animal passions. This is an essential step in his theory, and he stands upon it, and fancies that he sees the amalgamation of the brute beast with the rational being. His theory is an ingenious and a plausible one, and, clothed in his descriptive language, it has a certain attraction about it. But we shall now see that incontrovertible scientific facts are against it, and that its principal assumption is set aside by the ancient history of the human family as read in the monuments they have left behind.

There is such a science as that which treats of skulls and their capacity. Some skulls have room for comparatively little brains. Others are of great brain-holding power. The skull of the savage is often contracted, even as the skull of the civilized man is expanded. The Aryan skull is the most perfect of all. Now, if we suppose Mr. Darwin's theory of the advance of the human race from savagery to be correct, the oldest skulls discovered should be those of the least capacity. The contrary, however, is the fact. "The earliest human skulls preserved by the fossilizing agencies of the soil are, though not Aryan, of Aryan capacity, and must have belonged to a race quite as far removed from the ape in mental powers and size of brain, if not in actual achievement and knowledge, as the highest humanity of the nineteenth century after Christ." These are not my views merely. The very words in which I have expressed them are borrowed from a writer of great ability and information. They are scientific facts that cannot be questioned. Where then are there, within science, the grounds for stating that the ape, through the savage and the barbarian, has produced the civilized European of our country?

If man has come, through an almost infinite series of transformations, from the lowest form of organized life, his first state upon earth must have been one of animal barbarism; and if, in accordance with the Darwinian theory, man has come from animal barbarism, the traces of his civilization must be diminishing in character and magnitude as we view them through the vista of receding history.

Let us, then, travel over the earth to find the traces of man's early life, and let us read in characters impressed upon its surface by races that have gone before us, evidences of his degradation.

Like the maiden in the fairy tale, who sought for a worthless talisman and found a priceless diamond, we are dazzled by the view that presents itself when we raise the veil that covers the earliest historic periods of man's earthly career. Nowhere do we see traces of barbarism; everywhere traces of incipient or advanced civilization present themselves to our astonished sight. Without travelling outside the limits of our own land, we see among the ruins of Anglo-Saxon castles and keeps, evidences of a more remote Irish civilization in the sculptured ruins of crosses and churches of the earliest Christian date; and of a still more distant civilization, the tradition of which is lost, we behold the monuments in those graceful round towers which raise their heads to heaven in so many places, bidding defiance to the ravages of time.

From Ireland to Egypt, and it is the same. "The rock temples and the pyramids testify that long before the dawn of such history as we have been able to decipher, the valley of the Nile was the seat of an immemorial civilization."

From Egypt to Palestine and Syria, to behold the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, silent but eloquent witnesses to the matured thoughts and skilful hands of the ancient races of the world.

From Syria let us travel to Easter Island, "that desolate and insignificant" spot, "remote, by more than a thousand miles, from every other abode of man," and there we will behold "thousands of gigantic stone images, which attest the former existence there of an authority capable of competing, though in a rude fashion, with the earliest labours of Assyria and Egypt."

And our experience as travellers and sight-seers will be confirmed by the observation of those who, a few centuries ago, went out into the untrodden paths of the earth.

"The Spanish invaders of South America found there agricultural skill and wealth, organization, systems of communication, mighty empires, and firm, effective governments, incomparably superior to anything they or their successors have been able to construct. But apparently beneath the civilization of the Peruvian Incas, beneath the stern religion, the military strength, the splendid cities of

Mexico, lay buried a prior and not inferior civilization, whose very name had perished, which can hardly have been destroyed immediately by Aztecan and Peruvian conquest, since such a conquest must have been arduous and glorious enough to leave the deepest traces in the traditions of the conquerors. It seems, then, reasonable to suppose that in Mexico and Peru as to the northward, savagery had overwhelmed or succeeded the primary civilization, and had been, in its turn, crushed by the historic civilization of the Incas and the ancestors of Montezuma."

"The settlers of the United States, Puritans and Cavaliers, English, French, Spaniards, found no possessors of the soil but scattered, scanty tribes of hunting Indians. The red men were, according to their own traditions, the aborigines of the continent. But under their feet are the monuments of a power that can scarcely have been feebler in organization, in wealth, in numbers, in agriculture, than that of the earlier Pharaohs. The enormous earthen structures of the mound-builders demonstrate the existence of a population extraordinarily numerous, so thoroughly disciplined, that a very large part of its available force could be employed at the will of the government in the erection of fortresses, temples, tumuli, such as have not, probably, their like in the world. There must have been a surplus agricultural wealth to maintain this vast body of unproductive labourers. There was, beyond question, a geometrical skill and knowledge capable of producing works on a gigantic scale, yet as strictly accurate, as our best engineers could now accomplish."

In travelling over the earth's surface we encounter tribes sunk in savagery ; but everything in themselves and their surroundings convinces us that they have degenerated under the hardships of climate and of the position into which they have been driven by higher and more powerful races.

"The Esquimaux," says a writer in the *Standard*, "according to all the best authorities, belong to that which is supposed to have been the aboriginal race of Europe ; and, driven to the extremity of the world by Aryan conquerors, they have retained just so much of civilized appliances as an inclement climate, an utterly barren soil, and a frozen sea could furnish or would allow them to use."

"The Fuegians, again, driven to the extremity of South America, are the lowest and most miserable of its

racess, not from innate want of intelligence, but from hereditary starvation in a land which produces them no food but shell-fish."

"The hill tribes of India, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Bosjesmen of South Africa, are equally examples of races driven by conquest into situations where degeneration was inevitable, and they have degenerated accordingly."

"In no case does history or tradition relate or allow us fairly to infer the spontaneous self-elevation of any people from a semi-barbarous to a semi-civilized state. Wherever we know anything of the origin of civilization, we know that it came from abroad. . . . Wherever the traditions of a people record the origin of its civil, agricultural, manufacturing, political arts, in short, of its civilization, they tell us that the founder came from beyond the seas or from the sky, that is, from beyond an inaccessible horizon . . . in a word, all the facts yet known to us seem to imply that every civilized country derived its civilization from an older country than itself."

It is difficult to see how the Darwinians can elude the force of the blow which this group of living facts deals to their system. For, out of these facts arise a number of questions which may be crudely put in the following plain terms.—Was it Darwin's apes that moved through the great American continent from North to South, erecting those stupendous earthen constructions in the Central States of the American Union on their way, and, when they rested in Mexico and Peru, building monuments of stone which are still the admiration of the world? Was it Darwin's baboons that, three thousand years ago, civilized the valley of the Nile or built the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis? Was it Darwin's monkeys that raised Carthage or cast the city of Tyre into the sea, and surrounded it with massive ramparts to break the fury of the waters?

A theory, however plausible, ought to be abandoned when it is met by a concurrence of hard facts. And Darwin's theory of the origin of man, curious, insinuating, suasory—I might almost say attractive—dealing with coincidences and verisimilitudes, and tracing fancied resemblances and incipencies, and hiding its improbability under supposed ages of interminable length, cannot stand the simple test of experience. It is refuted by the evidences of man's early civilization, which are all over the earth, and of so remote a date that they touch that

very period in which the first vestiges of his foot-prints are traceable on the surface of our globe.

How pleasing to us, as humble believers in revelation, must it be to find the Scriptural account of the origin and creation of man vindicated by true science and history correctly read! Without furnishing us with many details on the subject, the writer of the Book of Genesis gives us grounds to infer that great majesty beamed in the eyes of that first man, to whom God delivered the earth and the sea and all living things therein, to rule and use them as his creatures; and that great intelligence animated his bright, fresh soul, who was able, at the bidding of the Most High, to call by suitable names all the fowls of the air and the beasts of the earth. And we are forced to conclude that man's first state upon earth was one of entrancing mental beauty, to verify the design of the Most High, who, when about to mould him, said, "Let us make man to our own image and likeness."

Physically beautiful, mentally active and powerful, Adam, though fallen, left to his descendants a legacy of intelligence that was capable of accumulating vast stores of knowledge; and the accumulation went on, always increasing after the Deluge, until it culminated in the early civilization which, passing along through Phœnicians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans, has preceded barbarism everywhere, and which, when overwhelmed by barbarism, as at the fall of Rome, has risen again from its ruins, in modern times, to dominate over all the great empires of the West.

Individuals and races have, it is true, fallen out of the course of advancing civilization. But circumstances were against them. A cloud may have descended upon them and darkened and obscured their mental vision; but the latent spark of intelligence was smouldering beneath the cloud, ready to burst out, under altered circumstances, into a vivid flame, and conduct them back to that early path of light traversed by their fathers.

And so, while touching the two extremes of almost pure spirituality on the one hand, and when forced down by adverse circumstances of animal sensuality on the other, man, in his ever-abiding tendency upwards, vindicates the truth of the inspired writer's description of his precedence among created beings, "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels."

H. E. D.

THE RHYTHMUS SANCTI THOMAE.

IT is praiseworthy to desire to do good in the world, praiseworthy to desire that the good we are enabled to do may last long after our own lives are ended; and surely it is not unnatural to desire that with the lasting good we may have done, our own names should be associated in the minds of men. Philosophers may moralise, cynics may scoff, people who are never likely to do anything worthy of being remembered may talk about the desire of fame as one of the illusions that beset and that beguile poor frail humanity; still we cannot divest ourselves of the feeling that it is a great destiny—that which has been reserved for a man here and there in the great host of men—to leave his name and his fame as heirlooms to the generations of his race, to have his name remembered, his personality preserved, his memory cherished, when the dust of ages and the silence of oblivion have fallen on those who trod by his side the paths of life.

It need hardly be said that there are not only various degrees of fame, but various kinds—one kind almost radically different from another; and speculative minds will ponder on the question, the answer to which is no bad test of the character of the answerer—what kind of fame is best worth having? We know the fundamental answer which so few of the famous have seemed to remember. To be kept in memory, yes, but in a memory that never faileth. “*In memoria eterna erit justus*,” and only he. Humanly speaking, one would perhaps desiderate a fame that would be something more than admiration for achieved result, with which would mingle some warmer feeling of something as nearly like personal affection as can be given to a man who has long been in the grave. And perhaps from this point of view the fame of the poet is the brightest and the best. Only *he* seems to live in the heart of the future, kindles eyes, draws tears, lives again in the hearts which he touches into a life that is, for the moment, like what his once was. To be the author, not of a long, elaborate poem, which everyone would feel bound to admire, but which very few would care to read, and these few only as a duty due to their own culture, but the author of a short, sweet, heart-touching poem, that would force itself upon the human memory in spite of its feebleness, and rise to the lips of itself whenever the occasion of which it was born

repeated itself in the daily story of men's lives, and make us long in those hours when the words would seem to express our own mental moods, and open a way for the blind groping of our own hearts, to know the spirit that must have been so strangely like ourselves; this would seem to be, of all kinds of fame, the most precious and the most desirable.

Now, suppose that such a poem was also a prayer. Suppose that the lips which first chanted it were touched not only with the inspiration of human genius, but also with fire from a far more sacred altar; suppose that the repeating of it stirred that thought of God that lies deep down in all the hearts He has created; could any fame be purer or more holy than the fame of him who, having spoken in the silence of his heart to God, found his thoughts turning to music upon his lips, and flying off beyond his reach to the ears of men whom he never saw, never would see, till they came to him in heaven to thank him for his prayer-poem?

This is what St. Thomas has done many times in the Office and Mass of the Blessed Sacrament, and has hardly ever done better than in the beautiful hymn that is known as the "*Rhythmus Sancti Thomae*." How many priests fresh from the altar, with the glow of the great sacrifice upon their souls, and the fire of the altar hot upon their lips, have found expression for their devotion in the words of the "*Adoro te devote*." How one wishes, thinking of all the pious lips that have repeated it since the day it was composed, and of all that will repeat it down to the saying of the Last Mass, how one wishes that he could be the writer of a hymn that would give so much glory to God. Like all St. Thomas's hymns, it is, however apparently slight and fragile, the blossom of that theological tree that strikes its roots so deep and wide, and that lifts its spreading branches to every quarter of the surrounding earth and the overhanging heavens.

Let us say just a few words about it by way of grateful commentary. Underlying it all, by way of *motive*, is the great theological truth that, as the Incarnation is, so to speak, at once the crown and the epitome of creation, so the Blessed Eucharist is the crown and epitome of the Incarnation. Any one who has ever dwelt on this great thought will know how analogies spring up in hosts along the path of reflection, surprising one by their subtlety and their simplicity, till one ceases to wonder, remembering

that the same Holy Trinity is the cause and the model of all worlds of nature and of grace.

If you remark, the first verse of the "Adoro" touches on a most obvious and most fruitful thought—the awful hiddenness of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament. And is not *that* merely a fuller and more special carrying out of that awful hiddenness which seems to be one of the characteristics of God in his dealing with men. He that is everywhere, living with an intensity, working with an efficacy, energizing with a force for which human language has no expression, and doing all this in a way that, nine times out of ten, nay, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, nay, nine hundred and ninety-nine times out of a thousand, absolutely escapes the notice of His own creatures. Can any one who thinks about the hiddenness of God in His own world of nature wonder at the hiddenness of Jesus in His own kingdom of grace, as He sits enthroned in the Sacrament of the Altar? St. Thomas passes on with the tread of a theologian, with a brevity, and at the same time a completeness, which few but he could so well combine, to give the answer to the objections commonly urged, and constantly urged from the first day of promise at Capharnaum—"How *can* He?" Sense may deceive, or rather be made by false inference to seem to deceive, but full in our ear sounds the voice of Him who said in the beginning, "Let light be." Who can—we do not say with any pretension to faith, but even with any pretension to reason—who can refuse to assent when Christ says, "This is my body." Following again the leading thought we have a charming exposition of the wonderful parallelism that recurs between Christ on the cross and Christ on the altar, and humble and penitent humanity will always accept of the penitent thief as its exponent, and as its special patron. In the remaining verses, on which I am ashamed to comment at any length, because I know that many priests who will read these lines have drawn from the "Adoro te" a music of a deeper note than I can strike, the saintly writer goes on to celebrate the excellence of faith, the need of hope, the blessedness of love, the all-sufficiency of the blood of Jesus. Then reverting to the thought with which he began, the hiddenness of Jesus, he prays in words that stir the very heart, that one day the God who is so hidden and yet so very near may reveal Himself to us in the fulness of His glory. In conclusion, I subjoin a translation of the "Rhythmus," unrhymed but metrical, of which perhaps the sole merit is its literalness,

and which by its very literalness may express in some degree for readers of English the spirit of the original. Hereafter may follow other hymns of the Church:—

“ADORO TE DEVOTE.”

O hidden God, devoutly I adore Thee
Who beneath these figures art concealed;
My heart to Thee bowed lowly in submission
Sees its own nothingness, beholding Thee.

Nor sight, nor touch, nor taste, acknowledge Thee,
But hearing guides us thro' the 'wilderling maze;
I believe whatever God the Son hath spoken:
What can be truer than the Word of Truth?

The Cross on Calvary hid the Godhead only,
But here the very manhood hides itself;
Both God and Man I believe Thee, and confessing.
Ask of Thee what the dying thief obtained.

I do not see thy wounds as Thomas saw them,
Yet none the less do I confess my God;
Make me, 'tis all I ask, here and hereafter
To honour Thee in faith, in hope, in love.

O standing monument of Jesus dying,
Bread full of life, and giving life to man,
Be to my soul the fount of life eternal,
And make it taste the sweetness of thy love.

O Jesus, Lord, to pelican well likened,
Me unclean wash in thy saving blood,
One drop of that great flood that flowed so freely
Would wash the world from every stain of sin.

O Jesus, now, behind a veil I see Thee,
Yet hath my heart one awe-inspiring wish,
That I a saint, in Heaven's radiant glory,
May one day see thy Beauty face to face.

J. F.

IRISH THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century found Ireland in a very sad state indeed. The long reign of Elizabeth was for Irish Catholics a "reign of terror." Against a powerful and unscrupulous tyranny they had to struggle, not only for freedom of conscience, but for mere existence ; and there was no practising religion for them except in those fortunate districts where "the Queen's writ did not run." This assertion is borne out by witnesses who are above the suspicion of any prejudice in favour of Irish Catholics. Carew (*Pac. Hib.* ed. 1820, p. 645) says :— "Sir Richard Percie and Captaine George Flower, with their troupes, left neither corne nor horne nor house unburnt, betweene Kinsale and Rosse. Captaine Harvis, who had with him his brother . . . did the like betweene Rosse and Bantry." Lord Mountjoy, in tones of genuine Cromwellian piety, informs us that he had succeeded, "by the grace of God, as near as he could, in utterly wasting the country of Tyrone." No wonder that Mr. Lecky says : "The suppression of the native race in the wars against Shane O'Neill, Desmond, and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and was hardly exceeded by any page in the blood-stained annals of the Turks."

The death of Elizabeth inspired Irish Catholics with a hope of better times under her successor, the son of Mary Stuart. They were, however, doomed to early and bitter disappointment. For James was not the man to make himself unpopular by any act of justice to Irish Catholics. His "message of peace" to them was a renewal of the penal enactments of Elizabeth, accompanied by a proclamation which ordered all Catholic priests to quit the kingdom under pain of imprisonment or death. The fruit of such legislation was discernible in the ruin and desolation that were widespread, universal in the land. When, therefore, the homes of science and sanctity were smoking ruins, when the priest and schoolmaster alike were banned, when the lives and liberties of our people were disposed of by a merciless penal code, when the spectre of martyred priests and bishops was haunting the imaginations of our people, it is not under such circumstances that theological literature, or indeed literature of any kind, can flourish. For the

deep, serious thought which theological study requires such a time was pre-eminently unfit. It were small matter for surprise then, if, among the theological writers who have made the seventeenth century famous, few Irishmen, or no one, should be found. Ireland was still the "Island of Saints;" she had become the "Island of Martyrs:" but circumstances were adverse to her claiming her old title, "Island of Scholars," just then. Yet it is a fact, demonstrable, that at no period in Ireland's history did she produce more distinguished scholars than in those dark days. The controversies with the "Reformers" had brought into the theological arena the brightest intellects in the Church. The works of master minds were every day issuing from the press. It was the age of Suarez, and Bellarmine, and Patavius; the age when heresy was driven back to its German home by the stern and inexorable logic of the children of the Church. And it is no small honour to Ireland, that so many of her children should hold high places in that faithful and zealous band which arrested the progress of heresy, and maintained so ably and so successfully the cause of revealed truth. One who made the Irish literature of this period his special study says, that in theology "there will be found an Irish representation of which no man, however fastidious, can complain." (Magee.)

And yet, how strangely are our Irish Catholic divines forgotten! how little are they known! Consult the long catalogue of ecclesiastical writers given for the seventeenth century in Roncaglia's edition of Natalis Alexander, and you will find in it but a solitary Irishman—the intolerant, the anti-Irish Ussher. Consult Feller's biographical dictionary, and the result will be little better. The works of great Italian, Spanish, German, and French theologians are quite familiar to our theological students, though it is much to be feared that the names of Cavellus, Conroy, Punch, Gibbon, Porter, Arsdckin, or Baron, would sound strangely to the ears of many of them. And yet these are men who, in their day, filled the high places of the most famous Universities in Europe, and their works still remain to bear witness to the mighty minds that were in them. Strange indeed it is that such men and such works should be all but forgotten:

"Their names seldom named, and their virtues unknown."

To make these great and holy men and their works a little better known is the object of this, and of a few other papers that may perhaps follow it.

It was well for Irish Catholics that at this period the flag of Catholic Spain floated proudly over "an empire on which the sun never set." Under that flag the Irish victims of penal laws found a welcome and a home. When Charles V., after seeing "all things under the sun," and finding in them but vanity, resolved to end his days in the quiet cloister of Yuste, in presence of his nobles he addressed to his son Philip these memorable words: "Fear God, live justly, respect the laws; above all, cherish the interests of religion: and may the Almighty bless you with a son to whom, when old and stricken with disease, you can resign your kingdom, with the same good will with which I now resign mine to you."¹ This injunction of his illustrious father Philip made the rule of his life. The title of "Catholic Majesty" as applied to *him* was no empty sound. By him, and by his son and successor, Philip III., Irish priests and bishops were received and revered as confessors of the faith; Irish students were supplied with the means of gratifying that thirst for knowledge which impelled them from their homes; and then were founded and endowed many of those Irish continental colleges which have been to Ireland for more than two centuries so many nurseries of the faith. Salamanca, Seville, Valladolid, and Louvain are names that shall be dear to Irish Catholics as long as an Irish Catholic shall remain. Within these colleges, as well as at Rome and Paris, lived as students and as teachers, Irishmen whose lives illumine the darkest pages in our history—men who have proved that Ireland of the seventeenth century, banned, persecuted, doomed by act of Parliament to ignorance, was a land of saints and of scholars still.

Of our Irish theologians, some have written complete theological "Courses;" some have written special treatises on special subjects, but according to the scholastic method; and some others have written popular treatises on the controversies of the time. In the first class Punch, Gibbon, Arsdekin, and Baron are the most distinguished names. Punch and Gibbon especially rank among the best theologians, and the student of their works will find his time well employed and his labour abundantly repaid. As a scholastic Punch is superior to Gibbon, but in dogmatic theology Gibbon bears off the palm. Of English Protestantism Gibbon displays a knowledge that is extraordinary in a writer of his time and circumstances; in this department

¹ Prescott's Philip II.

he has not been equalled by any Irish theologian before Dr. Murray's time. Less profound and less diffuse, though to the ordinary student not less useful, are the works of Baron and Arsdekin. The work of Arsdekin is a compendium, but a most valuable one. The author states in his preface that he intended the book as a *vade mecum* for Irish missionaries in the times of persecution, and it is admirably adapted to that end. In it a priest will find useful information, well and clearly put, on everything that concerns his sacred calling. Theology, dogmatic, scholastic, and moral; the Ritual with an excellent commentary; history, ecclesiastical and secular; well arranged matter for meditations; well selected materials for sermons and instructions, with a very graphic account of the state of religion in Ireland, and of the sufferings of Irish Catholics in the writer's time; such are the contents of the "Theologia Tripartita."

To the class of those who wrote theological treatises on special subjects belong many Irishmen of the highest order of talent, Archbishops Lombard, MacCaughwell, and Conroy, Fathers Ward, Hacket, Hickie, and Porter are among them. These men contrast very favourably with the best writers of their time, and the anxiety with which their works are sought, and the prices paid for them, prove how high they still stand in the estimation of scholars.

The writers of popular controversial treatises form a very numerous and important class. The aim of their writings was to put Catholic doctrine in its true light, and to expose the calumnies of those who misrepresented it, to keep public attention fixed on the real character of Protestantism and of the "Reformers," and to expose the machinery by which the so-called Reformation was maintained. Father Henry Fitzsimons, Dr. Nary, P.P., of St. Michan's, Dublin, and Dr. O'Brien, P.P., of Castlelyons in Cloyne, are favourable specimens of this class of writers. They were for the most part priests actively engaged in the Irish Mission, ministering to the people at the risk of their lives. They had painful experience of the practical working of the system which they unmasked with so much zeal and eloquence. Theirs was not the glory of expounding the "Summa" or the "Sentences" from the chair of some far-famed university; fame did not set them in her high places to be the admired of popes and cardinals and kings. But theirs was the more dangerous, and not less meritorious task of bringing Catholic truth home to the minds of a

persecuted people, of consoling that people in their trials, of confirming them in their convictions, and of keeping strong within them that hatred of heresy which has been at all times, and particularly in those "dark and evil days," one of the great safeguards of the faith.

That the spiritual children of St. Patrick have been always loyal to the Successor of St. Celestine, is a fact that no unprejudiced student of history can question. A long standing and oft-repeated charge against us is our child-like submission to Rome, and most freely do we plead guilty to the charge. We adopt the motto, "*Roma locuta est, causa finita.*" Our Irish theologians afford most instructive illustration of this. They saw acts of Parliament made to annul Scripture texts, they saw holy and learned men drawn to execution for refusing to forswear Papal Supremacy, the Real Presence, the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, and on examining their writings we find their zeal and ability specially directed to the vindication of those doctrines. To say that a Catholic theologian defends defined doctrine, is nothing more than saying that he is a Catholic; but the spirit of our countrymen, their sympathy with Rome, is best illustrated by their treatment of doctrines not then defined, such as the Immaculate Conception, and the Infallibility of the Pope.

Many still remember the outburst of fanaticism which greeted the definition of the Immaculate Conception a quarter of a century ago. Parsons from their pulpits, Exeter-hall orators from their platforms, leader-writers in the "*Times*," and the lying scribblers of the "*Church Missionary*" organs, vied with one another in fierce denunciations of the doctrine, and Irish Catholics were solemnly warned by those old friends of theirs against accepting the "new doctrine." From speakers and writers of this class it would be too much to expect accurate information, or indeed any information, on such a subject. But some at least of them might have heard of Sir James Ware, and a glance at Harris's edition of his works would have taught them, that at least, three hundred years ago the Immaculate Conception was not considered a "new doctrine" in Ireland, but was, on the contrary, regarded by Irish Catholics as an integral part of the sacred deposit of faith. Every tyro in theology knows that the Immaculate Conception was one of the favourite doctrines of the great Scotist school, and it is equally notorious that a very large proportion of our Irish theologians were loyal disciples of Scotus. Even without

any examination of their writings, therefore, one would expect to find them, what on examination they are found to be, zealous defenders of the Immaculate Conception. Father John Punch, of Cork, in his "*Cursus Theol.*" published at Lyons, A.D. 1667, says: "*De facto Diva Virgo concepta est absque peccato originali; nec unquam illa infecta fuit,*" Disp. 38, 9, 3. And in his Commentary on Scotus, published at Rome A.D. 1661, he says: *Diva Virgo fuit preservata a culpa originali per meritum Redemptoris.*" He moreover quotes Surius who calls the opponents of the Immaculate Conception, "*refractarii,*" and who warns them against incurring the anger of our Lord by derogating from the honour and privileges of His Mother. In evident approbation of this sentiment F. Punch warns all whom it may concern to take the admonition to heart. Let us now hear the testimony of one who was not a Scotist, Father Augustine Gibbon, whose works were published at Erfurt, between 1666 and 1675. After quoting various authorities in favour of the doctrine, he says, "*Ex quibus testimoniis manifeste habemus B. Virginem non solum a peccato originali in primo instanti suae Conceptionis fuisse immunem, sed etiam non peccasse in Adamo, sed praeservatam fuisse per merita sui Filii, adeoque neque debitum proximum contrahendi peccatum originale incurrisse*" (vol. v., Disp. 23). In confirmation of this doctrine, he quotes from a Mass of the Immaculate Conception in the Roman Missal, published at Lyons A.D. 1545, the identical prayer that is said in the Mass approved for the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX. in A.D. 1863. Arsdekin, a Jesuit, writing in A.D. 1670, says that the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, though not an article of faith, is the common teaching and sentiment of the Church. "*Illam (B.V.M.), a labe originalis peccati semper immunem fuisse communis est in Ecclesia sensus et sententia.*" (*Theol. Trip.* v. i., p. 105, Ed. 1730). Archbishop Conroy and F. Barron wrote special treatises in defence of this doctrine, and to his zeal in the cause the former owed much of his influence at the Court of Spain.

But, belief in the Immaculate Conception was by no means confined to the trained theologians of our nation. This is forcibly illustrated by an incident in the history of the Irish College of Seville. In A.D. 1637 a Spaniard, F. Anthony De Quinteneduenas was appointed Rector of the College. The new Rector was not fortunate in his administration. Among other high-handed measures of reform which he sought to introduce, was the removal of

part of an inscription which stood over the entrance door of the college. The inscription was I.H.S.M^a. The Rector sought to have the letter M removed: the students would not hear of its removal. They alleged that their college was under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, and had a right to the title of "the Immaculate Conception:" that this was indicated by the monogram, and that they were determined it should remain unchanged. After a few months the quarrel ended in a complete victory for the Irish students:—the removal not of the monogram but of the obnoxious Rector. Some ten years later we find the students of the same college with their Irish Rector, F. White, coming, in a body, before the Blessed Sacrament, and making a vow, "to defend with their blood and life (if necessary) the sovereign mystery of the pure and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, tutelar and titular patroness of this her own college." (Rec. Feb. 73.) The logic of these students may not be very convincing, but no one can question the sincerity of their devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and of their faith in her Immaculate Conception. "Greater love than this no one hath." Such was the teaching of Irish Theologians two centuries ago on that sublime doctrine to which Pius IX. set the seal of infallible authority in A.D. 1854.

The teaching of Irishmen on Papal Infallibility is not less clear. F. John Punch, already quoted, maintains at length the following proposition, "the Roman Pontiff has infallible authority in proposing matters of faith, not merely in a Council, and with a Council, but even apart from a Council." And he actually proves the infallibility of a general council from the fact, that to be a general council it must be approved by the Pope, and being approved by him it is therefore infallible. This is Papal Infallibility quite sufficient to satisfy the most ultra-Ultramontane. No theologian of the present day could express more clearly, more forcibly, the doctrine of the Vatican Council than it has been put by this writer of two hundred years ago. F. Augustine Gibbon is equally explicit on the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. In his "*Opusculum de Luthero-Calvinismo*" (Disp. 2, q. 3); while answering an objection to the infallibility of the Church, he speaks as follows:—"*Ecclesia specialis, quae in Civitate Romana ejusque ditione floret. . . . errare nequit, non quia particularis, aut Romana, sed quia Summum Pontificem habet Caput et Rectorem, qui in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errorem ex*

vi divinarum promissionum fovere non valet." These words need no comment.

Arsdekin, in his "*Controversia de Auctoritate Pontificis et Conciliorum*" (q. 2^a), says, "the Roman Pontiff has infallible authority in defining matters of faith, for the universal church, even without a general council." And after giving one of the ordinary Scripture proofs for his assertion, he introduces the favourite Gallican dilemma:—What are we to do when a Pope and a General Council are in conflict? Arsdekin disposes of the imaginary conflict, by saying very tersely, and very truly, "have no fear: the thing can never be." "At, ne id unquam eventurum formidemus."

The strength of the above testimonies will not suffer by the admission, that a few Irishmen have written against the doctrine. It is well-known that the notorious F. Peter Walsh was opposed to Papal Infallibility. His theology, if he could be said to possess any, was Gallicanism of the worst type. He would give to Cæsar, not merely what belonged to Cæsar, but also what belonged to God. His personal friendship for the heresiarch of Ypres sufficiently accounts for his hostility to Rome. Redmond Caron, the friend of Walsh, wrote a treatise against Papal Infallibility; it was published by him in London in A.D. 1665, and was dedicated to Charles II. So notorious were this man's anti-papal propensities that his Franciscan brethren in Ireland would not tolerate him in their midst. The doctrine was also impugned by another well-known friend of Jansenius—F. John Shinnick of Cork, a clever but eccentric man, who in his writings invariably appears more anxious to gain a victory than to ascertain the truth. These men did not speak for the priests or people of Ireland, nor were they trusted by them.

The belief of the Irish in Papal Infallibility is put in a very clear light by the proceedings of the synod held in Dublin in A.D. 1666. The meeting of the clergy at this time was in reality brought about by Peter Walsh, who, himself a creature of Ormond, sought to make the synod a means of degrading the Irish clergy into creatures of the State. Nearly all the Irish dioceses were represented by their bishops or vicars; the religious orders were represented by their superiors. After a good deal of preliminary discussion, Peter Walsh threw off the mask, and submitted to the synod for its acceptance six propositions, extorted from the Sorbonne faculty some four years previously.

These propositions were in substance the same as the Gallican Declaration of A.D. 1682. Intrigues, promises, and threats were employed to induce the Fathers to subscribe them, but to no purpose. The circumstances of the time were such as to make it prudent for the clergy to go as far with the propositions as orthodoxy would permit, and accordingly we find them submitting to propositions 1°, 2°, 3°, which, when rightly understood, contained nothing very offensive. But they persistently refused to accept propositions 4°, 5°, and 6°, which involved a denial of the supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope. Why this resolute refusal to accept these last named propositions? Let Peter Walsh himself answer. In accounting for the failure of his pet project of Gallicanising the Irish Church, he says:—"Both clergy and people of the Roman communion in Ireland have been this long time, and are yet as to the generality or far greater part of them, so principled by the *chief leaders* and *superiors* of that clergy, that, out of ignorance or mistaken interest, or a wilful inclination, they are content to be hurried away into any persuasion that hath the approbation of His Holiness, at least *for as much as belongs to the regulating of their conscience, and instructing them in point of faith. For they are taught to believe him infallible.*"¹ No testimony could be more glorious for the priesthood and people of Ireland, nor could there be a clearer record of their belief in Papal Infallibility. At a time when they laboured under civil and religious disabilities of every kind, when their liberties and their lives were at the mercy of a despotic, unscrupulous viceroy, when exile and death were staring them in the face, they freely risked all; they spurned the liberty and the advantages which could be purchased only on terms which their consciences condemned. No wonder that Orlandini, on the authority of Salmeron, said of our people, "*intactam tamen fidem, et sincerissimam erga Romanum Pontificem obedientiam servabant.*" At no period of our history did opinions hostile to Rome find a home amongst us. And when, in A.D. 1870, the last sigh of expiring Gallicanism was heard unpitied, when the miserable system sank into its grave, weighed down by the anathema of the bishops of Christendom, the voice of our Irish prelates rang within the Vatican Basilica, proclaiming the same doctrines of love and loyalty to Peter which our theologians taught three centuries before.

¹ P. Walsh, 4th Treat.

The works of our theologians are monuments of which as Irishmen we may well be proud. Devoutly orthodox in their matter, clear, able, and exhaustive in their manner of treatment, they offer to the searcher after truth most ample facilities for gratifying his desire. Time devoted to the study of them would be much more profitably employed than in taking third-hand information from the pages of Gury, Scavini, or Thomas ex Charmes. And not the least of the services rendered to Ireland by the superiors of Maynooth is, that at very great cost, though from limited resources, they have secured for the College library, and thus brought within reach of the students, most, if not all, of these rare and valuable works.

The student who seeks to know these great men from their works will all the more appreciate the traditions which we inherit from them; he will see the faith of the present reflected in the devotion of the past, and will be vividly impressed by the unbroken consistency of Irish theological thought during these three centuries of trial. Consult the Irish student of the past or of the present; visit him at Salamanca, at Seville, at Louvain, at Paris, at Rome, or see him in the halls of Maynooth, and you will find characteristic of him the same steadfast loyalty to our Holy Father, and the same heartfelt, outspoken devotion to the Blessed Mother of God.

J. M.

THE CENSURES OF THE *APOSTOLICAE SEDIS*.

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

WE have already considered the *definition*, *division*, and *remote effects* of Excommunication. The most practical branch of our subject remains for examination in the present paper. The *immediate effects* of Excommunication are, as we have seen, usually reduced to *eight*:—1° *privatio Sacramentorum*; 2° *privatio divinatorum officiorum*; 3° *privatio suffragiorum communium ecclesiae*; 4° *privatio sepulturae ecclesiasticae*; 5° *privatio jurisdictionis ecclesiasticae*; 6° *privatio beneficiorum*; 7° *privatio communionis forensis*; 8° *privatio societatis civilis*.

In examining these immediate effects of Excommunication we must keep steadily in view the broad distinction

which exists between the two classes of excommunicated persons—namely, between those who are *tolerati* and those who are *non-tolerati* or as they are sometimes called *vitandi*. Accordingly, we must remember that the effects of Excommunication are not confined exclusively to the excommunicated persons themselves. When the Church cuts off an erring member from her communion, and imposes on that separated member the obligation of abstaining, as long as the censure lasts, from the exercise of certain rights and privileges previously enjoyed, she imposes, at the same time, on the faithful generally, a correlative obligation of treating that separated member as an excommunicated person. The result is, that the faithful are indirectly affected by the Excommunication; and this to a greater or less extent, according as the excommunicated person is a *vitandus* or a *toleratus*.

Thus, for instance, if the excommunicated person is a layman, he is bound directly by the Excommunication to abstain from *receiving* any of the Sacraments until the Excommunication is first removed. But this obligation on the part of the *recipient*, imposes a corresponding obligation on the part of the *minister* of the Sacraments, in the cases which will be mentioned as we proceed, not to *confer* the Sacraments, of the Church on one who is separated from her communion. On the other hand, if the Excommunication should be imposed on some minister of the Sacraments, there are circumstances, as we shall presently see, in which the faithful are bound to abstain from asking or receiving the administration of the Sacraments from such an excommunicated minister. Again, throughout this whole question, we must bear in mind that the *divine* Law forbids communication in sacred things with excommunicated *sinner*s, in some cases, to which the ecclesiastical prohibition does not extend:—*Nolite dare sancta canibus*.

Having made these few preliminary observations, we may now proceed to the detailed examination of each of these eight immediate effects of Excommunication.

FIRST EFFECT:—*Privatio Sacramentorum*.

In dealing with this first and most intricate of the immediate effects of Excommunication it will be useful for the sake of order to distribute our whole inquiry under four distinct heads:—

1°. How far is it lawful for an excommunicated person to *receive* the Sacraments?

2°. How far is it lawful for an excommunicated person to *administer* the Sacraments to others?

3°. How far is it lawful for others to *administer* the Sacraments to an excommunicated person?

4°. How far is it lawful for others to *ask* an excommunicated person to administer the Sacraments to them?

In this arrangement it will be observed that the first and second question regard the obligations of the excommunicated person, while the third and fourth regard the obligations of others, towards those who have incurred Excommunication.

With regard to the *first* head of inquiry—namely, how far is it lawful for an excommunicated person to *receive* the Sacraments?—we must carefully distinguish between the *valid* and the *licit* reception of the sacraments.

(a) VALID RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS.—An excommunicated person may *validly* receive all the Sacraments he is capable of receiving, *except the Sacrament of Penance*. Thus, as he is supposed to be already baptised, he may *validly* receive Confirmation, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. The reason is obvious. For, all that is essential to the validity of these five Sacraments—*matter, form, and intention*—may be present notwithstanding the Excommunication. “Nam in primis certum est illa quinque sacramenta excommunicatis data valida esse quantum ad substantiam eorum . . . quia si applicetur debita materia et forma uniuscujusque cum debita intentione ministri, et suscipientis, necessario perficitur sacramentum; neque potest ecclesia per censuram illud impedire, quia censura non reddit personam incapacem, neque impedit aliquid quod ad substantiam sacramenti pertineat.” Suarez (De Excomm. D. x., s. iii., n. 1).

But the case is different with regard to the Sacrament of Penance. For whether we regard contrition as the *matter* of this Sacrament, or only one of its essential *conditions*, it is certain that in the absence of contrition the Sacrament of Penance cannot be validly received. But in ordinary circumstances an excommunicated person would sin grievously by undertaking to receive the Sacrament of Penance before the Excommunication was removed. Hence in such circumstances he could have neither contrition for his past sins, nor a purpose of amendment with regard to the future, and consequently, he would be incapable of receiving validly the Sacrament of Penance. “Dixi: *excepto Poenitentiae sacra-*

mento ; quia hoc ad validam sui susceptionem requirit dispositionem poenitentis, videlicet, verum dolorem, et propositum non peccandi; quae in tali excommunicato non adest, eo ipso, quod in excommunicatione existens, et scienter recipere volens sacramentum, peccat mortaliter." Kazenberger (De Excomm., cap. III., sect. ii., n. 74).

It may be easily inferred from what has been stated, that there are some cases in which an excommunicated person may validly receive the Sacrament of Penance before the Excommunication is removed.

First. When the penitent (supposing him to be otherwise well disposed) is unconscious of the existence of the excommunication, and consequently makes no reference to it in confession.

Secondly. When the penitent, though conscious that he has incurred Excommunication, is inculpably ignorant that it is an obstacle to the reception of the Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly. When the penitent, though conscious of the Excommunication, and of the consequent prohibition of receiving the Sacrament of Penance, is still justified in seeking absolution from his sins before the removal of the Excommunication, by some absolute or moral *necessity* under which he labours; such as the danger of death, or of serious injury, as the loss of character, the necessity of receiving Paschal Communion, &c.

Fourthly. When the confessor inadvertently, or even *mala fide*, gives absolution to a penitent otherwise well disposed, before removing the Excommunication to which the penitent is subject.

"Quamquam et hoc sacramentum [Poenitentiae] validum erit, si poenitens, alias dispositus, bona fide accedat; quod fieri potest . . . vel quia sacerdos censuram peccato annexam ignorat, aut non advertit, aut etiam advertens, et quidem reservatam, sine facultate tamen poenitentem ob modo dictam necessitatem absolvendum a non reservatis putat, aut etiam *ex malitia* absolvit poenitentem qui putat sacerdoti absolvendi non deesse facultatem." Ball. Gury (De *Censuris*, n. 960. Not. (a) 3°, Ed. Rom.).

(b) LICIT RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS. With regard to the *licit* reception of the Sacraments, the general rule to be laid down is, that an excommunicated person, whether he be a *vitandus* or a *toleratus*, may not *licitly* receive any of the sacraments. The reception of the Sacraments was prohibited under pain of grievous sin by even *minor* Excommunication as long as it was in force; still more is the

reception of the Sacraments prohibited by *major* Excommunication, which is a much more severe penalty. In other words, an excommunicated person by receiving any of the Sacraments would violate an ecclesiastical precept binding under pain of mortal sin, and consequently would receive such a sacrament illicitly: "Excommunicatus etiam toleratus, regulariter loquendo, peccat mortaliter suscipiendo aliquod sacramentum. Ratio est, quia excommunicatus prohibetur suscipere sacramenta, ergo graviter peccat suscipiendo, cum faciat contra prohibitionem Ecclesiae in re gravi, materia enim sacramentorum gravis est." Bonacina (De Excomm. D. ii., Q. ii., P. ii., n. 4). This is the general rule, but it must be understood as subject to an exception already mentioned in dealing with the *valid* reception of the Sacraments. "*Dixi regulariter loquendo,*" says Bonacina (l. c.) "nam aliquando potest excusari ob ignorantiam, vel necessitatem, ut ob vitandam infamiam, vel scandalum, vel mortis periculum, quod alia ratione, seu probabili excusatione vitare non potest. Ratio est tum quia Ecclesia non obligat cum tanto incommodo: tum quia praeceptum naturale praeponderat praecepto Ecclesiae."

At present no *penalty* is incurred on account of the illicit reception of any of the Sacraments by an excommunicated person. Until the publication of the *Apostolicae Sedis* there was a special penalty attached to the reception of Orders—viz., suspension from the Order received while labouring under Excommunication. "Nota 2° quod excommunicatus recipiendo sacramentum ordinis fit suspensus, imo et deponendus est si scienter hoc fecerit (cap. *Cum illorum* 32, de sent. excomm.). De dicta suspensione silet Const. Ap. Sedis." Craisson (De Excomm. n. 6512).

Owing to this silence of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* regarding the penalty of suspension from Orders illicitly received before the removal of Excommunication, Fr. Ballerini remarks that the penalty has altogether ceased. "Ex Const. Ap. Sedis haec poena cessavit." Ball. Gury, (De Excomm. n. 960., Not. (a) 1° Ed. Rom).

We now proceed to the *second* head of our inquiry—namely, how far is it lawful for an excommunicated person to *administer* the Sacraments to others? Here we must distinguish (a) between the *valid*, and the *licit* administration of the Sacraments, (b) between *vitandi*, and *tolerati*, and (c) between what is prohibited by the *ecclesiastical*, and by the *divine* law.

(a) As far as the *valid* administration of the Sacraments is concerned, even a *vitandus* may administer all the Sacraments *validly*, except the Sacrament of Penance. The Sacrament of Penance cannot except in case of necessity be validly administered by a *vitandus*. The reason is, that for the valid administration of the Sacrament of Penance, besides the power of orders, there is also required *jurisdiction*, of which a *vitandus* is deprived by the Church. "Quaelibet sacramenta ab excommunicato vitando administrata valida sunt, excepto Poenitentiae Sacramento. Dixi excepto Poenitentiae Sacramento, quia Sacramentum Poenitentiae administratum ab excommunicato non tolerato, extra necessitatem, invalidum est." Bonacina (De Cens., D. ii., a. ii., § iv., n. 1). St. Alphonsus in his Moral Theology (Lib. vi., n. 560) held that even in case of necessity, as in articulo mortis, a *vitandus* could not validly absolve, but in the *Elenchus Quaestionum Reformatarum* which he subsequently drew up, and published, he changed this opinion, as appears from the following question and answer.

"An sacerdos ab ecclesia abscissus, uti si esset hæreticus, schismaticus, aut excommunicatus vitandus, possit absolvere eos qui sunt in periculo mortis, si alius desit? Probata fuit (Lib. vi., n. 560., Quaer. i.) sententia negativa. Sed nunc probamus contrariam cum Sylvio, Collet, Sylvestro, Cano, &c." (St. Alph. Elenchus Quaer. Ref. Quaer. xix).

So far for *vitandi* in regard to the valid administration of the Sacraments. With reference to *tolerati*; since the Council of Constance a *toleratus* may validly administer all the Sacraments, not excepting even the Sacrament of Penance. It is true that it was not intended in issuing the Constitution *ad evitanda scandala* to grant any favor directly to *tolerati* more than to *vitandi*. The favor was intended for the faithful, and not for either class of excommunicated persons, but still it is manifest that *tolerati* have indirectly benefited by this Constitution. Thus for instance, as the faithful are now allowed to communicate freely with *tolerati* and to receive *all* the Sacraments from them, it follows that the Church does not deprive *tolerati* of the jurisdiction which is necessary for the administration of Penance, and therefore that *tolerati* may validly administer this as well as all the other Sacraments.

We have next to consider how far *vitandi* and *tolerati* may, not only validly, but also *licitly*, administer the Sacraments.

Except in cases of necessity a *vitandus* cannot, even though asked by the faithful to do so, licitly administer any Sacrament. The only cases therefore in which a *vitandus* may licitly administer a Sacrament may be reduced under the head of absolute or moral necessity. Thus he may licitly administer the Sacraments of Baptism, and of Penance, when there is danger of an unbaptized person dying without the former, or a baptized sinner dying without the latter sacrament. Again, theologians are commonly agreed that it would be lawful for a *vitandus* to administer the Eucharist or Extreme Unction to a dying person who had no opportunity of receiving the Sacrament of Penance. Furthermore it seems sufficiently probable that even though the Sacrament of Penance had been received by a dying person, a *vitandus* might, in the absence of any other minister, licitly give the Viaticum or Extreme Unction. “Imo adiunt graves D.D. Eucharistiam vel Extremam Unctionem a vitando dari licite posse aegrotis, etiamsi sacramentum Poenitentiae hic receperit; ratio est quia maxime necessarium est ut adjuvetur aegrotus, viresque inde recipiat ad suggestiones daemonis in eo articulo repellendas.” Ball. Gury. De Cens., n. 960, Not. (a) 6^o, Ed. Rom. There are exceptional cases in which it would be lawful for a *vitandus* to administer even the Sacrament of Orders, and to assist personally¹ at the Sacrament of Matrimony—as, for instance, where there was no other but a *vitandus* to confer Orders in a distant country where priests were urgently needed, or where there was no other who could assist at a marriage, supposing the celebration of the marriage to be a matter of moral necessity. Finally, a *vitandus* may licitly administer the Sacraments (except Penance) when he is constrained to do so by fear of death, or some other grave spiritual or temporal evil. “Licite quoque vitandus potest sacramenta ministrare ad vitandum grave incommodum, puta jacturam famae vel bonorum, quia praecepta ecclesiae non obligant cum gravi incommodo.” Craisson (De Excomm., n. 6516).

It is especially important to determine the cases in which a *vitandus* may licitly administer the Sacraments, for this reason, in addition to others, that a *vitandus* by illicitly ad-

¹ Although the *proprius parochus* may not, if he be a *vitandus*, licitly assist at the marriage of his parishioners in ordinary circumstances, still he may always licitly depute another priest to assist. Even when the assistance of a *vitandus* is illicit, it will be *valid* as long as he retains his parish.

ministering a Sacrament, or celebrating Mass, incurs an irregularity if in the administration he solemnly exercises Holy Orders. “*Vitandus vero irregularitatem incurrit, etiamsi sacramenta ministret a fidelibus requisitus, sed absque necessitate. Quo in casu fideles sacramenta ab eo recipiendo graviter peccant et jure antiquo minorem excommunicationem incurrerant.*” Ball. Gury (De Cens., n. 960, Not. (a) 4^o. Ed. Rom).¹

We have next to deal with *tolerati*. There is this difference between a *vitandus* and a *toleratus* with respect to the *licit* administration of the Sacraments, that the latter may, as far as the Excommunication is concerned, not only in cases of necessity, but also whenever he is asked by any of the faithful to do so, licitly administer the Sacraments to them. This conclusion follows as a consequence from the privilege conferred on the faithful by the Constitution of Martin V. But we must bear in mind that if the *toleratus* has not recovered the state of grace, or if he culpably fails to have the Excommunication removed before administering the Sacrament he is asked to confer, he violates the Divine law, and incurs the guilt of mortal sin. “*Extra casum necessitatis, ut toleratus licite administret, sufficit fidelium petitio, dummodo alioquin ille in statu gratiae sit, et absolutionem a censura prius obtinere non possit. Ut autem fideles id licite petant, licet quidam requirant magnae saltem utilitatis causam, alii tamen ne hoc quidem necessarium putant, quorum sententiam etiam S. Alphonsus (Lib. vii., n. 165) uti probabilem admittit.*” Ball. Gury (l. c. 2.)

If, then, without any necessity, or any express or tacit request on the part of the faithful—and to justify such a request no special cause seems to be required—a *toleratus* celebrates Mass, or administers a Sacrament for the administration of which the solemn exercise of Orders is required, he violates the ecclesiastical, as well as the Divine law, and incurs an irregularity. “*Si vero necessitas et fidelium petitio (saltem tacita, ex S. Alphonso, n. 169) desit, etiam toleratus graviter peccat, et ob S. Ordinis exercitium . . . etiam irregularitatem incurrit.*” Ball. Gury (l. c. 3^o).

¹ This is true even of the *attempted* administration of the Sacrament of Penance by a *vitandus*. “*Martinus V. declarat irregularem quemlibet constitutum in Sacris, qui post excommunicationem praesumpserit quasi in officio suo agere sicut prius. Nota illud quasi, quod importat similitudinem actionis; ergo etiamsi invalide absolvat, irregularitatem incurrit.*” S. Alphonsus (De Cens. n. 171).

We may appropriately conclude this second head of our inquiry by comparing the condition of *vitandi* and *tolerati* with regard to the *reception* and *administration* of the sacraments.

RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS.	<i>Tolerati</i> or <i>Vitandi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1° Neither may, in ordinary circumstances, <i>licitly</i> receive any Sacrament. 2° Both may <i>validly</i> receive all the Sacraments except Penance. 3° In cases of <i>necessity</i> both may <i>validly</i> and <i>licitly</i> receive each of the Sacraments of which he is capax.
ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.	<i>Vitandi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1° A <i>vitandus</i> cannot, in ordinary circumstances, <i>licitly</i> administer any Sacrament. 2° A <i>vitandus</i> may <i>validly</i> administer all the Sacraments except Penance. 3° In cases of <i>necessity</i> a <i>vitandus</i> may <i>validly</i> and <i>licitly</i> administer any Sacrament the reception of which is morally necessary, <i>hic et nunc</i>, to any of the faithful. 4° A <i>vitandus</i> incurs an irregularity, if without <i>necessity</i>, he celebrates Mass or administers a Sacrament which requires the solemn exercise of Orders.
	<i>Tolerati</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5° A <i>toleratus</i> may <i>validly</i> administer all the Sacraments. 6° A <i>toleratus</i> may <i>licitly</i> celebrate Mass and administer all the Sacraments, not only in cases of necessity, but also when asked to do so by any of the faithful. 7° A <i>toleratus</i> incurs an irregularity in the circumstances mentioned in No. 4°, unless he has been, at least tacitly, asked by some of the faithful to discharge these sacred functions.

We may now proceed to the *third* head of our inquiry, namely, how far is it lawful for others—that is, for the

ministers of the Sacraments—to administer them to an excommunicated person.

As a general rule it may be laid down that whenever the excommunicated recipient of any Sacrament is justified, in the existing circumstances, in receiving the Sacrament, the minister will not sin in conferring it.

The converse is also true to this extent, that whenever the excommunicated recipient sins by receiving a Sacrament, the minister will sin by *voluntarily* co-operating in such an unworthy reception of the Sacraments.

If the recipient be a *vitandus* the sin of co-operation will be opposed to the ecclesiastical, as well as to the divine law. But if the recipient be a *toleratus*, the co-operation of the minister will, after the Constitution of Martin V., be opposed only to the divine law.

The penalty incurred by such co-operation, namely, an excommunication *simply* reserved to the Holy See, is now confined to the co-operation which occurs in administering the Sacraments to a person who has been excommunicated *by name* by the Sovereign Pontiff himself. “Cum excommunicatus peccat recipiendo Sacramenta antequam absolvatur, eo ipso peccat minister, qui scienter Sacramenta illi conferat.

“Si excommunicatus . . . sit *toleratus*, minister peccat contra jus divinum sed non contra legem ecclesiae. Si vero sit *vitandus* non solum minister violat Ecclesiae legem, sed jure antiquo incurrerat excommunicationem et interdictum ab ingressu Ecclesiae, &c. . . . Modo autem mere incurret excommunicationem Pontifici reservatam, si Sacramenta ministret nominatim excommunicato ab ipso summo Pontifice. Ex Const. Ap. Sedis.” (Ball. Gury l. c 4° & 5°).

As the contracting parties are the ministers of the Sacrament of Matrimony, it may be asked how far these principles will apply to the assistance of the Parish Priest or his deputy at the marriage of persons who have notoriously incurred excommunication.

It may be useful in reply to cite a decision of the Sacred Penitentiary, dated 10th December, 1860. Dub. 10.

“Curandum pro viribus ut ecclesiasticis censuris innodati debito modo cum Ecclesia reconcilientur, at si reconciliari recusent, et nisi matrimonium celebretur, gravia inde damna imminere videntur, Parochus Ordinarium consulat, qui habita rerum et circumstantiarum ratione omnibusque perpensis quae a probatis auctoribus et praesertim a S. Alphonso (L. vi., n. 54.) tradantur, ea declare, quae magis expedire in Domino judicaverit.”

St. Alphonsus (*loco citato*) teaches that the Parish Priest may assist at such marriages “*ad vitandam mortem, vel alia graviora mala communitalis, vel ipsorum contrahentium, puta ne ipsi perseverent in peccato.*”

There remains now only the *fourth* head of our original inquiry, namely, how far is it lawful for the faithful to ask an excommunicated priest to administer the Sacraments to them.

First, if there be question of urgent necessity it is plain that as the minister of the Sacrament, even though he may be a *vitandus*, would not sin by conferring it, so neither would the faithful by requesting him to do so.

Secondly, if there be no urgent necessity, it is equally plain that it is unlawful to ask a *vitandus* to administer any Sacrament. The Sacrament of Penance, as we have seen, would be *invalidly* administered by a *vitandus*, even though administered at the request of the faithful, unless urgent necessity justified its administration. Those who *presume* to receive Orders from a *vitandus* are ipso facto suspended from the Order so received.

The exercise of the Order received *bonâ fide* from a *vitandus* is prohibited until a dispensation is obtained. “Suspensionem ab Ordine suscepto ipso jure incurrunt qui eundem Ordinem recipere praesumpserunt ab excommunicato, vel suspenso, vel interdicto nominatim denunciatis, . . . eum vero, qui bona fide a quopiam eorum est ordinatus, exercitum non habere Ordinis sic suscepti donec dispenseetur declaramus.” (6^a inter Suspensiones *Ap. Sedis*).

Finally, if there be question of a *toleratus* it is lawful for the faithful to request, and to receive, the Sacraments from him.

Some held that an urgent reason was required to justify the reception of the Sacraments from a *toleratus*, on the ground that as the minister would sin by conferring the Sacraments, so would the faithful by unnecessarily asking the minister to do what, for him, involved the guilt of mortal sin. But St. Alphonsus (*De Cens. n. 139*) points out that since the Council of Constance, a *toleratus* will never violate the ecclesiastical law by complying with the request of the faithful, nor will he violate the divine law if he has recovered the state of grace, as he may have done before the excommunication is removed.

If, however, the faithful know that the excommunicated minister of the Sacraments is still in the state of mortal sin, then, indeed, a sufficient cause is required to justify them

in co-operating with him in the administration of the Sacraments. In estimating the sufficiency of the cause we must consider the spiritual need of the recipient on the one hand, and the circumstances and obligations of the minister on the other. Thus a less cause is required if the minister is actually engaged in the administration of the Sacraments, or if he manifests a readiness to dispense the Sacraments to all who apply for them, or finally if he is bound by his office to hold himself prepared for the dispensation of the Sacraments to his parishioners. But this view of the question belongs more to the Treatise on the Sacraments in General, than to the Censure Treatise.

With every desire to be brief, the explanation of this first immediate effect of excommunication has extended to such a length that the consideration of the remaining effects must be held over for a future number.

T. J. C.

LITURGY.

THE MASS AND OFFICE OF THE DEAD.

IN this Paper we will continue the explanation of the rubrics relating to the days on which a Requiem Mass may be said.

Third Class of Privileged Days. This class consists of only the day after burial, the body having been buried, "*ob causam rationabilem*," before a Requiem Mass was celebrated for the deceased.

The "*causa rationabilis*" is to be of the same character as that which we have explained already.

It is supposed that the burial took place the evening before or on the previous day, which happened to be one of those on which a Requiem Mass could not be sung even "*praesente cadavere*."

The *Requiem* Mass is forbidden :—

(a) On all days of obligation, *i.e.*, Feasts "*de praecepto*" and Sundays.

(b) On doubles of the second class.

Consequently the Requiem Mass is allowed, (a) on double-major Feasts, (b) during the privileged Octaves, the vigils of Christmas and Pentecost and the privileged Ferias, except the three last days of Holy Week.

"An pro defuncto sepeliendo ad vesperam ob aliquam rationabilem causam dici possit aliqua hora matutina Missa *de Requiem*, iisdem diebus quibus locum habet corpore praesente." Resp. " . . . Si cadaver sit terrae traditum, celebrari poterit una Missa cantata, ut in die obitus, dummodo non sit duplex primae vel secundae classis, aut festivum de praecepto." S. R. C., 7 Sept., 1816. See also 18th Dec., 1779.

To retain the privilege it is necessary that the Mass be celebrated on the day after burial, unless it happen to be one of those days to which this privilege does not extend, that is to say, unless it be a day of obligation or a feast of the first or second class. In this case, the next day on which the rite is suitable must be taken, otherwise the privilege is lost. "Si dies obitus alicujus defuncti cadat in die Dominico vel festivo, an pro eo dicto die solemniter celebrandum sit, vel potius transferendum in diem sequentem cum eadem solemnitate?" Resp. . . . Si (corpus) jam sepultum sit, eo casu in die sequenti vel alio non impedito eadem solemnitate celebrari poterit, ut cavetur in rubricis Missalis et Breviarii. S. R. C., 23 May, 1603. (De Herdt, *Sac. Lit. Praxis*, Pars. I. 56, 6.)

This privilege does not, of course, exist if a Requiem Mass had been celebrated over the corpse before burial.

Fourth Class of Privileged Days.—The day on which the announcement of one "de gremio congregationis," is received by the community. This privilege is in favour of Religious. It does not extend to laics, or secular priests, or even to pious associations and societies, without a Special Indult. In this the Sacred Congregation has decided against Cavalieri (Tom. vii., cap. iii. dec. 6. n 3.) who would apply the privilege to all. S.R.C., 16 April, 1853.

On this day the Requiem Mass is forbidden on—(a) days of obligation,¹ i.e., Sundays and Feasts "de praecepto"; (b) doubles of the second class²; (c) the Privileged Octaves³; (d) the Vigils of Christmas and Pentecost, (e) Ash Wednesday, and Holy Week.⁴

It is allowed on (a) doubles major, and (b) on the Vigil of the Epiphany.⁵

Fifth Class of Privileged days.—The 3rd, 7th, and 30th from the day of death or burial.

¹ S. R. C., 4th May, 1686 (3110), 3rd May, 1761 (4199).

² S. R. C., 7th Sept., 1816 (4826). ³ S. R. C., 27th May, 1779 (4393).

⁴ All Rubricists.

⁵ 27th May, 1779 (4393).

The Sacred Congregation of Rites has decided that the privileged 3rd, 7th, and 30th days may be counted from the day of death or of burial, according to the custom of the church. . . . “An praedicti dies numerari debeant a die obitus vel a die depositionis?” Resp. “Praedictos dies, 3^{um}, 7^{um}, et 30^{um} posse numerari a die obitus sive a die sepulturae, juxta diversam ecclesiae consuetudinem.” S. R. C. 23 Aug. 1766. The clause “juxta diversam ecclesiae consuetudinem,” must not be interpreted as implying that each church ought to have its custom of counting from one or other of these two days. The meaning of the decree is that the privileged days, of which there is question, may be reckoned from the day of death or of burial, unless this freedom of choice is restricted by the custom in a church of invariably counting from one of these two days and never from the other. Indeed, there are very clear indications in the Liturgy itself of the Requiem Mass, that the Church regards the day of death and of burial as morally one. Thus, the same Mass is ordered for the day of death and of burial under this title, “In die obitus *seu* depositionis defuncti,” and on both days we are directed to say in the prayer, “pro anima quam *hodie* de hoc saeculo migrare jussisti.”

On these days the Requiem Mass is forbidden—(a) on doubles of the first and second class; (b) on all days of obligation; (c) during the Privileged Octaves already mentioned; (d) on the Vigils of Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost; (e) on Ash Wednesday and during Holy Week.

Consequently the Requiem Mass is allowed on these days—(a) on double-major Feasts and the other days of lower rite which are not especially excepted.

“An diebus 3^a, 7^a, et 30^a a depositione defuncti in quibus occurrit officium duplex per annum non tamen festivis de praecepto, celebrari possint Officium et Missa defunctorum?” Resp. Affirmative dummodo sermo sit de Missa cantata. S. R. C. 23 Aug., 1766 (4336).

“An liceat praedictam Missam (*de Requiem*) celebrare quoties diebus 3^o, 7^o, et 30^o, occurrat festum ritus duplicis?” Resp. “Licere, exceptis duplicibus primae et secundae classis, et diebus festivis de praecepto.” 2 Aug., 1783 (4410).

“Una Missa *de Requiem* in diebus 3^o, 7^o, et 30^o cantari potest iisdem diebus ac anniversaria fundata.” (De Herdt, *Praxis Sac. Liturg.* Pars. I., n. 62). This is the unanimous teaching of rubricists, and we shall see that on anniversaries

that are "founded," the Requiem Mass is prohibited on the days we have excepted above.

If the 3rd, 7th, or 30th day happen to fall on one of the days on which the Requiem Mass is not allowed, for instance, on a double of the second class, or during a privileged Octave, in this case the privilege is communicated to the first free day before or after the 3rd, 7th, or 30th day. But the first available day must be selected, otherwise the privilege is lost.

"Si trigesima, vel septima, aut tertia dies ab obitu defuncti incidat in diem dominicam, potest anticipari vel transferri in diem immediate sequentem." S. R. C. 5 Sept., 1748 (4176).

"Posse in die Dominico vel festivo celebrari Officium et Missam defunctorum pro defuncto, cujus corpus adhuc inseputum super terram retinetur; secus si jam sepultum sit: quo casu in die sequenti, vel alio non impedito eadem solemnitate celebrari poterit, ut cavetur in rubricis Missalis et Breviarii. Idemque respondit de tertio, septimo, et trigesimo die, ut scilicet transferatur et celebretur cum eadem solemnitate, prout cavetur in dictis rubricis." S. R. C. 27 May, 1603. (De Herdt *Sac. Lit. Praxis*, Pars. I., n. 63. Bouvry, P. III., s. ii., T. v., 20).

Sixth Class of Privileged days.—The anniversary.

The anniversary is of two kinds (a) *founded*, and (b) *non-founded*.

A *founded* anniversary is one established by will; the *non-founded* is not so established, but is merely the day of death as it recurs from year to year.

The "*founded*" anniversary is not necessarily fixed for the annually recurring date of the death or burial.¹ The founder may select any day he pleases, but with some difference of privilege, as we shall see, if the day be not, in the strict sense, the anniversary of his death. Neither is it a necessary condition that the "foundation" be for ever.²

For a "*founded*" anniversary it is not necessary that the day selected, and the other details concerning it, be described in the will; it is enough if the will contain an expression of the testator's wish that his heirs or others, who are mentioned, would establish the anniversary with certain property left for the purpose.³

One might found an anniversary for another person.⁴

¹ De Herdt, *Praxis Liturg.*, Pars i., n. 59, 3.

² De Herdt, Tom. i., Pars. i., 59, 4. Cavalieri, Tom. iii., dec. 30, 3.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* Cavalieri, Tom. iii., dec. 39, n. 2.

If the "foundation" be expressed in such terms as these, "for an anniversary," or, "for a solemn anniversary," the obligation is discharged by a Solemn Mass without the Office of the Dead. To include the Office special mention must be made of it. "Utrum cum in testamento legatur anniversarium, vel anniversarium solemne, per hoc unum praecluse nomen anniversarii, vel anniversarii sollemnis intelligendum sit onus Missae sollemnis duntaxat, an officium etiam defunctorum cum tribus etiam nocturnis et laudibus, quando per testamentum id expresse non jubetur?" Resp. "*Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*" 21 July, 1855. (5212.)

Again if the testator, or founder, covenant for an "Office of the Dead" the obligation is discharged by saying one Nocturn of the Matins with the Laudes. "Utrum quando a testatore simpliciter legatur Officium, intelligendum sit totum officium defunctorum, id est, vespervas et tria nocturna cum laudibus, an potius unum duntaxat nocturnum conveniens diei in quem incidit anniversarium una pariter cum laudibus?" Resp. "*Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam*" S.R.C. *Ibid.*

On a *founded* anniversary the Requiem Mass is not allowed, (a) on doubles of the first and second class; (b) on days of obligation; (c) within the five privileged Octaves of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi; (d) on the Vigils of Christmas, the Epiphany, and Pentecost; (e) and on Ash Wednesday, or during Holy Week.

It is allowed, (a) on double-major Feasts; (b) and on all other days not excepted above.

We will quote a few of the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on the authority of which Rubricists lay down this rule regarding founded anniversaries.

"An in anniversario occurrente in festo duplici secundae classis possit cantari Missa *de Requiem*." Resp. "*Negative.*" S.R.C., 5 July, 1698.

"An infra Octavas privilegiatas possit cantari Missa defunctorum in anniversario et officio sollemni?" Resp. "*Negative.*" *Ibid.*

"Anniversaria pro defunctis possint celebrari in duplici majore, dummodo sint dies propriae et assignatae a testatore, non tamen in festis de praecepto." S.R.C., 4 Sept., 1745. See also the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, 1st Sept., 1607; 20 June, 1626; 22 Nov., 1664; 20 Nov., 1677; 22 Aug., 1682; 23 Aug. and 13 Sept., 1704; 2 Sept., 1741; 22 Dec., 1753; 2 Aug., 1783.

The *non-founded* anniversary, that is, the day of death, as it recurs from year to year, but for which the Requiem Mass has not been secured by will, is forbidden (*a*) on all the days on which the Mass is not allowed on *founded* anniversaries, (*b*) and on major double feasts.

The Requiem Mass is allowed on these non-founded anniversaries on (*a*) *minor double* feasts, and of course on all days of lower rite, except such as are specially excepted.

This common teaching of Rubricists rests on the authority of the following decree:—"Utrum ex privata devotione parochianorum petentium saepius per annum anniversaria pro defunctis parentibus, fratribus, amicis et aliis defunctis Missa sollemnis in ruralibus ecclesiis cantari possit de Requiem in festo duplici minori, altera cantata de festo, ubi adsunt plures vel duo sacerdotes?" Resp. "Affirmative," dummodo sermo sit de die vere anniversaria a die obitus." 19 June, 1700 (3565).

Rubricists commonly understand this decree to limit the privilege of *non-founded* anniversaries to "double minor" feasts, and hold that it is not lawful on this occasion to say a Requiem Mass on a "major double." Cavalieri (Tom. III., decret. 35), De Herdt (Tom. I., pars. i., 59), Bouvry (Tom. II. P. III. s. ii. 17), Falise (l. I., sec. vi., 5), and most others are of this opinion. A writer in the "*Melanges Théologiques*" (Tom. v., June 1862) calls this opinion in doubt, and argues in favour of extending the privilege to *major* doubles for non-founded as well as for founded anniversaries. We, however, take the common teaching of Rubricists to be the best interpretation of the decree, in the absence of an express declaration of the Sacred Congregation.

If the *non-founded* anniversary fall on a "*dies impedita*," the Requiem Mass cannot be transferred to a *double* feast. In this case the privilege of the anniversary is lost, so that the Mass *de Requiem* must be put off to a semi-double or other non-privileged day. "Utrum anniversaria pro defunctis ad instantiam vivorum si cadant in diem impeditam, transferri possint?" Resp. "Transferri debere ad diem non impeditam festo duplici." 21 July, 1855 (5220). See also S. R. C. 19 June, 1700; 17 March, 1629.

Lastly, we would call attention to the fact that it is only anniversaries of the kind we have described that enjoy any privilege. Consequently, those anniversary Requiem Masses which are commonly celebrated each year for the deceased members of a community or chapter

or congregation, for the deceased bishops or priests of a diocese, or for the benefactors of some institution, cannot be sung on a double feast, or Sunday or other excepted day. Such Masses are subjected to the ordinary rubrical restrictions to Requiem Mass, and consequently can be said only on the days on which a non-privileged Requiem Mass is allowed.

“Anniversaria quae celebrantur a capitulis, collegiis, confraternitatibus et pro omnibus in genere canonicis, confratribus et defunctis, possuntne celebrari, si in illis occurrat festum duplex?” Resp. “*Negative*,” 12 Nov., 1831.

A question of a very practical kind occurs in connection with anniversary Requiem Masses. It is this:—When the day of the anniversary happens to be a feast of too high a rite to allow a Mass *de Requiem*, can the obligation of the anniversary be discharged by applying the Mass of the day according to the intention of the founder or other donor; or is it necessary, in such a case, to transfer the anniversary Mass to the first free day? We have several decisions of the Sacred Congregation on this matter. According to these decisions it is sometimes necessary to transfer the anniversary Mass to the next free day, and sometimes the obligation can be discharged by applying, in accordance with the intention of the donor, the Mass of the day. To understand the ruling of the Congregation we must keep in mind the general principle that the “*qualitas Missae*,” does not form part of the priest’s obligation, unless he who gives the honorarium intends to include it, and in circumstances in which such a request would be reasonable. Hence the “*rationabilis voluntas petentis Missam pro defunctis*,” is the source of the priest’s obligation to observe the “*qualitas Missae*.” Now the different decisions of the Sacred Congregation are but the practical application of this general principle to certain classes of doubtful cases: they are the judgment of the Congregation as to what it believes to be the reasonable wish of the donor.

In these decisions two rules are sanctioned; one for private Requiem Mass, which, by the arrangement of a benefactor or testator, is to be said on a certain day of the month from year to year; the other rule is for the privileged anniversary Mass which must be, as we have seen, a Solemn Mass or a Missa Cantata.

The Congregation has decided that if the day appointed for the private Requiem Mass be a double feast, or otherwise prohibited, the obligation may be discharged by

applying the Mass of the day for the intention of the donor ; so that in this case the “*qualitas Missae*” is not obligatory. We are not even allowed to wait for a suitable day in order to say the Mass *de Requiem*. “*Quod si ex Benefactorum praescripto Missae hujusmodi (privatae de Requiem) celebrandae incidant in Festum duplex ; tunc minime transferantur in aliam diem non impeditam, ne dilatio animabus suffragia expectantibus detrimento sit, sed dicantur de Festo currenti, cum applicatione Sacrificii juxta mentem eorum benefactorum.*” S. R. C. 5 Aug., 1662.

“*Et facta de praedictis SSmo. relatione, Sanctitas Sua annuit et cum applicatione Sacrificii satisfieri ac Benefactorum mentem impleri voluit.*” 4 Aug., 1662.

By “benefactors” in this decree are understood all who, by giving a honorarium or in any other way, establish a claim to a private Requiem Mass on a fixed day of the year. The Sacred Congregation, when asked specially whether the word included testators, declared that testators also were included under the class of benefactors. 6 April, 1680.

The second rule sanctioned by the decision of the Sacred Congregation relates to the privileged anniversary Mass *de Requiem*. Here the “*qualitas Missae*” is obligatory ; the Mass must be one “*de Requiem*.” Accordingly if it should happen that the anniversary falls on one of those days to which the privilege does not extend, and on which as a consequence the Requiem Mass cannot be sung, the obligation of the foundation cannot be discharged by applying the Mass of the day to the deceased person. In this case the Requiem Mass should be anticipated or deferred, the *first day of suitable rite*, either before or after the date of the anniversary, being taken for the purpose. It is generally recommended rather to anticipate the anniversary, in order not to delay the relief which the Mass brings to the soul in Purgatory. This ruling mainly rests on the following decision :—“*An die obitus impedito, possit pro defunctorum anniversario cantari Missa de occurrente festo, vel feria privilegiata per applicationem.*” Resp. “*Negative.*” S. R. C. 22 Dec., 1753.

This rule does not, of course, apply to a case in which it is clearly understood that the founder or benefactor intends rather the circumstance of the time than the quality of the Mass—that is to say, when it is known to be his wish to have a Mass for the repose of the soul of the deceased on a particular day, even though it cannot be, for rubrical

reasons, a Mass *de Requiem*. It was on this principle that the Congregation decided the following case, which was submitted to it on the 2nd September, 1690:—In the diocese of Barri certain founded “Masses *de Requiem*” were affixed to the “*Feriae IV. et VI. Quatuor Temporum*” and to the Octave of Pentecost. The clergy of the place asked the Sacred Congregation whether these Masses were to be transferred or their place supplied by the application of the Mass of the day. The reply was—“*Jam provisum esse in allegato S. M. Alexandri VII., nempe per celebrationem Missae currentis, cum applicatione sacrificii juxta mentem testatorum, satisfieri obligationibus ex depositione injunctis.*” By selecting days on which the Requiem Mass was not allowed, the founders signified their intention plainly enough that it was to the circumstance of time, and not to the “*qualitas Missae.*” they attached importance. It will be remarked that in the question they speak of Requiem Masses that are to be sung, and not of private ones.

R. B.

We have received the following letter of inquiry:—

St. Peter's Church, Washington, U S.

REV. DEAR SIR—Will you please answer the following question in the next number of the *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*? What Collect is to be said by a priest who celebrates an anniversary Requiem Mass for his parents? Is it the Collect “*Deus qui nos patrem et matrem honorare praecepisti, &c.*” or the Collect of the anniversary Mass, “*Deus indulgentiarum Domine, &c.*”?

By answering this question you will oblige

A SUBSCRIBER.

The Collect should be the “*Deus indulgentiarum Domine, &c.*” of the anniversary Mass, and not the other prayer, “*Deus qui nos patrem et matrem honorare praecepisti, &c.*” from amongst the “*Orationes Diversae.*” It is only in the “*Missae Quotidianae*” that one may select from these “*Orationes Diversae*” a suitable prayer for a lay person. This is expressly laid down by Cavalieri. (Tom. v., cap. xxvi., Dec. ii., n. 6.) There are special directions as to the anniversary prayer for a pope, bishop, and priest, as there is also special legislation regarding the Mass itself, which is to be said on their anniversary.

R. B.

DOCUMENTS.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE "STATIONS OF THE CROSS."

IN the last number of the RECORD we published some Decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences regarding the *time* when the Stations of the Cross may be blessed, and the *material* of which the *crosses* must be made, in order that the Indulgence may be attached to them. We were prevented by want of space from publishing in the same context the following Decision, bearing the same date (21st June, 1879) as one of the Decrees already published, regarding the authorization required respectively from the Parish Priest of the place, and the Bishop of the Diocese in which the Stations of the Cross are to be erected. With regard to the permission required from the Parish Priest, it will be observed that the question decided refers only to erection of the Stations of the Cross in Hospitals, Oratories, Convents, &c., subject to the jurisdiction of the Parish Priest, but to which a special Chaplain has been appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese.

The following are the circumstances in which doubts arose which were resolved in the subjoined Decisions of the Congregation of Indulgences.

QUOAD STATIONES VIAE CRUCIS.

Die 20th Junii 1879.

DECRETUM. Pro erectione Stationum Viae Crucis peragenda dispositum fuit in Brevi *Exponi Nobis* a Clemente XII., die 16 Ianuarii 1731 edito, et a Benedicto XIV. in Brevi *Cum tanta sit*, die 30 Aprilis 1841 confirmato et inserto, haud posse Stationes Viae Crucis erigi, in Ecclesiis et locis Ministro Generali Ordinis s. Francisci minime subiectis nisi accederet *licentia Ordinarii loci ac consensus Parochi et Superiorum Ecclesiae, Monasterii, Hospitalis et Loci pii, ubi eis pro tempore erigendis agi contigerit.*

Cum vero plures exortae fuerint quaestiones circa erectionum Viae Crucis validitatem, ex eo quod in dubium saepe revocaretur, num praedicta licentia ac consensus datus fuerit, ad quaslibet in posterum istiusmodi difficultates eliminandas, s. Indulgentiarum Congregatio in decreto diei 3 Augusti 1748 praescribendum censuit, *quod in erigendis in posterum eiusmodi stationibus tam Sacerdotis erigentis deputatio, ac Superioris localis consensus, quam respectivi Ordinarii vel Antistitis, et Parochi nec non superiorum Ecclesiae, Monasterii, Hospitalis, et Loci pii ubi eiusmodi erectio fieri contigerit, deputatio, consensus et licentia in scriptis et non aliter expediri, et quandocumque opus fuerit, exhiberi debeant sub poena nullitatis ipsiusmet erectionis ipso facto incurrendae.*

Iam vero Episcopus Engolismensis istiusmodi decretorum tenorem perspectum habens s. Indulgentiarum Congregationi supplices libellos porrexit. Atque in horum primo exponit, in sua Dioecesi ac fere ubique in Gallia extare Hospitalia, Ecclesias, Cappellas, Oratoria, Domus Congregationum Sororum vota simplicia emittentium, et a s. Sede vel ab

Episcopo etiam tantum approbatarum, quae omnia quamvis de iure minime a iurisdictione parochiali exempta dici queant, tamen de facto a Parocho independentem administrantur per Cappellanos ab Episcopo nominatos. Ac subdit: in hisce omnibus Ecclesiis ac Locis bona fide Stationes Viae Crucis erectas fuisse, quin Parochorum consensus fuerit requisitus. Dubitans hinc de istiusmodi erectionum validitate postulat ut declaretur utrum pro validis sint habendae vel non, et casu quo nullitatis laborare fuerit definitum, instantissime postulat, ut a Sanctissimo sanatio indulgeatur, ne nimia oriatur confusio, et fidelium admiratio excitetur.

In altero autem supplici libello exponit plures Sacerdotes in Gallia, facultatem obtinere a Ministro Generali Ordinis Minorum, Stationes Viae Crucis erigendi in certo numero Ecclesiarum vel Oratoriorum, praevia tamen Ordinarii licentia: quam licentiam postea Ordinario exhibent, qui subscribit verbis generalibus v.g. *Authenticas recognovimus et executioni mandari permisimus*. Ac quaerit num licentia, sic verbis generalibus data sufficiat, ut Sacerdos eâ donatus possit deinde cum solius Parochi vel Superioris Loci consensu, in quocumque loco intra limites iurisdictionis praedicti Ordinarii, valide Stationes erigere, servatis servandis et relicto praectae erectionis testimonio, propria manu subscripto; an vero praeter hanc generalem licentiam requiratur, sub poena nullitatis, ante quamcumque erectionem, novus recursus ad Ordinarium cum designatione Loci vel Ecclesiae, ut erectioni in tali loco consentiat.

Quare in Congregatione Generali habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 20 Iunii 1879 proposita fuerunt.

DUBIA

I. *Utrum nullae sint erectiones Stationum Viae Crucis, sine consensu in scriptis Parochi, factae in Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis, Capellis ac Domibus Congregationum sororum, de iure haud exemptis a Parochiali iurisdictione, sed de facto (iuxta morem in Gallia vigentem) administratis independentem a Parocho, per Cappellanos nominatum ab Episcopo?*

Et quatenus Affirmative.

II. *An sit consulendum Sanctissimo pro sanatione huiusmodi erectionum?*

III. *An consensus Ordinarii in scriptis requiratur, sub poena nullitatis in singulis casibus pro unaquaque Stationum erectione; vel sufficiat, ut sit generice praestitus pro erigendis stationibus in certo numero Ecclesiarum vel Oratoriorum, sine specifica designatione Loci?*

Et quatenus Affirmative ad primam partem et negative ad secundam.

IV. *An sit consulendum Sanctissimo pro sanatione erectionum, cum dicto generico consensu iam factarum, vel sit supplendum defectum per novum consensum in scriptis ab Episcopo specificè praestandum?*

Emi Patres auditis Consultorum votis, rescripserunt:

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. *Provisum in primo.*

Ad III. *Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam.*

Et facta de his omnibus relatione SSmo Dno Nro Leoni XIII. in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Secretario die 21 Iunii 1879, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus votum s. Congregationis adprobavit et sanavit praefatas erectiones cum generico consensu peractas.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria s. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 21 Iunii 1879.

Al. Card. Oreglia A. S. Stephano Praef.
A. Panici Secretarius.

The Editor of the *Acta S. Sedis* concludes from these Decisions that while the authorization or consent of the Parish Priest is not required, in the circumstances mentioned, for the valid erection of the Stations of the Cross, the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, given in writing, is absolutely required *toties quoties*.

EX QUIBUS COLLIGES. I. Haud requiri Parochi consensum in scriptis redactum, pro erectione Stationum Viae Crucis; ideoque in posterum valide et absque ulla ambiguitate erigi posse Viae Crucis Stationes ab auctoritate pollutibus, inaudito Parocho.

II. Sub nullitatis poena tamen consensum Ordinarii requiri pro singulis casibus, et pro unaquaque Stationum erectione; neque ullo modo sufficere, ut putabatur, eiusdem consensum generice praestitum, pro erigendis Stationibus in certo numero Ecclesiarum, sed requiri specificam loci designationem.

III. Ideoque erectiones, de quibus in themate, modo generico iam peractas, vitio nullitatis laborare, et opus fuisse pontificia sanatione; ne christifideles indulgentiis defraudentur.

ED. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR—As a subscriber to your excellent journal, I take the liberty to suggest that you might greatly extend its utility by opening a special page to Correspondents.

There are, I doubt not, many like myself who, from time to time, would wish to ask a question or start some subject, the matter of which might be too trivial to entitle it to treatment in a formal paper. Periodicals of a similar character open their pages for this purpose. Should you favourably consider my suggestion, you might publish this letter in your next (June) number.

I am, Rev. Dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

W. O'B.

[We have in type, and hope to publish in our next number, a very interesting letter sent to us by a Missionary Priest, on the Indulgence attached to the prayer EGO VOLO CELEBRARE MISSAM, and another on the republication of official Documents which appeared in the first and second series of the Record. Our Rev. Correspondent will therefore see that we fully concur in his suggestion, and we beg to assure him that it will give us great pleasure to receive such communications as those to which he refers.—ED. I. E. R.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Pleadings of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.* From the French. By the REV. M. COMERFORD. With Preface by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third Edition. Eighth Thousand.

II.—*A Handbook of the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Fourth Edition. Tenth Thousand. James Duffy & Sons.

I.—WE bring these two little books together for notice because they relate to the same subject; they have been prepared by the same author; and they are both peculiarly appropriate for the devout exercises of the coming month of June, which may be well called the Month of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Prefixed to the “Pleadings of the Sacred Heart” we find an Introduction of a few pages in which the doctrine of the Church regarding devotion to the Sacred Heart—“its object, its motive, and the theological basis on which it stands,” are treated with rare precision, charming simplicity, and an instinctive appreciation of their real character and meaning. The initials, “J. F.,” which stand at the end of this Introduction, are identical with those of a distinguished writer in the present number of the RECORD, and we do not deem it any breach of confidence to declare that, from intrinsic and extrinsic evidence, we believe that the initials indicate the self-same individual.

All we need say of Father Comerford’s Translation is, that the matter is most suitable in every respect to the subject, and that the English version runs so smoothly and so idiomatically, that the reader scarcely, if ever, adverts that he is reading a translation. This we deem the highest success which a translator can attain. We have no doubt that these thirty-three days’ devotions to the Sacred Heart, including the appropriate *Reflections*, interesting *Examples*, and attractive *Practice*, will prove a source of instruction and of spiritual profit to many pious souls during the month June.

II.—With regard to the “Handbook of the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart,” all we need say is, that it forms a very suitable companion volume to the “Pleadings of the Sacred Heart.” It contains, in a short compass, all the information, the prayers, the practices of devotion, visits, litanies, indulgences, &c., which the most devoted member of the Confraternity can desire to possess.

We notice, with reference to the indulgences, that at page 29, owing to some displacement of the type, the indulgences attached to the prayers to be recited by the members of the Association of the Sacred Heart at their monthly meetings, are set down in connection with the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. We are sure the author will correct this clerical error in future editions of his valuable little book.

III.—*The Prophecy of St. Malachy.* By the Rev. M. J. O'BRIEN.
M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. 1880.

THE election of the present Supreme Pontiff, taken in connection with the motto, *LUMEN DE COELO*, by which he is supposed to have been designated in the long line of future Popes, together with the star which was so conspicuous in the coat of arms of Cardinal Pecci, has served to revive a considerable amount of interest in the authenticity of the Prophecy of St. Malachy. Father O'Brien has taken an opportune time for calling public attention to this question, but we cannot help thinking that his book, though not large, would be very much improved, if a great many things in it had been omitted altogether, and many other things compressed and better arranged. For instance, the exposition of the two Hebrew words for prophet which occur at the very beginning of the book is quite out of place. We think, too, that nearly the whole of the dissertation on prophecies in general is altogether unnecessary. Nor do we consider that the author was justified in imposing on his readers the labour of perusing the lives of Panvinus, Wion, Ciacconius, and others. Even the life of St. Malachy is too diffuse.

The author gives Wion's own version of the Prophecy, with an English explanation derived from various sources.

The author's discussion of the question of authenticity, we venture to summarise as follows:—The only argument in favour of the authenticity is the statement of Wion, in whose work, "*Lignum Vitae*," published in 1595, the Prophecy made its first appearance. There is also a statement that the predictions from 1590 are quite as clear as those from 1143 to 1590—a thing which is scarcely possible without some supernatural assistance. We concur with Father O'Brien in thinking that all the predictions are pretty much alike: those preceding 1590 are very poor puns, founded, as we shall see hereafter, on error; those that follow that date are much in the style of the answer given by the ancient oracle: "*Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.*" For instance, what Pope ever was there of whose pontificate the prediction referring to Paul V., "*Gens Perversa*," could not be verified?

The arguments against the authenticity are unanswerable.

(1.) St. Malachy died in 1148. The first appearance of the Prophecy was in 1595. During the intervening period of 447 years, St. Bernard had written the life of his friend, St. Malachy, and many works had been written about the Popes. And yet there is not a word about the Prophecy. Even Ciacconius, whom Wion makes the interpreter of the Prophecy up to 1590, knew nothing about it, for he does not mention it in his "*Vitae et Res Gestae Romanorum Pontificum et Cardinalium.*" On the contrary, he complains of errors in Panvinus, which are repeated in the interpretation of the Prophecy.

(2.) According to Wion himself the Prophecy originally consisted of a mere string of Latin sentences, or rather phrases.

How did the interpreter know that Celestine II. was the proper Pope to begin with?

(3.) Menestrier, the Jesuit, who has thoroughly investigated the matter, says that the predictions before 1590 are founded on errors in chronology, history, geography, and heraldry. Moreri says that they were forged during the conclave of 1590, by the partisans of Cardinal Simoncelli, who would seem to have been pointed out by the words: "De antiquitate urbis," because he was Bishop of Orvieto (Urbevetanum).

(4.) Finally, the whole production seems unworthy not only of a saint, but even of a man of ordinary common sense.

We think that the author has sustained his theory—that either Wion himself forged the Prophecy, or that it was a forgery imposed on him by the partisans of Simoncelli.

We have no doubt that the book, notwithstanding the drawbacks to which we have candidly but not unkindly referred, will be read with interest by many.

IV.—*Sketches of the Lives of Dominicans of Olden Times.* By M. K. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1880.

THIS neat little volume, issued with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin, and commended by the Venerable Bishop of Dromore, cannot fail to interest and edify the faithful. There can be no indifference with regard to the subject of which it treats. Religious life, instituted by the Divine Founder of Christianity, has been held in profoundest veneration from the Apostolic age to the present day. Among the various forms it assumed, that it might respond to the special needs of particular times and places, the form adopted by St. Dominick has a deep interest of its own. At the beginning of the twelfth century there was a pressing demand in Christendom for the services of a Religious Body, devoted at once to an active and contemplative life. In the work under review, the grounds for this statement are briefly and clearly set forth.

By virtue of a power which abides in the Church, and comes, as occasion calls for it, into action, imparting a refreshed energy in arresting declension of morals, repelling inroads of error, and giving new impulse to growth in piety, some one of her devoted sons, inspired for the holy work, appears at the fitting time, and founds, with the blessing and support of the Supreme Pontiff, a new, or renovates an old, Religious Order. We have but to open the pages of the sketches before us, and examine the portraits therein delineated, from St. Dominick to St. Rose of Lima, to see how wisely Innocent III. gave his sanction to the grand project of the great Founder of the Order of Friars Preachers. We cannot but feel deeply indebted to the writer, whose skilful hand has drawn those portraits with much fidelity, simplicity, and grace. It is little indeed to say that few readers of the sketches will hesitate to endorse the opinion of the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, prefixed to the volume: "It will interest and edify the faithful, especially those who have not the opportunity of reading more voluminous works on the subject."

V.—*Spiritual Reading for every day, made up from Holy Scripture. The Devout Life, and the Imitation of Christ.* By the Rev. DOM INNOCENT LE MASSON. Translated and slightly abridged by KENELM DIGBY BESTE, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London: Burns & Oates. 1879.

VI.—*Opus Contemplationis Divi Bonaventurae: Points for Mental Prayer.* Paraphrased by K. D. B. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.

THESE two books are brought together for notice as they are both translated by the same pious Oratorian, and both deal with cognate subjects. Of the former—considering the sources from which the book is derived—it is sufficient for us to repeat what has been well said of it by the *Catholic Times*:—"Two shillings formore than four hundred pages, printed with clear type upon good paper, is certainly a small price, and one in keeping with the object of the 'Translator.'"

We should not be dealing fairly, however, with the public or with the author of the translation, if we did not express our dissatisfaction with many expressions—half French, and half English, in idiom—which occur throughout the book, and which serve to direct constant and unpleasant attention to the fact that it is a translation.

Of the latter little book, the original of which is attributed to St. Bonaventure by the Vatican editors of his works, we may confidently hope that it will serve one or other of the purposes for which its translator intended it. "These Points for Contemplation," he says, "may be variously used:

I. To prevent distractions during the seven hours of the Divine Office.

II. To give praise to God at intervals, seven times a day.

III. To serve as seven morning exercises of a week.

IV. To serve as seven morning meditations for seven weeks if only one Flower with its three Fruits is taken each day."

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

FROM MESSRS. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Manual of Christian Doctrine. By Rev. D. FERRIS.

An Abridgment of the Life and Miracles of St. Laurence O'Toole.

By a Canon of the Abbey of Eu.

FROM MESSRS. DUFFY, Dublin—

The Faith. By Rev. MARK N'NEAL.

Bernadette: Last Illness, Death, and Obsequies of. By J. J. DENNEHY.

FROM MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

Little Books of the Holy Ghost. No. 4.—*The Holy Ghost the Sanctifier.* By Cardinal MANNING.

The Medal or Cross of St. Benedict. From the French of Right Rev. DOM PROSPER GUERANGER, O.S.B.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1880.

CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL, D.D., PRESIDENT
OF MAYNOOTH.

BY THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

I HAVE been asked to write briefly of the life and character of one who was very dear to me, and whose memory I hold in loving reverence. I have hesitated to comply with the request, because I feel that it is impossible to describe him worthily within the limits prescribed in a periodical, like this, and because, so soon after his removal, the materials for a fit record would not be available, even if there were ample space to use them. Those materials exist, and will, I trust, be employed, hereafter, in a work doing some justice to the nobility of his nature, the power of his intellect, the range of his accomplishments, and his great services to his Church and to his Country.

The career of a scholar and a saint does not commonly abound in incidents such as enrich the biographies of men of action. It may be fruitful of great results; whilst its silent labours and its spiritual achievements furnish scant occasion for elaborate description or stimulating detail. Still, it seems to me that, in the correspondence and the writings of the late President of Maynooth—of whom scholarship and sanctity were special characteristics—in his wide relations with many of the most eminent men of his time, of various faiths and various positions in society, and in the work he did for the College, which was his constant home from youth to age—commanding the devotion of his best faculties and the earnest attachment of his warm and generous heart—there may yet be found the groundwork of a memoir of the highest interest and value.

I am painfully conscious, how incapable I am of attempting even a shadowy outline of such a memoir ; and I shrink from degrading a noble subject by poor and inadequate treatment of it. But, on the other hand, I feel that I have some capacity to speak of the impression which he made on those who knew him best, and of the rare qualities by which that impression was produced.

He was my friend for nearly half a century, and, during that long period, our intercourse was continual and our attachment unfailing. We followed very diverse paths in life ; but, through all its chances and changes, we maintained an intimacy most close and trustful. I had no sorrow in which he did not share, and I had no success which did not give him joy. He was my kindly counsellor in troubles and perplexities. His bright and genial presence was familiar in my home : and by all its inmates he was much beloved. In many a sad bereavement, he was their stay and comfort. He watched and prayed by the deathbeds of the dear ones whom it pleased God to take from me ; and he was the best consoler of those who were left. The remembrance of him is, more or less, associated with all that has been pleasant and all that has been mournful in my existence : and his loss has left a blank in it which I can never hope to fill. Therefore, my knowledge of him was peculiar as it was ample. It, at least, enables me to indicate some of the mental and moral gifts which secured for him so much esteem and admiration : and I shall attempt to do so in brief and simple words.

Charles William Russell was the son of Charles Russell and Anne M'Evoy. The families represented by his father and his mother were of respectability and influence. He was born on the 14th of May, 1812, at Killough, a seaport in the county of Down. He was sent to Drogheda to be educated, and attended, successively, the schools of Mr. Hamilton and Dr. Needham. In his early years, he gave evidence of great industry and intellectual promise, which continued and increased when he was transferred to the care of the Rev. Dr. Nelson, of Downpatrick, then at the head of a seminary of a high class, in which very many distinguished priests of the diocese of Down and Connor received the preliminary instruction which fitted them for entrance into Maynooth. From his boyhood, he had manifested a fixed inclination for the ecclesiastical state, and his mental development was so rapid that, when only fourteen years of age, he was judged fit to enter college, bringing

with him a knowledge of Classics and English literature rarely attained at such a period of life.

His course at Maynooth was uniformly successful and distinguished. He never relaxed in his efforts to master the special subjects with which he was required to deal; whilst he gave laborious attention to the cultivation of general letters, and the formation of that refined and accurate taste which was one of the remarkable endowments of his maturer manhood. He is described as utilising every hour and minute of his time. He rapidly attained a high position in the esteem of the collegiate authorities and his fellow-students, to whom he was endeared by the unceasing kindness and self-abnegation which continued always to beautify his life. He took a foremost place in all his classes, and found his favourite recreation in the study of modern languages and the literature of the modern world. High hopes were formed of his future eminence. He was elected to the Dunboyne Establishment in 1832; and when the Rhetoric chair became vacant in 1834, he proposed to compete for it: but he was induced to waive his claim, and to give way to the Rev. Thomas Furlong, afterwards the pious Bishop of Ferns, who was thereupon promoted to the position from the chair of Humanity. Charles Russell was still too young to receive ordination as a priest, when he went through a public *conkursus* for the latter chair and succeeded to it with universal approbation.

For ten years, he continued to discharge the duties of his professorship, with complete mastery of its business, and a conscientious devotedness and untiring zeal which bore admirable fruit in their influence on the young aspirants to Holy Orders, to whom the training they receive at the outset of their ecclesiastical career must always be of extreme importance. There are numbers of priests, in Ireland, who look back with deep gratitude to the services he rendered them as their first professor.

In 1845, the chair of Ecclesiastical History was established in Maynooth, and no one doubted that he was incomparably the best qualified to fill it. No Irish ecclesiastic had any pretension to compete with him. His knowledge of general history, of the history of the Church, and of cognate subjects—his acquaintance with the Fathers—his familiarity with the researches of Continental critics and annalists, and his wide and varied literary acquirements—qualified him exceptionally for the task imposed upon him; and, without competition or

concursum, he was established in the chair. How he discharged its obligations, I need not say. With what clearness of exposition, with what affluence of information, with what keenness of insight, with what appreciation of character, with what accuracy of detail, with what candour and integrity he traced the fortunes of the Church for her future ministers, all who attended his prelections will rejoice to testify; and their testimony will be corroborated by those who did not hear them, but have read the many critical and historical disquisitions which were some of the fruits of his studies, contributed chiefly to the *Dublin Review*.

He continued to hold the chair of Ecclesiastical History until the death of the President, Dr. Renchan, in 1857, when he became the ruler of the College in which he had spent all the days of his life. There was wide-spread satisfaction at the choice. It was felt that he would admirably maintain the dignity, and worthily wield the influence, of his high office; and that his temperate wisdom and strict justice gave assurance of an exercise of his authority, which would satisfy every reasonable requirement, and promote the happiness of all submitted to it.

I adopt the words of one who, having known him well, has written of him becomingly:—"The prudence and zeal with which he discharged all the duties of his most responsible office amply justified the choice that had been made. In his exalted position the great virtues by which he was distinguished shone conspicuously. While he won the respect of the students by the dignity of his character, he won their love and affection still more by the paternal solicitude he manifested in their welfare."

There are men from whom there goes forth an effluence either repellent or attractive—either exalting or abasing—to those whom it affects; and the very demeanour of the new President—the mode in which he bore himself in his place of honour—the dignified cordiality of his manner—the serene self-reliance which gave ease and grace to all his actions—were to the mass of students an example and a model of inappreciable worth.

Whilst he laboured in the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and afterwards discharged his onerous presidential duties, he contributed largely to the current literature of the time, and produced many works of permanent interest and importance. On the establishment of the *Dublin Review*, he was associated with Cardinal Wiseman as one of the chief

supporters of the work ; and, for many years, he enriched its pages, in every number, with articles which commanded the attention of scholars and the general public, in a remarkable degree. Indeed, he continued unremittingly to sustain it by such articles, after he had ceased to have special responsibility in connection with it, and until he was stricken down by the unhappy accident which caused his untimely death. His latest contributions were two charming papers on the English Sonnet, abounding in critical acumen and exhaustive knowledge. His biography of Cardinal Mezzofanti is a book of permanent authority in England and on the Continent, to whose men of letters competent translations have made it familiar. It is full of rare and curious information, presented with artistic completeness, and, in a style of equal simplicity and force. He published Leibnitz's "*Systema Theologicum*," with a lucid introduction and learned notes. He translated from the German the tales of Canon Von Schmid, in three ample volumes, which have had a large circulation. He prepared,—in conjunction with Mr. Prendergast, the historian of the Cromwellian Settlement,—a report of the highest value on the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library ; and with that accomplished gentleman he prosecuted, laboriously and successfully, the task imposed upon him as a member of the Historical Manuscript Commission. He wrote many papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, the first of them, in 1854, having been the Mezzofanti article, which preceded the elaborate biography I have mentioned, and the latest, a very ingenious and erudite paper on the "*Pseudo-Sibylline Poems*," which appeared in July, 1877. The *North British Review*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *English Cyclopædia*, the *Academy*, and several other literary journals, from time to time, sought and received the aid of his ripe scholarship and facile pen. I cannot pretend to exhaust the list of his publications, in this perfunctory sketch ; but I have said enough to show how full of earnest effort was his life, and how well he employed all the moments he could snatch from official toils and responsibilities which were very anxious and absorbing. A collection of his occasional writings will, I doubt not, be made, which the world will appreciate as an acceptable gift.

His relations with the best men of the day were wide and varied. Amongst Catholics, of every class, his name was held in high respect ; and there were numbers of Protestants of eminence, intellectually and socially, who

were much attached to him. He had the confidence and regard of successive Pontiffs. He was cherished by that venerable Hierarchy into which he declined to enter. He was the bosom friend of Cardinal Wiseman. He was, also, the friend of the present Prime Minister, who admired his high qualities and sought familiar intercourse with him, when he came to London. The Fellows of Oxford were always happy to receive and entertain him, on his frequent visits to the Bodleian, with full recognition of his intellectual eminence. I do not mention very many others, whose friendship was distinction, and who deemed themselves honored in possessing his. But I cannot pass unnoticed the remarkable incident which links his name for ever with that of the great Oratorian, to whom he did noble service in the supreme crisis of an illustrious life. Thus Cardinal Newman speaks of him in the famous "Apologia":—

"The letter which I have last inserted is addressed to my dear friend, Dr. Russell, the present President of Maynooth. He had, perhaps, more to do with my conversion than any one else. He called upon me in passing through Oxford in the summer of 1841, and I think I took him over some of the buildings of the University. He called again another summer on his way from Dublin to London. I do not recollect that he said a word on the subject of religion on either occasion. He sent me at different times several letters; he was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial. He let me alone."

And, again, in the dedication of "Loss and Gain," these are the terms in which he was addressed by one of the greatest of living men:—

"MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,

"Now that at length I take the step of printing my name in the title page of this volume, I trust I shall not be encroaching on the kindness you have so long shown to me if I venture to follow it up by placing yours in the page which comes next to it, thus associating myself with you and recommending myself to my readers by the association.

"Not that I am dreaming of bringing down upon you, in whole or part, the criticisms, just or unjust, which lie against a literary attempt which has in some quarters been thought out of keeping with my antecedents and my position; but the warm and sympathetic interest which you took in Oxford matters thirty years ago, and the benefits which I derived from that interest personally, are reasons why I am desirous of prefixing your name to a tale which, whatever its faults, at least is a more intelligible

and exact representation of the thoughts, sentiments, and aspirations then and there prevailing, than was to be found in the pamphlets, charges, sermons, reviews, and story books of the day.

“These reasons too must be my apology, should I seem to be asking your acceptance of a volume which over and above its intrinsic defects is, in its very subject and style, hardly commensurate with the theological reputation and ecclesiastical station of the person to whom it is presented.

“I am, my dear Dr. RUSSELL,

“Your affectionate friend,

“JOHN H. NEWMAN

“Of the Oratory.”

Whilst he thus led a life of unceasing activity and various usefulness;—whilst he, at once, elevated his own scholastic reputation and that of his College, and maintained its discipline with a firm but kindly rule;—whilst his labours in the Press enriched the domains of History and Theology, and his personal influence and acceptance amongst the most distinguished of his contemporaries dissipated outworn prejudices against the religion to which he clung with his whole heart, and rebuked the bigotry which assails it, as inconsistent with manly independence and mental progress; he effected material changes which make the great seminary he governed very deeply his debtor. Of these, I can only pause to mention the cemetery which he beautified, and the Collegiate Church which will be his enduring monument.

Amongst his many accomplishments, were numbered his knowledge of the principles of ecclesiastical architecture, and his study of the matchless masterpieces, which the genius and piety of the children of the Church, in other generations, dedicated to her honour and the glory of the Almighty. He mourned over the venerable ruins which testify to the Irish people how much their fathers loved the beauty of God's house, and how cruel was the iconoclastic fury which dared to defile and destroy the temples of His worship. He earnestly desired that for the rude and formless chapels which had been raised, in their stead, with difficult and painful effort, when Catholic Ireland emerged from the gloom of the penal days, buildings should be substituted more worthy of the Faith for which she had struggled with desperate fidelity, and of the happier fortunes which, at last, permitted its freedom and full development. As President of the Ecclesiological

Society, he did his best to advance this purpose; and in Maynooth, which from its foundation had possessed a chapel inadequate, in extent, to the needs of the great community and unfit, in construction, to be associated with Pugin's imposing work, he resolved that another should be erected, of which Ireland and the *Alma Mater* of her Priesthood need not be ashamed.

It was an undertaking of extreme difficulty, and the want of money to accomplish it delayed its commencement for a long time. But, at last, he made the bold endeavour, single-handed. He sent circulars everywhere. He laboured incessantly to make them effective. His pressing and continuous appeals were liberally answered. His personal popularity gave them wide effect; and from all parts of the country, from the Continent and America, contributions poured in so freely that he was enabled to commence his enterprise, with the aid of the constructive genius and the large experience of Mr. J. J. MacCarthy, to whom the architectural *renaissance* of the Church in Ireland is so largely indebted, for labours which have won him high distinction and a strong claim to public gratitude. The building went on successfully; and approached completion, when its author ceased to have power to help it further, and left it, with deep regret, to the care of others, who will prosecute it to the end, reverently regardful of his wishes, stimulated by his example and eager to perpetuate his memory.

It has been asked, in a journal of high standing, why was not a man gifted with such rare endowments and capacities raised to the Episcopate or to the Purple? And the answer supplied by the propounder of the question has been so misleading and so false, that even in this brief notice, I am bound to repudiate it. The statement that he was not promoted because of a divergence of sentiment between him and the authorities of the Church, or its Supreme Head, is wholly without foundation. To him and to them, his loyalty was given, at every period of his life, with absolute devotion. He was not a Bishop, because of his own free choice and persistent determination. I do not desire to pry into the motives by which he was actuated. His books were dear to him, as to that great writer who held the love of them "more precious than all the treasures of the Indies." He delighted in the quiet exercise of his high faculties, in the accumulation of knowledge, and the culture

of taste. He had real humility, and no ambition; and when he said, over and over again, "*Nolo episcopari*," the negative expressed the true and unchanging purpose of his soul. He was appointed to the Bishopric of Ceylon, when he was barely thirty years of age. He declined the nomination, and had great difficulty in escaping from it. The Pope, Gregory XVI., desired to force the high responsibility upon him, and he was obliged to go to Rome and struggle for a twelvemonth, before he was allowed to reject the mitre and return to his professorship. Afterwards, when a vacancy occurred, in his native Diocese of Down and Connor, on the death of my dear and honored friend, Dr. Denvir, he was placed first in the list presented by the clergy to the Bishops, and chosen for the succession by the Holy See. But again he declined the proffered elevation, and again he found the gravest opposition to his earnest desire of avoiding it. Under Pius IX. as under Gregory XVI., his worth was appreciated and his service sought; and he remained in his humbleness, because he chose to do so.

At a subsequent period, he might certainly, in my opinion, have ascended the Primatial Chair of St. Patrick if he had only allowed it to be understood, that he would not again render the recommendation of the clergy ineffectual; and there is no ground for doubt that he might have been enrolled amongst the princes of the Church, if he had not been resolved to shrink from a position which might have naturally led to his entrance into the Sacred College. I remember, at that time, urging him, with all the force I could command, to forego his resolution. But my reasoning and persuasion were vain. He would not be taken from his obscurity, and burthened with dignity and power. And so he rested in the home he had chosen in his boyhood, and in which he desired to close his tranquil life.

But that life was to be abruptly and prematurely ended. His health was excellent. It was maintained by his buoyancy of spirit and wise regard to sanitary conditions. For the sake of example, he had taken the pledge from Father Matthew, and he kept it inviolate for more than thirty years. His friends feared the effect of his abstinence, and often urged him to relax its strictness, but he was firm, and steadfastly abided by his promise. He was an accomplished horseman, and had great enjoyment in his daily rides, which he continued, in full health and vigour, until, on the 16th of May, 1877, the fatal accident occurred which

resulted in his death. He was thrown from his saddle in the street of Maynooth, and suffered concussion of the brain. Although he lived for a considerable period, he never recovered from the shock, or regained his former energy. He bore his long sufferings with constant cheerfulness and uncomplaining patience, and the great Master, whom he had served so well, took him to his reward, on the 26th day of February, 1880.

I have outrun the little space allotted to me; but I cannot conclude without saying a word of the moral qualities which, more than his mental power, or his ample erudition, or his intellectual industry, or his finely-balanced judgment, or his exquisite literary taste, won for him so widely attachment and respect.

“ His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, this was a Man !”

He was a gentleman, in the truest and highest sense of that noble epithet—regardful of others, forgetful of himself—exhibiting, on all occasions, a stately but kindly courtesy—full of unselfish interest in the pursuits and aspirations of those around him—with a heart alive to every high emotion, and a hand

“ Open as day to melting charity !”

If I may specify the attributes which seemed to me most to illustrate and adorn his character, I would say they were his truthfulness, his tolerance, and his consideration for all of whom he spoke or with whom he acted.

He was utterly incapable of doubleness or indirectness in word or deed. No one could approach him, under any circumstances, without feeling the assurance that he spoke his thoughts with fearless freedom, and that he was entitled to absolute reliance. His pure spirit was never tainted by the semblance of deceit or subterfuge.

And it is literally true to say, that he was never heard to utter an uncharitable word of any one. He was always prompt to put the best construction on human conduct, and when he could not honestly approve, his custom was to be silent, unless duty required him, in his official capacity, to rebuke or punish. I have never met a man who so nearly realised, in his whole life and conversation, the perfection of that virtue which the Apostle of the Gentiles describes, in the most marvellous passage of his inspired eloquence, as greater than any other. Sometimes, his toleration seemed to verge

on weakness. But it was the outcome of a mental discipline which enabled him to exercise the "energy of silence," when it was possible that his utterance might, in any degree, be injurious to a fellow-creature. He had learnt to put that bridle on his tongue, without which the highest authority has declared the religion of a Christian to be vain. And although he had a clear insight into human character, and a prompt perception of faults and shortcomings, he was chary of blaming any one, and full of all allowances for error. He had habitually and completely submitted himself to the great law of Charity.

It was by these and kindred virtues that he mastered so many hearts, and established, without effort, a wonderful influence which he did not seek to acquire, and of which his modest and humble nature scarcely permitted him to be conscious. His manners reflected the tenderness and serenity of his soul, and made him dear wherever he was known. A monk of the mediæval time, depicting a brother who had exchanged the camp for the cloister, has fittingly described the graciousness and the holiness of
CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL :—

"Ultra modum placidus, dulcis et benignus,
Obætatis senium candidus ut cygnus,
Blandus et affabilis et amari dignus,
In se Sancti Spiritus possidebat pignus."

O'HAGAN.

DR. MORAN'S "IRISH SAINTS IN GREAT BRITAIN."

THERE was rarely a time when Ireland did not send out large bodies of her people to find permanent homes in foreign lands. In later ages these migrations were the outcome of the sad destinies of the country. The causes, which filled the armies of France, Spain, and the Empire with Irish soldiers, and which have supplied an element of strength to the growing power of America, must be sought in political conquest, in religious trials, or in the ravages of misery and famine. In earlier days it was otherwise. Between the beginning of the fifth and the beginning of the ninth century Ireland sent forth, sometimes in small bands, sometimes in whole tribes, enterprising pioneers of civilisa-

tion, who have left a lasting impress on most of the states of Western Europe. The traveller can neither pass over the beaten highways of the Continent, nor turn aside to secluded haunts, without finding himself in the footsteps of Irish saints and scholars, who bore a great part in reclaiming the barbarian conquerors of Rome. Picturesque cities, ancient shrines, churches dating from the infancy of the faith, monasteries with muniment-rolls from the founders of empires acquire a sacred attraction for the Irishman from their connection with St. Livius and St. Gall, St. Virgil and St. Columbanus; while long procession on festal days show that names like that of St. Rambert at Malines are still a living power. The youthful vigour of early Christian Ireland can, therefore, be fully understood only by passing her own narrow limits. For if there is now beyond the seas a "Greater Britain," there was then a Greater Ireland; and it would be as impossible, without considering what she was abroad, to measure the influence of Ireland in those ages, when even Mr. Froude admits her supremacy, as it would be to fix the true place of Greece among the nations of antiquity, without regarding the famous colonies which stretched from the Euxine to the Pillars of Hercules.

Dr. Moran has now entered on this field of inquiry. He has already done more than any living writer to throw light on the dark details of the later persecutions, and to rescue from oblivion heroic examples of patient suffering and victory in death. He is peculiarly fitted to give a new impulse to the study of our early history. His industry, his wide range of learning, his enthusiasm for every trace of Irish genius and virtue, are just the qualities which ensure success in antiquarian research. Nor is it a small advantage to Dr. Moran that his long residence in Rome gave him access to its priceless collections, and enables him to bring the traditions that linger so fondly in the Eternal City to the elucidation of disputed points in our ancient annals. Striking events, however remote, are as fresh in the Roman memory as the French occupation; and that the "old guides of the Vatican" could have pointed out to Dr. Moran "in the ancient Basilica of St. Peter, the spot on which St. Gregory had given the kiss of peace" to St. Columba, is only one of the many proofs which his special acquaintance with Rome can suggest to support more convincing inferences from direct evidence.

In his present work Dr. Moran has wisely confined himself to "*Irish Saints in Great Britain.*" The great

Irishmen who had so large a share in moulding the faith of Western Europe have already received attention from a host of writers, native and foreign. But though some of our devoted missionaries like St. Columba, who worked within a narrower range, had filled a large space in history long before the genius of Montalembert invested their lives with more than the charms of romance, many more passed unnoticed; and at all events, their labours in Wales and Cornwall, among the Anglo-Saxons (or the English as Mr. Freeman would insist on calling them), and among the various races of Scotland had never, before the appearance of this interesting volume, been presented in a distinct and separate form. We shall in the following pages, without clinging too closely to the arrangement of Dr. Moran, try to bring out its main outlines, and briefly pass in review what may be considered the Home Missions of Christian Ireland.

There is one marked distinction between the saints and scholars who carried the fame of Ireland over the Continent of Europe, and those who confined themselves to the neighbouring island. The former went out among peoples with whom they had no stronger bonds of sympathy than the hope of gaining them for the Church, or of training them in knowledge. The latter were drawn by attraction for people of their own land, or of their own race. The tide of missionary zeal followed on an earlier tide of conquest and colonization. From the end of the third century bodies of our countrymen began to cross the Irish Sea, in quick succession, and formed permanent settlements on the Western Coast of Great Britain. The Irish coracle was as well known to the Briton and the Pict, though probably not so dreaded, as the Danish emblem was, ages afterwards, to the Irish themselves. One of these settlements was, after making due allowance for fiction, the nucleus of the Scotch Monarchy. But long before Dalriada with its imposing line of kings was founded by the daring spirit of the Northern Irish, Irish adventurers had effected lodgments among the glens of Wales, and far along the indented shores of Cornwall. Affinities of race, religion, and language, soon welded together the conquerors and the conquered, obliterating unfortunately much of the evidence by which the influence of Ireland on the formation of Cambria and Damnonia could be accurately determined. The first bands which left their Irish homes still worshipped the mistletoe, later on many of them, converted to the faith,

seem to have gone out from that curious mixture of motives, half religious, half predatory, so puzzling in the soldiers of Cortes. But whether Pagan or Christian they were soon followed by missionaries who emulated the calm and peaceful triumphs of St. Patrick. Not a few of their rude leaders became in time the most active propagators of the Gospel and bequeathed their virtues and devotion to their descendants. Brecan, whose name survives in Brecknockshire, after subduing a wide district around the source of the Usk, was received into the Church by St. Brynach, the earliest of our recorded saints among the Cymry, and became the founder of a race classed by the "Triads" among the "three holy families of Wales." His son St. Cynog was martyred on the Vann. His daughter St. Keyna planted an oratory among the wilds of Somerset, and left a tradition of poetic and religious beauty, which inspired the muse of Southey. Such too was Baya, the Irish chief of Pembroke, who first resisted St. David, and then evidenced his zeal by granting the site for the famous monastery from which sprung the primatial see of Wales. Under the protection of rulers like these, crowds of Irish religious penetrated into the fastnesses of the Cymry, and were associated with sanctuaries held in reverence through centuries of Catholic life. The names of many a peak and hamlet, especially in South Wales, when presented without the unpronounceable consonants so trying to all but subjects of the principality, record the labours of Irish saints like St. Tathai and St. Machuta who first exhibited the ideal of Christian virtues to the Cymry. But besides those who left the shores of Ireland to give their whole lives to work among Pagan tribes, were many saints who varied their exertions at home by visits of piety to the churches gradually rising under their holy brethern abroad. There is nothing, indeed, more striking in the annals of the founders of the Catholic Church in Ireland than their lengthened travels. The voyage of St. Brendan, the most picturesque incident in our early records, was a type of their active zeal. Journeys, which even now, would task the endurance of the strongest, were freely undertaken when surrounded with dangers and difficulties that would seem to have made them impossible. It would not be easy to name many of those great servants of God, revered as the patrons of the dioceses of Ireland, who did not also connect their names with shrines and sees in the sister isle. These partial labours were no doubt more generally expended on the Scotch Church. But even

in the south we find abundant proofs of this characteristic of our Irish saints. The Welsh Church owed much to these holy visits, and the Cornish Church perhaps still more. St. Aidan of Ferns, was so much adopted as their own by the "Triads," that a claim of supremacy was sometimes made by the bishops of St. David's over his Irish See. St. Kieran's monastery on the Wye, anticipated by many hundred years the stately pile of Tintern, which now blends its ruins with the most charming river scenery in England. The same unwearied missionary, who left numberless monuments of his devotion on both sides of the Irish Sea, crossed the Severn, and erected a church at Peranzobulo ("St. Kieran in the Sands") "which," says Dr. Moran, "after being embedded in the strand for about 800 years has been brought to light again in our own days, almost perfect in its rude but solid masonry, and with its sculptured corbels and zig-zag ornaments so complete, that we might be almost tempted to imagine that it was one of our old Irish oratories transplanted to the Cornish shore."

Before the Britons were driven back upon Damnonia by the advancing power of the house of Cerdic, Irish religious nestled in every valley of that beautiful land. Around the shrine of St. Ies the Virgin grew the modern town of St. Ives. The founder of Padstow brought monks from Ireland to plant the seed of Christianity on the Northern Coast. While Arthur and his paladins were sharpening their legendary weapons against the new powers destined to such a noble inheritance, princes of less questionable position were fitting themselves in the monastic schools of Ireland for more peaceful exploits among their fellow-countrymen. Nay, in later times, when Cornish chivalry had ceased to wage a useless war, Athelstane, one of the most powerful of the successors of Egbert, going on an expedition against the Scilly Islands, paused at the Land's End to make his vows at the shrine of the Irish virgin, St. Bruana. So much, indeed, was Cornwall indebted to us for its early civilisation, that in the opinion of Max Müller its antiquities can only be studied by constant reference to Irish monuments. Nor can we doubt that the religious feeling and the spirit of reverence so marked among its people, as well as the bright fancies and graceful legends which have such a hold on their imagination, are due to the Irish influences exerted upon Cornwall to a comparatively late period of its history.

For when the direct current of Irish missionary zeal

had ceased to flow to the British states of Damnonia and Cambria, the Catholic piety and genius of Ireland continued to affect them through another channel. In the border land between them the devotion of some early recluses laid the foundation of Glastonbury, which was destined to influence the spiritual and intellectual life of English and British alike. The famous monastery did not attain this proud position without many fitful struggles.

"The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,"

was more than once swept over by forces more destructive to religious calm than the elemental strife from which, in the fancy of the Laureate, it was miraculously saved. But if "thrice destroyed," it was also "thrice rebuilt." Through all its changing fortunes, at least down to the Norman Conquest, it was closely linked with Ireland. One of our St. Patricks was its second founder. Its most famous teachers came from the great Irish schools. The greatest of its disciples, the greatest statesman of the English except Alfred himself—St. Dunstan—was formed by Irish monks, and learned from them not only the principles of ecclesiastical polity, but many beautiful arts that tempered the natural severity of his character. For centuries afterwards reliquaries and vestments, designed and wrought in the best style of Irish workmanship by the great archbishop, were treasured up at Glastonbury, and were, not unfrequently, ascribed to supernatural skill.

From Glastonbury the transition is easy to the great northern sanctuary of Iona. If Glastonbury was the connecting link between the Irish Missions of Damnonia and Cambria, Iona was still more decisively the centre of the wonderful influence wielded by Irish churchmen in the North. No doubt long before St. Columba conceived his great purpose, many Christian settlements had grown up in Caledonia. Very little impression, indeed, seems to have been made on the rude Pictish states stretching from Pentland Firth to the Forth; but south of that historic stream, in the Roman Province of Valentia, there must have been, here and there, the workings of the same impulses of grace which, in other parts of the Empire, gave so many martyrs to the Church. This was still more the case in the Celtic state of Strathclyde, which comprised the south-west of Scotland, and sometimes extended far below the English lakes. Dr. Moran has shown, in an admirable article in

the *Dublin Review*, that St. Patrick was born on the borders of that interesting kingdom. While he was yet a boy, St. Ninian, to whom Dr. Moran, with somewhat less probability, ascribes an Irish ancestry, founded a Christian community in Galloway. He built a stone church of curious workmanship on the jutting headland of Whithorn, in Wigton, which was famous for many generations under the name of the "Candida Casa," and which has been assumed as the ecclesiastical designation of a newly erected diocese in the recent Papal Bull. To this sanctuary crowded many of our earliest Irish saints, whose "Christianising influence," to use the words of Dr. Forbes, "was strongly felt throughout the whole of that territory." Amongst these was the virgin St. Modana or St. Edana, around one of whose shrines, according to Mr. Skene, the City of Edinburgh grew up, while her Galwegian cell, not far from the cave immortalised in "Guy Mannering," is still one of the most ancient and singular in Scotland. Another was St. Servan, who in his hermitage at Culross, prepared St. Kertigern for his high destiny of founding the See and City of Glasgow, and of bringing the scattered neophytes of Strathclyde under regular ecclesiastical government.

The seeds of Catholic life had not borne their full fruit in the South, when an event of supreme importance, in its bearing upon Scotch history, occurred beyond the Firth of Clyde. Many years before the birth of St. Columba, the largest and most famous of her colonies left the shores of Ireland, spread over the Western Isles, and founded on the mainland the state of Alba or Dalriada, conterminous with the modern Argyle. In their train went many of our saintly missionaries, renowned for their services to religion and learning at home, to link their names indelibly with the wild and romantic scenery of Scotland. St. Buite of Monasterboice, after many wanderings on the Continent, preached the faith amongst the Picts in the North. St. Bridget left memorials of her pious labours around Abernethy and Brechin, in the only two round towers on Scottish soil. On the heights of Ardochattan, in the land of the "Children of the Mist," St. Modan erected a priory whose mouldering ruins can still be distinctly traced. Beyond the rugged Barra, itself evangelised by St. Finbar, a group of small islands still preserves the name of St. Flannan of Killaloe.

But all these efforts, however noble in themselves, were only preludes to the great spiritual conquests of St. Columba.

His mission was destined to crown the scattered labours of his saintly predecessors, and to evolve out of the confusion of barbarous tribes not only a church, but a kingdom. When St. Columba landed in 563, with his twelve companions on the sacred ground of Iona, the Irish settlements on the mainland were breaking up into disorganised clans. It is doubtful, indeed, whether, before his time, they had been anything more. The fancy of the later Irish and Scotch annalists assigned to the clansmen of Dalriada leaders under names consecrated by subsequent exploits; but it is probable that Fergus, Angus, and Lorne were, like the eponymous heroes of antiquity, poetical creations intended to dignify the obscure sources of a famous dynasty. Through the statesmanship of St. Columba alone, did it become possible for the fervid imagination of the bards to trace the long line of monarchs in the gallery of Holyrood to the House of Fergus, and to create, in after ages, the romantic spirit of loyalty which bound the Irish and Highland Scotch to the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts. He formed the rude and warring clans of Dalriada into a nation. He freed them from further Irish inroads. His last visit to Ireland was undertaken to obtain a formal recognition of their independence. When he poured out his lament for his native land in verses, among the finest in our early literature, he was carrying to his adopted home a message fraught with untold blessings. His success in this great mission gave him unbounded control over the rulers of Dalriada. The kings of Alba looked to him and his successors for counsel and guidance, and their tombs in Iona are sufficient evidence of how fondly they traced to him the source of their authority. Nor can we forget that in extending the sway of the Church over the rude regions of Caledonia, he was also bringing them under the influence of the only government which, in those times, could temper dominion with justice, and secure liberty without destroying natural rights.

But after all the great, the essential glory of St. Columba, were his spiritual conquests. After Rome itself, no great Christian centre exercised such a vast and humanising influence as the remote Island of Iona. The blessings of St. Patrick's apostolate descended upon the greatest of his followers. During his own lifetime he saw the work of conversion almost completed. He not only brought into the Church the Pictish nation in the North, but he lived to see sanctuaries of learning and piety, rivalling Iona itself,

springing up in every part of Scotland. The iconoclastic fury of Knox, and the grim ravages of the Puritans have not been able to efface the reverence felt for the scenes hallowed by St. Columba and his disciples. They still affect the imagination of the people if they have ceased to speak to their hearts, and the local colouring of the greatest of Scotch writers, rich as it is in the vivid portraiture of natural beauty, derives an inexpressible charm from the fondness with which he dwells on every surviving relic associated with the civilizers of his race, whether it be the mouldering ruins of Iona itself, or the "wych elm that guards St. Fillan's spring."

While Scotland was yielding to the energy of Irish missionaries, another power was rapidly growing up beyond the border. Jutes, Saxon and Angles, spread in quick succession over the greater part of Britain. Dr. Moran notices the remarkable coincidence that the year of St. Columba's death was the year of St. Augustine's mission to Kent. What he did in the South the monks of Iona were destined to do in the North. The fair children who caught the sharp glance of St. Gregory in the Roman market were from Northumbria, but the light of faith did not shine on their countrymen through the founder of English Christianity. Dr. Moran has graphically described how St. Aidan, on the call of a pious king, boldly went forth against the advice of his Irish brethren to subdue the stern paganism of this formidable power. In 635 he established himself on Landis-farne—the Iona of the English Church—set off in its present lonely desolation by the massive ruins of Bamborough castle. From this sanctuary went out the intrepid monks who brought the whole north of England under the sway of the Church. Within two generations Northumbria was dotted over with sacred homes of religion, which nursed a long line of saints, and gave England her earliest literature in the various learning of Bæda and the "inspired song" of Cædmon. Dr. Moran would fain believe that the work commenced by the Irish St. Aidan was completed by another Irishman, the great St. Cuthbert. The claim is not made for the first time, and is supported by a considerable body of probable evidence; but we are not surprised to hear that English Catholics are unwilling to transfer from their own island the honour of having given birth to the saint who was long regarded as the special glory of the English race. The protection of St. Cuthbert was, for ages, their refuge in every national

difficulty. His shrine in the noble pile of Durham scarcely yielded to the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury. His relics, led in the van at Northallerton, were credited with the great victory which marked the first revival of the vanquished race after the Conquest. They can, therefore, bear with more equanimity, to believe that he was born among the shepherds of the Lammermoors, than that he was reared in the ancient town of Kells; though all English writers, and no one with more eloquent frankness than Mr. Green, admit that he owed his culture and piety to the training of Irish monks in the sanctuaries of Melrose.

We have been able to do little more than touch lightly on the leading features in Dr. Moran's work. Were we examining it more critically we might occasionally dissent from Dr. Moran's conclusions, but we would love better to linger over many exquisite details in the lives of some of our saints, full of Celtic gracefulness and light, of rapt religious feeling and yearning love for souls. On one point we must dwell yet a moment before we conclude. Dr. Moran has imparted greater interest to localities consecrated by the labours and affections of Ireland's truest heroes, by noticing the occasional revivals effected through the growing Catholic influences of our own day. The Marquis of Bute is erecting a church on the site of the "Candida Casa;" the Benedictines have been brought by Lord Lovat to the shores of the lake traversed in his osier skiff by St. Columba to confront the Pictish king; the generosity of the Irish in Glasgow has enabled the zealous pastor of Pollockshaws to renew the foundation of St. Conval on the height from which Queen Mary saw her own, and the hopes of Catholic Scotland vanish on the fatal field of Langside. But these partial manifestations of the undying spirit of the Church cannot shut our eyes to the melancholy fact that, except in some retired glens, some ancient manor houses, and in the din and bustle of great cities, where new Irish colonies are displaying the devotion of the old, these great districts, sanctified by Irish piety, have passed away from the dominion of the Church. Few more striking examples could be cited to give effect to the prophetic warnings of Scripture. Yet even in the defection which robbed the Church of her British inheritance, the protection of so many Irish saints was signally displayed. The districts of Great Britain converted by their preaching, above all those states permeated by Irish colonists, were the very last to break away from her fold. They

had little part in the first great apostacy. In Wales and Cornwall the faith was rather lost than abandoned. From the day that Cuthbert Maine suffered the penalties of treason they were outside the sphere of the active and fearless missionaries of Douay and St. Omers. When Wesley entered them in the last century he found the Anglican Church only nominally established, and was opposed in his own enterprise merely by such traditional notions of religion as survived from Catholic times. Nearly a century earlier Strathclyde had become the centre of the wildest forms of Puritanism, but Dr. Lee has lately shown in his "History of Paisley Abbey" how long the people withstood its assaults. After all the trials of the sixteenth century the north of England, and still more the Scotch Highlands, were largely Catholic when James I. ascended the throne, and the loss of their faith in later times was due, above all other causes, to their loyal devotion to his unfortunate dynasty.

J. E.

"CELTIC" IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

PART I.—THE OSSIANIC TALES.

FOR the Irish Intermediate Education Examination the story of Dermot and Grania ends with the death of Dermot, a few pages before the close of the tale as published by the Ossianic Society. Dr. Joyce considers that the real romance originally went no farther, and omits the remainder in his book. We are quite of opinion that the Irish Education Commissioners were perfectly right in stopping where they did; it was well to avoid a short indelicate passage that follows. We only wish they had been equally particular with regard to their selections from other literatures besides Celtic. It does really appear time to notice the fact that highly objectionable matter is quietly included in the Intermediate course of study, the course of study destined for Irish boys and Irish girls; and the sooner such matter is *plainly* eliminated the better. Are books of Horace's Odes to be read right through without omissions? If not, why cannot the Commissioners take the trouble of specifying the odes which are to be read? In other works they mention certain chapters and leave out the rest. Can they not, at least, make a discreet selection?

In Italian literature if we must always have an abduction novel to be studied, and to be studied only in part, as has hitherto been the case, may not the portions to be studied be delicately chosen? If a German play like "Maria Stuart" is appointed to be explained to youths,—and maidens too, is it necessary that the wild sixth scene of the third act should be included? Let the Commissioners be simply a little more explicit. Let them adopt the plan of naming the odes and the chapters and the scenes, one by one, that they really desire to see studied; and literature will be learned equally well, and delicacy and good taste be better cultivated.

Our admirable labourers in the field of Irish literature for men, have set the Commissioners an example which they would do well to emulate in their work for children. Dr. Joyce's book is, we need scarcely say, all that the most careful and refined mother could desire. But even Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's literal translation of "Dermat and Grania," which is properly called by Dr. Joyce "a very racy idiomatic literal translation," gives way in one place to asterisks, and, in some shorter passages, is "*splendide mendax*," most honourably unfaithful. And this, though in the Irish there is no praising, no making right of Wrong, nothing to show that the author took pleasure in its description, no shocking plain-speaking, nothing as objectionable as what is to be found in Horace, and as what is to be found in Homer. It is really to be regretted that this—we venture to call it proudly, Irish—spirit does not seem to prevail at the Intermediate Education Board, when there is question of matters with which the Commissioners are better acquainted than with Celtic.

The Commissioners acted no doubt on good advice when they stopped the story of Grania shortly before the end. But we find Dr. Joyce justifying a similar curtailing in his own book, on grounds with regard to which we must decidedly join issue. He writes in his preface:—

"I cannot help believing that this fine story originally ended with the death of Dermat, though in all the current versions (including Mr. O'Grady's printed text) there is an additional part recounting the further proceedings of Grania and her sons after the death of the hero. But this part is in every respect inferior to the rest—in language, in feeling, and in play of imagination. It seems to me very clear that it was patched on to the original story by some unskilful hand; and I have accordingly omitted it, and ended the story with the death of Dermat."

As the hitherto received conclusion of the story is not to be learned from Dr. Joyce, we will turn to our former agreeable guide, Lady Ferguson, for an account of it. She says of Grania, left a widow :—

“ This fickle lady was a prototype of Anne Neville, the widow of Edward Plantagenet, whose wooing by the murderer of her husband, Richard Duke of Gloucester, forms so fine a scene in Shakespeare’s ‘ King Richard the Third.’ In this ancient Irish romance of the ‘ Pursuit of Dermid and Grania,’ Finn is represented as endeavouring to overcome the enmity of the widowed Grania with crafty cunning and sweet words. Grania, in reply, like the widow of young Plantagenet, assailed him with her keen, very sharp-pointed tongue. ‘ Was ever woman in this humour wooed—was ever woman in this humour won?’ is a query equally applicable to both. Grania yielded to the persuasions of Finn, the suitor whose love she had formerly rejected. She reconciled her sons to her new husband, and it is recorded by the romance writer that from thenceforth Finn and Grania ‘ stayed by one another til they died.’ ”

We do not think that this conclusion deserves all the hard things that have been said of it by Dr. Joyce. In the first place, it is perfectly in keeping with the characters and circumstances developed in the story. Finn does not, like Shakespeare’s Richard of Gloucester, seek the widow’s hand before her husband’s corpse has been yet laid in its last earthly resting-place. The Irish story shows plainly how he was, and must have been, driven to this kind of marriage as a last resource. It was in the nature of things that Dermot’s sons should have undertaken to wreak vengeance upon Finn. There was no protection from them to be expected at the hands of even Finn’s own son Ossian, and his grandson Oscar, whom we have seen all along attached to Dermot, and who, we are expressly told, refused to shield their sire or grand-sire, from the consequences of his ruin of their friend. To quote again from Lady Ferguson :—

“ When Finn heard of these projects for avenging the death of Dermid, he summoned his Fians to concert measures for repelling the meditated attack, but found his warriors unwilling to aid him in a cause in which they deemed him wholly in the wrong. In fact his ungenerous treatment of Dermid had disgusted his friends, and among them even his own son Oisín. ‘ According as thou hast planted the tree, so bend it thyself,’ replied Oisín, when refusing to bear out his father in the course into which his jealous rage had led him. Thus foiled, nothing was left to Finn but to appease the anger of Grania.”

It was fully in the Ulysses-like character of Finn to adopt in his extremity clever and undignified means that promised security of life, and power, and high station. And it was fully in Grania's character, to play the part of Anne Plantagenet. The truth is, that Dr. Joyce seems to us to have thoroughly failed in appreciating the character of Grania. When she proposes to Dermot to invite Finn, we are told in the Irish romance that she proposes to invite her father too, and Dr. Joyce explains this by saying, "For indeed she had not seen her father since the night she had left Tara with Dermot, and her heart yearned for him." All this is very beautiful in itself, but there is not the slightest hint of any such filial affection in the Irish text. We say it respectfully,—and with our lofty, according to most men, exaggerated, idea of the merit of the Irish tale, there can be nothing disrespectful in our saying it,—this indeed is ornament put on by an inferior hand. It no more suits the character of Grania to set her up as a daughter yearning with love, than it fails in with the character of Dermot to become a Christian preacher. We have profound respect for Dr. Joyce, we shall have an opportunity a little farther on of saying what place we think he has won for himself for ever, but in critical appreciation of character, this able and distinguished Irishman appears to us a child beside the anonymous old Irish author, whose hand "patched on" the conclusion of the tale.

In the original, Grania appears at the very beginning a haughty, wayward daughter. Her poor father tells Finn's envoy, Ossian, that she refuses the most eligible suitors, and bids him visit her himself. When Grania sees the ambassador and his companion presented to her by her father, it suddenly pleases her—the princess who had refused everybody hitherto—to affect utter dependence on her father's will; and she declares that if the new suitor is good enough to please her father, he is good enough for her. Dr. Joyce explains this too, in a way it is not explained in the original. He says she answered "giving, indeed, not much thought to the matter," an explanation wholly inconsistent with her hitherto persistent refusals. They surely prove beyond all question that her submissive language is not sincere, and this point is proved soon again by her conduct in jilting Finn. She is clearly sketched from the first, a false, hollow, capricious woman. But Dr. Joyce is the "preux chevalier" of literature, he is

ready to defend her "à outrance." When she has her wayward whim of eating enchanted berries, and exposing her unfortunate Dermat to death, Dr. Joyce is ready again with an explanation of her desire; he tells us: "At first she strove against it and was silent, knowing the danger; but now she was not able to hide it any longer, and she told Dermat that she should certainly die if she did not get some of the enchanted berries to eat." Of course there is not one word, in the Irish, about her striving against her desire, or being silent knowing the danger. But Mr. Froude himself never worked so hard either for King Henry the Eighth, or "Whipping Fitzgerald," as Dr. Joyce has done in favour of the ancient Lady Grania.

The old Irish writer or writers (we must not forget that Dr. Joyce is the parent of a kind of Wolffian theory with regard to our story) acted differently. The Lady Grania appears at the end of the romance exactly the same wayward, selfish woman, she showed herself from the beginning. She gives Dermat the same reasons exactly for inviting her poor deluded father, that she gives him for inviting the more cruelly deluded Finn. Of love for her father there is no pretence. But he and Finn according to her are the two greatest men in Erin. It is consequently meet, according to her, that they should be entertained! That such a woman should eventually allow herself to be won by the greatest man in Erin besides her father, is thoroughly consistent with her character. And at the same time it is such an unexpected development of the story, that we do not understand how it can be said to be "inferior in play of imagination." On the contrary this kind of consistent and yet not anticipated development, is just what the "play of imagination" ought to be. And if this development is the work of another hand, it is manifest that that hand was not as Dr. Joyce maintains "unskilful."

It is true that the clearly preternatural disappears at this stage of the story. Our last view of it is Dermat's fairy-man protector carrying off the hero's corpse, with the tender but melancholy declaration, "Since I cannot restore him to life, I will send a soul into him, so that he may talk to me each day." There is certainly no such beautiful imaginative view of a preternatural world, no clear view of a preternatural world at all, to be found in the four or five pages that remain. But surely there is no reason why there should. The gods disappear from the *Iliad* in the closing scene at Troy, and

the disputed concluding passage of our romance gives to the story a unity and completeness of action, that is wanting to the magnificent Homeric poem.

Our tale opened with Finn's first attempt to win Grania. It ends with his eventual strange success. Much as Dermot occupies our view, it is always as connected with Finn's approach to Grania. During the years of prosperity when Finn keeps away from Grania, Dermot is hidden from our sight. He is no Diomede to attract our attention when Achilles is sulking far away. The plan of our old Irish story is regular and natural, it even reminds us of the masters of the modern English novel in their happiest productions. David Copperfield and Clive Newcome woo their first wife, lose her, and then marry one whom the reader was led to think of from the beginning, as the future spouse. This is like the way events are developed in our own wonderful Celtic tale in regard of the woman not the man. There was surely a far reaching and disciplined play of imagination in bringing it through all its variations to this steady modern-looking close. But we have now still more to say.

Dr. Joyce complains that "feeling" in the concluding part of the romance appears "inferior." He would, perhaps, have us look on the conclusion as "most lame and impotent." He might, while admitting that the groundwork of the plan is like that of our greatest novels, tell us that the application that is made of it to characters in the Irish story is most preposterous. He would, perhaps, be willing to acknowledge that it is well for Copperfield and Newcome, whom we admire, to "come right" in the end, but might maintain at the same time that it is intolerable that Finn, whom we despise, should triumph. We will add that it is still more intolerable for Grania to triumph: Dr. Joyce ought to learn to despise this woman. But the truth is, Finn and Grania do not triumph; and herein lies what is to our mind the wondrously profound and ably worked-up natural moral of the piece.

The Irish story really succeeds in making us look upon a state of worldly prosperity as a state of misfortune and disgrace, and this is an achievement in which the greatest of modern romancers failed, and felt his failure keenly. At the end of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," Scott tells us that he has tried to show that the sister whose fortune was the humbler was the happier of the two. Had even his own eyes been able to see that moral indicated clearly in his work, he never would have thought of explaining to us that it was

intended, no more than an artist painting a Mazeppa-piece thinks of writing on his picture "this figure is a man," and "this creature is a horse." But when, in the Irish tale, we see the tables turned on Finn; when we behold the mighty chieftain of the Fenians, and the sometime pursuer of Grania for vengeance sake, reduced to become her lover, not now for love, but for safety and for life, we need no note of the author to inform us that it had been far better for the great Finn to have fallen long ago in fight like Dermot. And Grania, who after having caused misery and bloodshed in order to avoid Finn, accepts him as a lover in the end,—she can surely excite no envy in any breast,—nothing except a shudder at such a piteous destiny.

A well-known and, amidst a large class of readers, not unpopular French novelist gives the public, as the striking subject of one of his novels, a man rejecting a proffered bride for love of another, and then losing her whom he has chosen, through a sudden strange attachment excited by the lady whom he had refused. Such a plan is not in itself contemptible. It is fraught with a profound sense of the vanity and extent of men's caprices; it affords room for piercing bitter satire, and play for deep and powerful irony. By the Frenchman the plan is worked out, we may say, on its own merits: it forms the whole plot of a book, no deep feeling is aimed at, some superficial wit, and humour inclining towards broad caricature are the ornaments used from first to last. Yet, thanks to the sternly sarcastic plot, a kind of consistency and even of elevation is given to the whole.

Surely a somewhat similar design in the case of the tale of Grania, if well prepared and developed amidst the sublime and varied beauties of that romance, instead of amid witticisms and humour, may well be allowed to be not unworthy of the great story. After all, great as the story is, it is not a tragedy, nor the epic narrative of the siege, or founding of a city; it is only an account of how a runaway match wondrously interrupts a marriage; and provided the profound sentiment, which is certainly inherent in the plan of the ending in question, be powerfully evoked, that ending must, in our judgment, form a fitting conclusion for the whole. The satirical feeling of contempt required is splendidly brought out; it is strikingly expressed in a few touches by a master-hand. We read in Mr. O'Grady's translation, that when Finn had won over Grania, and "the Fenians of Erin' saw Fionn and Grainne coming

towards them in that guise, they gave one shout of derision and mockery at her, so that Grainne bowed her head through shame." Even this was not enough. "We trow, O Fionn, quoth Oisin, that thou wilt keep Grainne well from henceforth." The poor Lady Gramia was at last recognized as a disgraced, and worthless, and frail woman!

The feeling here is surely not inferior. Neither is, in our opinion, the language. All through the romance, and here as elsewhere, the language appears to us, as a general rule, to have been most successfully attended to; to be judicious for the sense, and very harmonious to the ear. All the various parts of the story are fitly welded together, yet nearly complete in themselves, and evidently meant to be so; and the construction of the sentences appears to us nearly as perfect as the general construction of the narrative. So stands it with this surpassingly great and astonishing old tale.

J. J. O'C.

IRISH THEOLOGIANS.—No. II.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, the founder of the great school of theology which bears his name, must be carefully distinguished from his countryman and namesake, John Scotus Erigena. They are separated by an interval of nearly four centuries and a half, and although Erigena was famous as a philosopher and theologian, his renown is apt to be eclipsed by the still wider fame of the younger Scotus. Amongst the schoolmen pure and simple Duns Scotus is second to St. Thomas alone; although the Angelic Doctor may be the Jupiter of the scholastic Olympus, the Subtle Doctor certainly comes next:—

Proximo illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.

Even the voice of Leo XIII. in proclaiming the supremacy of Saint Thomas, proclaims by implication the greatness of the man who has so long held, and still holds with him, divided empire in the Schools. Like the heroes of chivalry they fight side by side against the Infidel, and then try the temper of their armour and the keenness of their

steel in the tournaments of intellectual strife. In one field, at least, Scotus and his disciples have carried off the bays of victory. The Irish theologian was from first to last the great champion of Mary's Immaculate Conception. And what is equally to his honour, no Pope or council ever censured a single proposition in his voluminous writings.

The life of such a man, although spent entirely in the Schools, is certainly interesting and instructive. It will serve at least to give us an idea of the early history of the Franciscans in England, and of the way in which masters and students lived in the great mediæval Universities of Oxford and Paris—lecturing, disputing, praying, fasting, and, the scholars at least, not unfrequently fighting—in all of which, as we shall see, the Irish students of the thirteenth century considerably distinguished themselves.

Most English writers, as might be expected, claim Scotus as their own in spite of his name. Ware quotes a postscript to the MS. of his works in Merton College in these words:—"Here end the readings of that Subtle Doctor of the University of Paris, Duns Scotus, who was born in a certain village in the parish of Emeldune, called Dunstone, in Northumberland." The name "Scotus" is altogether against this English claim, and a statement of this kind, made we know not when, or by whom, if indeed it were made at all, can have no weight in determining the controversy. Nor is the similarity between "Duns" and "Dunstone" such as to afford any plausible argument for the English claim.

The North Britons come next, and strongly assert that Scotus was born at a place called Duns, not far from the Scottish border, that he was in his youth educated at the Franciscan convent of Dumfries, and was afterwards sent to Oxford to complete his education. Luke Wadding shows at length that there is no foundation for this statement, and that a Franciscan convent could hardly have been founded at Dumfries at the time that we know for certain Scotus must have been a boy. He was born either in 1266 or 1274, for he certainly died in the year 1308, and all writers agree that he was either 43 or 34 years old when he died. We think the claim of Ireland must be admitted for the following reasons:—

1. Although the name Scotus is not by itself a conclusive proof of his Irish birth—for it was in the thirteenth century certainly applied both to Scotchmen and Irishmen—yet we think as it was a name given to Joannes Duns in France, and not in England, it may be fairly inferred that it was applied

in its hitherto more usual continental signification to mean an Irishman, especially as the same cognomen had already been given to another distinguished Irish scholar well known to fame in France.

2. Scotus himself, in his treatise on Metaphysics, in illustrating an argument, says:—"As we should speak of St. Francis or St. Patrick as a man, *ut homo*." Here the Irishman shows himself; as a Franciscan friar, he would naturally use the name of his own spiritual father in his illustration, and as a child of Ireland he would naturally connect with it the name of his own great Apostle, St. Patrick.

3. The name "Duns" appears to point to *Dunum*, as Downpatrick was then called in Latin. John of Down, in Latin Joannes Dunensis, would be, very naturally, in a familiar patronymic shortened into Joannes Dunsis or Duses, in which latter form we have the word itself written in a patent roll about this very time; and thus we get Joannes *Dunes* or *Duns*. When he went to France they added *Scotus*² for distinction sake in the great University of the nations, as Paris then was, and thus we get John Duns Scotus.

I confess what moves me more than any of these arguments to believe that Scotus was an Irishman is the perpetual tradition of the great Franciscan family itself. It is impossible that they could have forgotten in their order to what country Scotus belonged. He joined them young, and he died young; he was the most famous scholar of his time both in Oxford and in Paris; then and ever since he has been the great glory of his order; and in that order he was always reputed to be an Irishman. At the end of the fifteenth century Mauritius a Portu, an Irish Franciscan, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, declares that Scotus was his countryman, even in race and blood—*popularis meus*—and he wrote extensive commentaries on the works of Scotus. Another Franciscan, Hugh McCaghwell, Archbishop of Armagh (died in 1626), wrote a life of Scotus, in which he strenuously maintains the same statement; and the truly learned Luke Wadding proves it at length

¹ The name *Duns* has given origin to our English word *Dunce*. As a simpleton is sometimes ironically called a Solomon, so a blockhead was ironically called a Duns or Dunce.—STANIHURST.

² The name of the Irish Franciscan province at this time was *Scotia*. Scotland formed one province with England. WADDING'S "Preface to the Works of Scotus."

in the life of Scotus, prefixed to the splendid edition of his works which he prefaced and published at Lyons in 1639.

A very natural objection to Scotus' Irish birth is, at first sight at least, the fact that we find him at Oxford while still a young man. But a more intimate acquaintance with the early history of the Friars Minor in England removes the difficulty.

The Franciscans first came to England in 1224, the year of their holy founder's death. They landed at Dover on the 11th of September—four clerks and five lay brothers in all—with Agnellus of Pisa at their head. They were so poor and mean-looking that, according to one account, a neighbouring magistrate locked them up as tramps in a barn until he could find leisure to inquire into their history in the morning. Next year they established themselves at Oxford, where they got a small house in a dirty suburb in the parish of St. Ebb. But the holiness and austerity of their lives soon won them proselytes. Friar Agnellus built them a school—*satis honesta*—says the chronicler; great doctors of the University joined them, one of whom, Philip of London, was afterwards warden in Ireland. Such was their zeal for knowledge that, bare-headed and bare-footed, in frost and snow and mud, they walked oftentimes long distances to attend the schools of theology. Yet many great men and nobles joined them, and in 1256 an eye-witness¹ tells us that they numbered 1242 members in 49 different localities.

From England they passed over to Ireland, still retaining Oxford as their educational head-quarters. In 1233 we find them in Dublin, in 1240 in Waterford, and in 1266 we find them in *Dunum* or Downpatrick, where John de Courcy had founded a colony of Norman settlers. Most of these Irish houses sent their novices to be educated at Oxford, in which city, members of their own order were now the most distinguished professors of theology. Alexander Hales, Adam de Marisco, and Roger Bacon were famous throughout Europe, and their fame attracted great numbers from Ireland. In this matter we are not left to conjecture; we have authentic evidence in the records of the University itself. In the *Munimenta Oxoniae*,² under date of the

¹ Thomas de Eccleston. *De adventu Minorum in Angliam*.

² Anno 1252. In ecclesia B. Mariæ in plena congregatione cum esset magna dissensio et discordia inter Boreales et Hibernienses mota, provisum est ad pacis ordinationem quod duodecim eligerentur de utraque parte qui firmam pacis ordinarent inter partes et in posterum servandam providerent. Vide—*Munimenta Oxoniae*, page 20, vol. i.

year 1255, we have a curious statute which proves how numerous and how noisy was the Hibernian element in Oxford. At this time there was a great strife of nations and of opinions, but there appears to have been a specially bitter jealousy between the Irish and the Northern English. Both parties were required to give bail to keep the peace, and we have a list of the names of thirty of their number, who became sureties for the good conduct of their fellow-countrymen. This list is exceedingly interesting, and proves conclusively that large numbers of Irishmen at that time received their education in the halls of Oxford.¹

It is admitted on all hands that Scotus was both a student and professor in that great University, and thus had practical experience of every variety of scholastic life. The existence of Oxford University does not in all probability date beyond the beginning of the thirteenth century. Its alleged foundation by King Alfred is a myth, of which there is no positive proof whatsoever, and there is strong negative evidence against the supposition. Its first endowment, as far as we know, dates from the year 1214, and was a fine of fifty-two shillings yearly, which the townsmen agreed to pay for the use of poor scholars at Oxford, as a compensation for having hung certain students, who, we may presume, had grievously misbehaved themselves.² It received its first Charter from Henry III., and its second source of endowment was the "chest" of 310 marks left by William of Durham, whose good example was followed by many other benefactors during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This "chest" was a very singular contrivance for assisting poor students to complete their studies. It was not a metaphorical, but a real iron chest, generally kept in the church, and contained the bequest of its founder in genuine silver marks. There were two sworn guardians appointed to take charge of this chest, and distribute its contents in loans to the poor students. In return they were not only bound to say five *Paters and Aves* for the repose of the founder's soul on certain days, but also to give the guardians pledges, which were retained in the "chest" as security for the repayment of the loans. It was in fact a kind of literary pawn-office; and if the loans were not duly repaid, the pledges were publicly sold on certain fixed

¹ In the list we find such names as Robertus Prendergast, Joannes de Barry, Wilhelmus la Poer, Wilhelmus O'Ffelan.

² *Munimenta Oxoniae*; and Introduction by Rev. H. Austey.

days. Manuscript books, often rare and valuable, cloaks, swords, daggers, silver cups—every kind of article likely to be found in a student's *camera* might be also found as a pledge in the chest. Both masters and students were permitted to borrow from the chest when they were in want of funds, and they appear to have fully availed themselves of the privilege. One poor fellow complains that he was left *cum una camisia*, because his second shirt was pledged for some small sum to extricate him from his difficulties. These chests appear to have been the principal source of endowment for many years at Oxford, and the most stringent regulations were made in the Statutes about the loans and the pledges.

We cannot determine exactly at what time young Scotus became a student at the University; it was in all probability about 1280, for he died in 1308 certainly not much over forty. And he came to Oxford very young, probably not more than twelve or fifteen years of age. It seems more probable, but by no means certain, that he joined the Franciscans, not at Oxford, but before he was sent there. We know that from the first appearance of the Dominicans and Franciscans in England they had their "halls" or houses in Oxford, and the example of their virtues and austerities seems to have produced a wonderful effect in the University City. We may assume that the private life of Duns Scotus was in all respects similar to that of his religious brothers at Oxford and elsewhere. The pages of the simple-minded Thomas de Eccleston furnish us with a vividly graphic picture of the extraordinary poverty and austerity of their lives, and their discipline could not have been much relaxed in the time of Scotus. Their food was mostly brown bread; sometimes with the addition of a little oil, or sour beer, or porridge made of the meal which they begged from door to door. They walked two and two, bare-headed and bare-footed, in summer and winter, through frost and snow. The jeering and blaspheming soldier crossed himself when they had passed by, and he saw their footprints on the frozen road stained with blood. They were forbidden to build grand houses and churches. Their first convent in Cornhill was a wooden shed, the interstices between the boards being stuffed with dry grass. Tired and worn out with their day's labour they slept on a mattress without bolster or pillow, covered only with a single rug. They themselves washed the scanty inner clothing which they

wore.¹ They built their convents by preference, as at Oxford, in the purlieus of the town, where the herds of wretched and neglected outcasts, who had fled from the tyranny of their feudal lords, found shelter under the shadow of the city walls. There the Franciscans lived, and prayed, and preached, even more by their example than their words—in all things Friars *Minors*, truly less than the least. “Is it any wonder,” says the Protestant divine who has so ably edited the early records of the English Franciscans, “that in the dress of its new teachers Christianity should have appeared to the masses, as it had never yet appeared, radiant in attractiveness and beauty?”

And yet these very men, so unkempt and coarsely clad, were welcome in the palaces of kings; they became the trusted friends and advisers of great nobles like Simon de Montfort. Barons, knights, and lawyers—scions of the proudest houses in England and Ireland—the De Mariscos, Butlers, and De Burgos, joined the mendicant friars, captivated by their sanctity and learning. St. Francis, indeed, had forbidden his children to trust much to books; but books, or, at least, lectures had become a necessity of the times, and here, too, the Friars *Minors* distanced all competitors. We have a list of sixty-seven of their divinity readers at Oxford (many of whom were also in Paris) and amongst them are the names of some of the most famous schoolmen in Europe. The masters and students crowded from all the halls in Oxford to hear their lectures, and hung on the words of subtlety, eloquence, and power, which fell from their lips.

We have seen Scotus in his convent amongst his brothers, let us now strive to form some idea of his work in the Schools.

There can be no doubt that very large numbers of the Oxford students were anxious to join the Friars *Minors*, and their enemies in the University who were jealous of their great success as teachers, accused them of inducing clever boys in the colleges to join their order. We find from the preamble of a university statute made at a later date, “that the nobles and people generally were afraid to send their sons to Oxford lest they should be induced to join the mendicant friars.” Strenuous enactments were accordingly made by the authorities to repress the abuse, and it was

¹Tempore Fratris Joannis mandavit Frater Helias ut fratres ipsi lavarent femoralia sua. *Liber de Adventu Minorum*, p. 33.

declared that, "any friar so inducing a student under eighteen years of age to join his order shall not be permitted to give or attend lectures in the University for the year next ensuing."¹

It is easy to see how the bright-eyed Irish boy, who in after years led the schools of France and England, may have been noticed by the Franciscans of *Dunum*, or Downpatrick, and how he might be induced to join their order for the double purpose of serving God, and slaking that insatiable thirst for knowledge which was the ruling passion of his life. Joannes Major says that he was taken up by two brothers of the order and brought to Oxford—Cave says, from Newcastle Convent, in which he was a novice—but he most probably was brought by the two brothers from their convent in Dunum, and if, as Luke Wadding says, *Scotia* was the name given by St. Bonaventure to the Irish province of the order, there can be no doubt but his French name of Scotus proves his Irish origin quite conclusively. Joannes Major adds that Magister Gulielmus Varro was his tutor, or lecturer in Oxford, and that when the latter went to Paris, young Scotus was chosen to fill the vacant place. Varro was, it seems, the principal of the "school," which Scotus attended at Oxford. There were both "schools" and "halls" (which must not be confounded), in the University, the Franciscans, however, had a "hall," or house of their own, in the southern suburbs of Oxford, if we may credit old Anthony Wood, however they had no "school" of their own, distinct from the University. The "halls"—*aulae*—were merely houses hired from the citizens by masters approved by the authorities, who acted at once as guardians and private tutors to the students, whom they boarded in their "halls." When Scotus was there, no less than eighty "halls" are said to have been open at Oxford. Their manner of living was by no means extravagant in these establishments; the head of the house boarded his students at the rate of twelve-pence a week:² the food was plain—bread, beer, porridge, and flesh-meat rarely. The principal himself lived in the largest room, which served as his class hall, study, and kitchen; nor did the master think it beneath him on some occasions to teach his class and cook his dinner simultaneously.

¹ Vid. *Munimenta*, p. 205, vol. i.

² This was the maximum, but of course money was much more valuable in those days than at present.

The "schools" were the regular lecture halls in the various faculties where the students from the different halls assembled to hear the formal lectures and disputations of the masters. The master or doctor got into his chair, or pulpit, the students crowded round to hear him, for none of them had seats, except perhaps the bachelors. He took his text book, and read the text—in theology always it was the Master of the Sentences—and then explained it to the class at length, sometimes by way of question and answer, and sometimes explaining all himself, which was called a "cursory" lecture. The cursory lectures were more popular with the students, because they were less troublesome; but except on rare occasions they were forbidden by the authorities, as less useful for the great majority of the scholars. On the occasion of these cursory lectures the master who expatiated with most subtilty, eloquence, and originality, was sure to attract an immense number of students to his class, which was at once pleasing and profitable, for each student was required to pay lecture fees for each term, and the master was required to collect them from all, whether he was himself rich or poor.

So great was the fame of Scotus as a lecturer, that in his time, it is said, there were thirty thousand students in the halls of Oxford. The number is in all probability greatly exaggerated; but the statement is in itself proof of his great fame and success as a Master in the University. From his writings which remain, and which are to a great extent, composed of these university prelections, it seems that Scotus taught the entire course at Oxford. That course consisted of the "Seven Arts" and "Three Philosophies" which were the necessary preparation for the professional studies of theology, medicine, and canon law. The first year was given to "Grammar;" the second to "Rhetoric," or the study of the Latin Classics; the third was the "Logic" year, Aristotle's *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, or the Topics of Boethius was the class book; two more years were then given to Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, or the *Theorica Planetarum*. The "Three Philosophies" followed. Natural Philosophy, Aristotle's *Physics*; Moral Philosophy, Aristotle's *Ethics*, or *Politics*, or *Economics*; and lastly Metaphysical Philosophy, Aristotle's treatise, but all translated into Latin. This was a rather extensive course, and continued for eight years. At its expiration the student *incepted*, that is, took his degree in arts, which consisted chiefly in a public testimony, signed

by fourteen masters, that the candidate was worthy of his degree in point of knowledge, morals, and *stature*—*statura* ; secondly, he was required to feast the masters, and give most of them a new suit of robes—even Scotus, the poor Franciscan, had to do this or forfeit ten marks ; lastly, he gave proof of his knowledge and fitness for becoming a master himself by holding a public disputation on certain subjects against all comers. The *quodlibets* of Scotus, which make up the last volume of his works, are merely an expansion of the theses he maintained, and the course he taught after taking his degree, and get their name from the fact that he was prepared to discuss any of them—*quodlibet*—with any disputant who choose to enter the lists. After completing his course in arts, the student spent seven years more before he was admitted to the Doctorate or Mastership in Theology.

All these Statutes of Oxford were borrowed from the still more famous Paris University ; and thither we must now accompany our friend Scotus, who had already far surpassed all his rivals in Oxford.

The great University of Paris was an older and far more celebrated institution than Oxford. No man was considered to have received a finished education, who had not graduated at Paris. Almost all the great doctors of the Mediæval Church received their education there ; it was in fact a university for all the nations in Europe. Its origin is said to date from Charlemagne, but certainly not as a university in our sense of the word. He founded the "Palace School," which under the rectorship of Scotus Erigena (850-878) and Remigius (890), assumed a more public character. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries William of Champeaux, and his famous disciple Peter Abilard, and Peter Lombard, the Great Master of the Sentences, rendered the schools of Paris celebrated throughout all Europe. But it was in the year 1200, by a diploma of Philip Augustus, that it was formally constituted a University with large rights and privileges, and an independent governing body. The Dominicans founded a college there in 1229, and the Minors in the year following. In a short time a bitter feud broke out between the secular clergy of the University and the mendicant friars, especially the Dominicans, or Jacobins, as they were afterwards called. The Seculars were unwilling to allow the Dominicans a second professor of theology in the University : but the Friars appealed to the pope, and the pope, Alexander IV.,

wrote no less than forty briefs in his endeavours to establish harmony between the contending parties. William de St. Amour was the great champion of the Seculars, and attacked the Mendicants with great bitterness in numerous writings, complaining of their interference with the secular clergy in preaching, teaching, and the administration of the Sacraments. But in the end the Friars won the victory and their two professors held their chairs, not, however, until St. Amour was silenced by the condemnation of his book, and the threatened if not actual excommunication of himself. Henceforward it may be said the two orders had it all their own way; but having vanquished the Seculars they became somewhat jealous of each other. There were great doctors and great saints, incapable of jealousy, on either side, but their followers were not all saints, and rivalry is, at least to some extent, as inevitable amongst religious orders as it is amongst individuals. St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure took their degree together in theology, in Paris, in the year 1255, and lived like brothers, and in death it might be said they were not divided, for both died in 1274, one at the Council of Lyons, the other on his way thither. Yet after their death the Dominican and Franciscan schools of theology insensibly diverged, until the Minors, elate with the great fame of Scotus, set him up after his death as the great rival of St. Thomas, and thus gave origin to the Thomist and Scotist Schools. There can be little doubt, therefore, that Scotus, whose great reputation in Oxford had reached the ears of his Provincial, was sent over to Paris to sustain the character of the theological school of the Minors in that city.

The year is not ascertained exactly, but he was certainly there in 1304; for we have the letter of the Minister-General, Gondisalvus, addressed to the Guardian at Paris, authorising Scotus to proceed to take his degree of Bachelor of Theology in that city. Scotus was already Doctor in Theology of the Oxford University, but the Paris degree was held in greater esteem. Hence the General, "informed," as he says, "partly by long experience and partly by fame, of the laudable life, excellent knowledge, and most subtle intellect of his beloved Father in Christ, John Scotus," authorises him to take the said degree, which, however, he hopes will be done with as little expense as possible.

Scotus was now free to lecture in divinity, and he very soon considerably astonished the Parisians: "*Primum locum in Schola Parisiensi assecutus; Academiam illam multum*

illustravit." He bore away the palm from all Seculars and Regulars, Dominicans and Minors. He took his degree of Doctor in 1307, and the same year was made Regent of his own College of the Cordeliers. It was on this occasion that he held the famous disputation in defence of the Immaculate Conception which has added so much lustre to his name and to his Order.

Some writers say it was to defend this doctrine against the Dominican theologians that he came from Oxford to Paris. It is certain, that at this time the discussions of the two Schools on this great question caused considerable excitement in the University, and the Papal Legate was authorised, in order to settle the matter, to hold a solemn discussion before the University. The Dominicans put up their ablest champions, and they left no possible shadow of argument or objection, from any source, which they did not put forward in defence of their own opinion and against the Franciscan teaching. When they had finished, Scotus got up, and single-handed, from memory alone, it is said, took up every single one of the 200 arguments and objections which they had put forward, refuting them all, and establishing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception so conclusively that the University, by a solemn act, crowned him with the title of the "Doctor Subtilis," and required all their graduates in theology and canon-law to swear solemnly, before admission, that they would always hold and teach that doctrine, and, furthermore, required one of their doctors to preach a Latin sermon every year, before the University, on the feast of Mary Immaculate. Thus it may be said that it was Duns Scotus who gave the *coup de grâce* to the gainsayers of the Immaculate Conception, for that was done, at least as far as the Schools were concerned, when he had convinced the great University of Paris. Ever afterwards they kept the Feast of the Immaculate Conception as a holiday in their schools, and in their Calendar, still existing in MS., for the year 1452, opposite the 8th of December may be read the words, "Festum B. Mariæ Immaculatae. Hodie in Scholis non legitur."

It is said, that when he was a novice Scotus was by no means a brilliant student, and that one day, sitting under a tree in deep dejection at his own dullness, he besought the Blessed Virgin to enlighten the darkness of his mind. Mary appeared to him in a dream and promised him knowledge and eloquence on condition of using them in her service when they were needed. The story bears evidence

of being a clumsy imitation of a similar tale which is told of another great theologian, but if the compact were really made, it was certainly well kept by both. Another tale records that when Scotus was going to the place of this great discussion, on his way he came on a marble statue of the Blessed Virgin, and kneeling down before it for a moment he implored her assistance in the ordeal he had to go through. "The statue bowed its head in answer to the prayer, and it is," says Luke Wadding, "a common tradition in Paris, that the same statue, even to this present day, bows the head responsive to the prayers of the faithful." It is a thing in which we may glory, that it was a son of Ireland whose keen intellect and eloquent tongue first proved to conviction before the scholars of Europe the stainless purity of our Queenly Mother.

Next year Scotus went to Cologne. We can only conjecture the causes which induced the Minister-General to send him thither, but we know how promptly he obeyed the call of duty. He was walking, with some of the students who attended his lectures, in the *Pré aux Clercs*, or college meadows, near Paris, when the letter of his Superior was handed to him. He broke the seal and read the order; then turning to his companions he bade them farewell, saying that he was going to Cologne. "What!" said they, "you are surely not setting off at once, without returning to the Convent, and bidding farewell to your friends, and bringing your books?" But he only said, "my Father Superior bids me go to Cologne, he does not bid me return to Paris, or see my friends, or look after my books." And to Cologne he turned his steps on the spot, like a true son of St. Francis, walking on foot, it would seem, perhaps begging alms for himself and his companions on the journey. But when the great Doctor came near the city, the magistrates and clergy and people, informed of his near arrival, went out to meet him and conducted him in solemn procession to his Convent, as the ancient Romans accompanied a victorious general entering the city in triumph. They were fully sensible of the great honour done them by sending the most famous doctor in Paris to teach in their city, and they showed it by the welcome which they accorded him.

Several reasons are assigned by Luke Wadding for the removal of Scotus from Paris to Cologne. Perhaps the chief reason that influenced the Minister-General was a desire to found a great Franciscan school in the city by the Rhine.

It was not indeed then, nor for many years after, a regular university city, although it was famous for its great theological school, in which Albertus Magnus had taught, and St. Thomas had learnt. But Albertus had died some years before, and although he left distinguished disciples, there was none of them qualified to fill his place in public estimation. The divinity reader of the Minors, too, had died a short time previously; so that, if the Minister-General wished to exalt the Franciscan School of Cologne, now was his time. He had only to send the great Scotus and they would be sure to carry all before them. It is said too, that the citizens, anxious to have a university founded in their city, petitioned the Minister-General to send Scotus to Cologne as the surest means of attracting a large number of students, and thereby strengthening their own claim for a charter from the Pope and Emperor. The heretics known as Beguins or Beggards, were at this time giving great trouble in the Rhenish Provinces, and even went so far as to interrupt the preachers in the pulpits, and challenge them to controversy, not without a certain degree of sympathy from the simple people, whom the assumed austerity of their lives blinded to their faults. But it was expected that a preacher and teacher like Scotus would soon refute their errors efficaciously and destroy their influence. It was very probably, not one alone but all these reasons, which induced the Minister-General to remove Scotus from Paris to Cologne.

But his brief and brilliant career was now drawing to a close. No doubt his active mind overworked his weakly body, worn out by study, labour, and mortification. However he persevered to the end, and either fainted or died in the pulpit in the midst of a lecture. The circumstances are not authenticated, but all point to a rather sudden death, probably from heart disease, in the midst of his labours.

"Scotus in objectis ultima verba dedit," says an old writer in one of the many epitaphs on his tomb. But the man who at the call of duty left Paris, without calling to see the friends even of his own house, was always prepared to die, and one could not wish him a nobler end than to die as he had lived, in extending the knowledge of God, of His laws, and of His creatures. He is not to be regarded as proud of his knowledge, or fond of disputation for its own sake. His humility and modesty are especially remarkable; even in advancing those opinions which he held with most sincerity, he always speaks with modesty and even some-

times with diffidence, not however the diffidence of doubt, but of true humility. He is set up as the great rival of St. Thomas, but he never mentions his name, and most certainly these two great writers agreed on many points on which Scotists and Thomists vehemently contend.

One thing is clear, that Scotus loved the Blessed Virgin Mary with the genuine warmth of an Irish heart. He devoted with marvellous success the energies of his unrivalled intellect to vindicate the Immaculate Conception; we may venture to hope that Mary crowned him in heaven even as he strove to weave for her the lily-crown of perfect holiness while he was on earth. Slightly changing a stanza of one of the poems—the “Voices from the Heart”—written by Mary Alphonsus Downing, we can truly say of Scotus—

“ ’Twas his to prove how Erin’s love
Nor time nor change can vary,
’Twas his to write in lines of light
The royal name of Mary.”

They buried him first at the entrance to the sacristy near the Altar of the Three Kings, but as his fame widened and deepened, they transferred the holy remains to the centre of the choir, near the high altar. In the year 1513 the grave was again opened, and they built him a still grander monument of brass, slightly raised from the level of the floor. A figure of Scotus is wrought in relief on the slab, holding a book in his hands, at the foot are two couchant lions; on the right and left are inscribed the names of the great doctors of the Franciscan family, as if crowding round the mighty master: at its head, are the names and arms of three popes, who up to that time had come from the same great order. It is a fitting memorial to the memory of the dead, but he needs no monument of brass, his writings will long outlive the bronze and marble, and his memory will be in benediction not only amongst the children of St. Francis, but in the hearts of his countrymen for ages yet unborn.

Hereafter we may hope to find an opportunity of examining the writings of Scotus, with a view to trace the profound influence which they exercised in the schools of philosophy and theology, not only in his own days but up to the present time.

J. H.

NOTES ON THE CANON LAW REGARDING DAYS OF ORDINATION, AND ON THE PRIVILEGES GRANTED IN FAVOUR OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

I HAVE recently had occasion to note down some few points of importance, regarding the special privileges of exemption from the general law of the Church, granted from time to time by the Holy See to facilitate the ordination of priests for the Irish mission. It has been suggested to me that, if published in the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, they might prove not devoid of interest to some of its readers.

In transcribing them I shall insert some few additional observations—especially in exposition of the actual provisions of the ecclesiastical law—which would have been superfluous, and indeed out of place, as regards the purpose for which these notes were first taken.

I.—THE CANON LAW REGARDING DAYS OF ORDINATION.

1. It is not unlikely that in this, as in most other matters of ecclesiastical discipline, the ideas which we form regarding the provisions of the law are to a large extent drawn rather from the actual practice which falls under our own observation than from the expositions to be found in works of Theology and Canon Law. Especially then considering how widely even our present discipline in Ireland, in regard to days of ordination, diverges, by virtue of special privileges, from the strict requirements of the general law of the Church, it may not be altogether useless to set down, in the first instance, a distinct statement of what those requirements really are.

2. They are thus laid down in the *Pontificale Romanum*, in the general rubric *De Ordinibus conferendis* :—

(a) Tonsure :—“Clericatus seu prima Tonsura quocunque die, hora, et loco, conferri potest.”

(b) The four Minor Orders :—“Minores ordines possunt dari singulis Dominicis et festivis diebus duplicibus . . .

(c) The three Holy Orders :—“Tempora ordinationum sunt: Sabbata in omnibus Quatuor Temporibus, Sabbatum ante Dominicam de Passione, et Sabbatum sanctum.”

3. Thus we see that for conferring Subdeaconship, Deaconship, or Priesthood, only *six days* in the entire year are allowed by Canon Law. All of these are *Saturdays*.

When Holy Orders are conferred on any other days than these, it must be by virtue of some special privilege.

4. In regard to Minor Orders the rule is less stringent, “*dari possunt singulis Dominicis et festivis diebus duplicibus . .*”

5. It was long regarded as open to doubt¹ whether the latter words might not be understood as authorizing the conferring of Minor Orders on any ordinary “*festum duplex*.” Lacroix, indeed, expressly teaches that the affirmative opinion is sufficiently probable for practice:² and the same view is advocated by so high an authority on Liturgical Canon Law, as the eminent commentator on the Roman Pontifical, Catalani.³ It is, however, now at least, altogether certain that the Rubric regarding the Minor Orders is to be understood, not of ordinary *festi duplicia*, but only of *holidays of obligation*.

6. De Lugo, in his interesting volume of *Responsa Moralia*, has an exhaustive discussion of the point.⁴ After quoting Diana, and other writers, as holding that ordinary “doubles” were referred to, he goes on to say that he himself was always of the opposite opinion; then, after discussing the point at considerable length, he adds that, on account of the “obstinacy” of some who had maintained the former view as probable, and safe in practice, Urban VIII. had ordered that, in the new revision and correction of the Roman Pontifical, the words “*de praecepto*” should be added to the Rubric, the form of which, as thus revised, should therefore be as follows:—“*Dominicis et diebus festivis de praecepto*.” The question is discussed also by Benedict XIV., whose dissertation,⁵ however, as he expressly states, is little more than an abridged transcript of that of Cardinal De Lugo.

7. It is not surprising that Lacroix, and some other writers by whom the contrary opinion was subsequently maintained, should not have known of the decisive addition to the Rubric, of which De Lugo and Benedict XIV. speak. So general indeed is the carelessness in regard to the printing of liturgical books that, at all events until very recently, if not to the present day, the Rubric in question is to be found in its unamended form in many of the editions of the

¹ See LUCIDI, *De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum*, De Secundo Relationis Capite, Sect. III. art. iv. n. 124.

² LACROIX. *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 6. part. ii. n. 2293.

³ CATALANI. *In Pontificale Romanum*.

⁴ DE LUGO. *Responsa Moralia*, Lib. 1. dub. 34.

⁵ BENEDICT XIV. *Institutiones Ecclesiasticae*, Instit. 106.

Pontifical in general use. I may mention, for instance, the Mechlin edition in three volumes, published in 1845.

8. It is perhaps a still more striking illustration of the extent to which this want of care in the printing of liturgical works of authority has extended, that this Rubric is printed in its unamended form even in the Commentary of the standard expositor of the Roman Pontifical, Catalani. In his case this is the more remarkable as he calls most special attention to the high authority of the Edition of Urban VIII. For in his Preface he not merely puts before his readers the stringent injunctions of that Pontiff¹ as to the necessity in the case of future editions, of carefully comparing the text with that of the standard edition of 1644, but he makes special mention of the care taken by Benedict XIII., when bringing out his splendidly illustrated edition from the Vatican Press, that it should be in all respects an exact reprint² of the Edition of Urban VIII.

9. It is needless to say that the Rubric is correctly printed in the Propaganda editions, as, for instance, in the superb edition of 1848. On reference, however, to this edition—which, as all the copies of it are specially reserved to be given as presents by the Pope to Cardinals and Bishops, may be regarded as a standard of the highest authority—it will be seen that the addition in question is

¹ “Pontificalia sine praedicta [Ordinariorum] facultate evulgata, eo ipso prohibita censeantur. Inquisitores vero locorumque Ordinarii facultatem hujusmodi non prius concedant quam Pontificale, tam ante quam post impressionem, cum hoc ipso exemplari auctoritate nostra vulgato, diligenter contulerint, et nihil in iis additum detractumque cognoverint; in ipsa autem facultate, cujus exemplum in fine aut initio cujuscumque Pontificalis impressum semper addatur, mentionem manu propria faciant absolutae hujusmodi collationis, repertaeque inter utrumque Pontificale confirmationis, sub poena . . Ordinariis locorum, suspensionis a divinis ac interdicti, &c., &c. Constitutio URBANI VIII., *Quamvis alias*, inter Prolegomena ed. Pontificalis Romani Commentarii illustrati a Josepho Catalano, Romae. 1738.”

² “Mihi non semel contestatus est vir clarissimus, sanctissimi D. N. Papae capellanus secretus et apostolicarum caeremoniarum magister, Venantius Philippus Piersantes, quod cum Benedictus XIII. Vaticanis typis ipsum Romanum Pontificale variis egregiisque figuris insignitum commisisset, illud quidem districte mandavit, ne quid minimum in ipsa nova editione immutaretur.” CATALANI.

It is a curious and significant illustration of what I have remarked above, that among the five censors who have given not merely a *Nihil Obstat*, but, as the work unquestionably deserved, most elaborate encomiums of Catalani's great work, the first is Piersantes, the Master of Apostolic Ceremonies whose authority is so confidently, and indeed so naturally, appealed to by Catalani.

made only in the ordinary Rubric *De Ordinibus Conferendis*, and not in the Rubrics of the special section, *pro Ordinatione unius*, which is found in this, as it usually is in all the larger editions of the Pontifical. But obviously, the authentic interpretation conveyed by the clause, as inserted in the general Rubric, is to be understood as applying equally in the other case as well.

10. I may add that I find the amended Rubric correctly printed also in an interesting copy of the Antwerp edition of 1663, which, as the bookplate and an autograph inscription¹ record, belonged to Dr. Carpenter, the predecessor (1770-1786) of Dr. Troy (1786-1823) in the Archbishopric of Dublin, and which is now in our College Library at Maynooth. In close proximity to it, I find a copy of the earlier Antwerp edition of 1627, bearing the inscription, "Ex libris Augusti Clotworthy M'Cormick, Abbatis Bencorensis," in which the Rubric is given in its unamended form. The revised edition of Urban VIII., it will be remembered, was published, in the interval, in 1644.

11. The Rubric of the Pontifical being thus express upon the point, it is superfluous to quote other authorities. But it may be interesting to mention that the same exposition of the law is laid down in several decrees of the Sacred Congregation of the Council. These decrees, quoted by Lucidi,² Fr. Ballerini,³ and other writers on the subject, are chiefly three:—a very old decision quoted by Fagnanus;⁴ and two recent decisions, one in *In Claramontensi*, of the 16th of March, 1833, and another *In Quebecensi*, of the 23rd of May, 1836.

12. Thus then we learn that, according to the requirements of the ecclesiastical law, even Minor Orders may not be conferred except on Sundays, or (at least *suppressed*⁵) holidays of obligation; and that Holy Orders can be conferred only on one of the six Saturdays already mentioned.

¹ I should rather have said *two* autograph inscriptions. One is in Latin. The other is in Irish, as follows:—*Do leabpraib seam mic an tShionn, a'p'cearbo'g a'eac'laic' (Dubline) a'sur p'p'ma'io eipeann: a'sur po coirpe'as'ao'oon t'Shur'oe rin an t'p'ear la do tun. m'occlxx.*

² LUCIDI. *De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum, De Secundo Relationis Capite*, Sec. III., art. iv., n. 124.

³ GURY. (Ed. Rom.) Part. ii., n. 712, *nota*.

⁴ In cap. *De eo. Tit., De temp. Ordin.*, n. 42.

⁵ "Minores Ordines conferri possunt in festis de praecepto, vel in festis duplicibus quae erant de praecepto ante reductionem." S. CONG. RIT. *In Claramontensi*, 16 Martii, 1833.

II. THE PRIVILEGE OF ORDAINING "EXTRA TEMPORA."

1. The first privilege claiming our notice, among those that have been granted from time to time by the Holy See in favour of the Irish Church, is that which is conceded in the *Formula Sexta*¹—the document containing the numerous and important privileges granted as a matter of course to every Irish Bishop. In its wording the privilege thus conceded seems of almost unlimited extent: but, as we shall see, it is in reality confined within well defined limits. It is set forth in the *Formula*, in the following words.

"Conferendi Ordines *extra tempora* . . . usque ad sacerdotium inclusive."

2. As the clause thus quoted makes no reservation, whether as regards the Orders, or the days on which they may be conferred, it could scarcely be deemed an unnatural interpretation to understand it as authorising the conferring of the Orders in question—that is to say, Holy Orders, including Priesthood, as well as Minor Orders—on any day *extra tempora*, on which it might for sufficient reason seem desirable to the Bishop to confer them.

3. And so, in fact, until a comparatively recent date, the clause—which is a common one in Episcopal faculties—was very generally understood by writers of high authority, and was acted upon by eminent Bishops in various parts of the Church, at least so far as regards the conferring of Holy Orders on ordinary Doubles.

4. Thus Lacroix writes:—"Practice probable est, et ita videmus fieri ab optimis Episcopis."² Schmalzgrüber, the eminent canonist, while explaining that the *extra tempora* privilege was not originally understood in this wide sense by the Holy See, refers to the authority of Lacroix as justifying the view that any restriction of the privilege, which would exclude its exercise on ordinary "double" feasts, may be regarded as set aside by contrary usage.³

¹ The *Formula Sexta* is printed in full in Arsdekin's *Theologia Tripartita* (Tom. 2., part ii., tract. ii., cap. 5). Some few changes have been made in it since it was thus published; but the clause regarding the privilege which we are now considering remains unchanged.

See also the *Formula* containing the faculties granted to the Bishops of the United States of America, among the Introductory Documents in F. Koning's *Theologia Moralis*.

² LACROIX. *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 6, part. ii., n. 2293.

³ SCHMALZGRÜBER. *Jus Canonicum*, Part. 3, tit. xi., n. 12.

Lucidi also refers to the question in the words, "magno animorum aestu olim disputabatur."¹

5. Many readers of this paper will probably remember that, in Maynooth, for many years previous to 1860—perhaps even from the foundation of the College—Minor Orders, Subdeaconship, and Deaconship, were conferred *extra tempora*, at the General Ordinations on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, of Pentecost Week.

6. I have before me, as I write, an interesting letter of the late Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, written from Rome in 1859, to the President of Maynooth. It mentions that a difficulty had just then been raised at Propaganda as to the lawfulness of the practice thus described. The letter moreover seems to imply that the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the practice must depend on the wider or less extended interpretation given to the expression *extra tempora* in the privilege already mentioned. The days in question, it is suggested, were not even "suppressed" holidays of obligation: how then could this privilege avail unless it were understood in the very widest sense?

7. As is obvious from what we have already seen, it would not have been strange if the clause in question had been understood as authorizing the conferring of orders on other days, and if the practice, so long followed, for instance, in Maynooth, of conferring Holy Orders on days that were not holidays of obligation, had originally sprung from a belief that it was thus authorised by the privilege of the *Formula Sexta*. We shall however see that another explanation of the origin of our usage is forthcoming, which is at least equally probable.

8. At all events there can be no doubt that the opinion of those who gave so wide an interpretation to the *extra tempora* privilege, is now, like the opinion already mentioned in reference to Minor Orders,² altogether untenable.

9. Benedict XIV., in the dissertation already quoted, discusses the question at considerable length, and resolves it by citing a decisive Decree of the Congregation of the Council, which declares that the privilege is to be understood as conferred only for Sundays and holidays of obligation—in other words, for the days on which Minor Orders can be given in accordance with the Rubric of the Pontifical. More recent Decrees to the same effect are quoted by

¹LUCIDI. *De Visitatione*. De Secundo Relationis Capite, Sect. IV., n. 124.

²See *antea*, page 356.

Lucidi in his Treatise *De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum*, to which I have so frequently referred.

10. For us the most interesting decision upon the point is one to which attention is called in the letter of our late Cardinal, as already mentioned. "I have been referred to Rigantius," he wrote, "*De Regulis Cancellariae*, In Reg. 24 §. 1, n. 58: you will see there that it was decided in the year 1712, that the Irish Bishops can ordain *extra tempora* only on Sundays and holidays of obligation".

11. The following are the leading points of the interesting passage thus referred to. Rigantius first proposes the question generally, with regard to the interpretation of the *extra tempora* privilege granted to some Bishops living under governments not Catholic. He then goes on to say:—

"The case was examined in the year 1712 in the Congregation of the Most Holy Inquisition, in reference to the faculty granted to the Bishops of Ireland. And several cases were considered.

"The first was the case of a privilege being granted of ordaining '*extra tempora, in tribus Dominicis, vel aliis festivis diebus de precepto*,' as in the form employed by the Datary, and by the Secretary of Briefs in individual cases. In this case it is of course certain that the privilege is not available for ordinary doubles, which are not days of obligation. . . .

"The second case was when the privilege is granted of receiving orders '*tribus diebus festivis*,' as in the Indult enjoyed by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and as is laid down in the Canon Law in regard to the conferring of Minor orders. In this case there are not wanting some who consider it both practically and speculatively probable that the ordination may be held on ordinary doubles. . . . But it has been decided by the Sacred Congregation of the Council that both as regards the ordinary time for conferring Minor Orders, and the privilege of conferring the Holy Orders *extra tempora*, the ordination can be held only on days of obligation.

"The third case is when the Indult, without any mention of days, simply grants the privilege, in general terms, of ordaining '*extra tempora*,' as is granted to the Bishops of Ireland according to the formula set forth by Pignatelli (tom. 4, consult. 139, n. 49).¹

"In this case the majority of the Consultors were of opinion that by virtue of such an Indult the Bishops could ordain on ordi-

¹ As the arrangement of Pignatelli's work may possibly differ in different editions, I transcribe this reference as I find it in Mgr. Lucidi's work. It is well however to add that the reference, as thus given, would not facilitate the discovery of the passage in any of the numerous editions of Pignatelli's work, to be found in our Maynooth Library. In all of these the *Formula* referred to is set forth, not in vol. 4, consult. 139, but in vol. 7, consult. 53.

nary doubles, which were not holidays of obligation; whether on the ground that the Indult imposes no limitation, or because in Ireland ordinations cannot be held, as prescribed in the Council of Trent, cap. 3, sess. 23, De Reformatione, ‘publicly in the cathedral church, in the presence of the Canons duly summoned: or if in another portion of the diocese, then in the presence of the clergy,’ which indeed is the motive of the law restricting the conferring of Minor Orders to Sundays and days of obligation, and of the similar restrictive clause usually inserted in Indults for conferring Holy Orders *extra tempora*.

“But Clement XI., on Thursday, the 3rd of March, 1712, declared that the Indults granted to the Bishops of Ireland, authorizing them to ordain *extra tempora*, are to be understood only of holidays of obligation—‘*intelligenda esse pro diebus festis de praecepto*.’”

12. It was however supposed, and not indeed without much reason, that if some other special concession had not been given, to authorize the conferring of Holy Orders on other days, the usage could never have been introduced into Maynooth, especially in the time of an Archbishop of the diocese such as Dr. Troy, whose acquaintance with the practical working of the system of ecclesiastical administration in Catholic countries was not inferior to his knowledge of its principles as set forth in the works of theologians and canonists.

13. But on the other hand, in the circumstances of the time it is surely not unnatural to suppose that the documents in which the decision of 1712 was communicated to some Bishop in Ireland, and indeed the memory of the decision itself, may soon have been lost. It is noteworthy, in regard to the decisions of the Congregation of the Council, above quoted, that, as Fr. Ballerini remarks, they seem not to have been known even to such eminent canonists as Schmalzgrüber and Pichler.

14. An explanation, however, of the origin of the practice so long followed, at least in Maynooth, has recently occurred to me, which perhaps it may not be out of place to set forth. But first it will be necessary to call attention to some other concessions of unquestioned authenticity granted in favour of the Irish Church.¹

¹ It may be of interest to old students of the College to learn that the particular difficulty raised in 1859, in reference to the mode of conferring orders in Maynooth was got over by transferring the Ordinations four days earlier in the year. Thus Subdeaconship, Deaconship, and Priesthood, were conferred on Pentecost Sunday, the following Monday, and Tuesday—three days plainly available under the *extra*

III.—THE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY URBAN VIII.

1. In the year 1623, on the petition of Dr. Fleming, then Archbishop elect of Dublin, setting forth the wants of the Irish Church, and the state of the different seminaries established in France, Spain, and Flanders for the education of its clergy, an Apostolic Letter was issued by Urban VIII. granting to these Irish Colleges most special privileges. In the first place the students of these Colleges were empowered to present themselves for ordination, without any of the canonical “titles”—such as benefice or patrimony, —and solely on the title of “the Irish mission.”

2. Secondly, the students were authorized to present themselves for ordination to any Bishop they might select, in communion with the Holy See, presenting merely the testimonial letters of the Rector of the Seminary, without “dimissorial letters,” or, as they are now not unfrequently called, “faculties for ordination,” from their own bishops.

3. Thirdly, in their favour, the law of *interstices* was altogether dispensed with.

4. Fourthly, a very large concession was made in reference to the *days* on which they might be ordained: they were empowered to receive Minor Orders *on any day or days whatever*, and Holy Orders on any Sundays, or holidays of obligation.

5. Fifthly, the privilege was extended to them of receiving even the Holy Orders on three *consecutive* days, a privilege rarely included, even when the privilege of ordaining *extra tempora* is granted, and the obligation of the canonical *interstices*, as laid down in the Council of Trent, removed.

tempora privilege, the Monday and Tuesday of Pentecost week being suppressed holidays.

This arrangement continued in operation from 1860 to 1872. It was then abandoned for the system of holding the Ordinations on fixed days at the very close of the Academic Year—an arrangement found to be in many ways most beneficial. The very special privilege necessary for this arrangement was, however, not granted without much difficulty by the Holy See. When, after two or three years, in circumstances to be explained at the close of this paper, this privilege was withdrawn, it became necessary to select days such as the Feast of St. John, on the 24th of June, (a suppressed holiday), and the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul on the 29th. These with the intervening Sundays furnished the requisite number of days, occurring pretty close together, but still, as regards general College arrangements, subject to the drawback of being spread over a somewhat inconveniently long period of the closing portion of the Academic year.

6. In regard to this privilege of receiving the three Holy Orders on *consecutive* days, some points of interest may be noted.

7. In the well known Decree of Innocent XII. regarding the concession and interpretation of privileges granted for Ordinations *extra tempora*, it is laid down that they are not to be granted for consecutive days, “*nunquam concedenda pro diebus festivis continuis, sed semper pro interpolatis aliquo temporis spatio arbitrio episcopi definiendo.*”¹

8. Even before the issuing of this Decree, the date of which is the 14th of December, 1693, those privileges, however ample in other respects, rarely contained any such concession.

9. Thus, as regards even the Colleges in Rome, the Indult² drawn up in favour of the German College in 1584 by Gregory XIII., and issued in 1588 by his successor, Sixtus V., has merely the clause “*extra tempora.*” So also the Indult of Gregory XIII. in favour of the English College (1579); and that of Clement VIII. in favour of the Scotch College³ (1600).

10. The few instances I have met with, in which the special privilege is granted of receiving the Holy Orders on consecutive days, serve only to indicate more strongly how exceptional was the favour conferred on the Irish Colleges by Urban VIII.

11. Thus, after the usual grant had been made in favour of the College of Propaganda by the same Pontiff, Urban VIII., at its foundation by him in 1627, communicating to it “the privileges enjoyed by the German, English, and Greek Colleges in Rome,” a special Brief was issued by the same Pontiff eleven years subsequently, granting, in terms almost identical with those of his Letter regarding the Irish Colleges, the privileges—including the clause “*continuis vel interpolatis diebus*”—with which they had been favoured in 1623.

12. It is interesting also to note that although the same most exceptional privilege was granted in favour of the

¹ See the Decree in LACROIX, Part. ii., n. 2295.

² It will be sufficient to state, once for all, that the documents here referred to will be found in chronological order in the *Bullarium Romanum*, or in the special *Bullarium* of the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*.

³ The privilege granted to the Rector, Students, &c., of the Scotch College is thus expressed:—“*Indultis . . . quibus Germanicæ, Anglicæ, et Græcæ nationum Collegia in Urbe instituta gaudent, . . . gaudere possunt et poterunt, &c.*”

English College at Douay, the grants were but for a time, usually for five or for fifteen years; and an Indult granted to it in 1767, subsequent to the Decree of Innocent XII. already mentioned (n. 7), not only omits the special clause allowing the ordinations on consecutive days, but inserts a contrary clause, "*non tamen continuis, sed semper aliquo temporis spatio arbitrio tuo definiendo interpolatis.*"¹

IV.—THE PRIVILEGES NOW IN EXISTENCE.

1. It now remains to examine whether, and how far, the special privileges, especially those granted by Urban VIII., are still in existence.

2. It might perhaps seem that, with the exception of the privilege of ordaining *extra tempora*, which is renewed every five years in the *Formula Sexta*, all the other special faculties granted by Urban VIII. were withdrawn in the early part of the present century. The letter addressed to the Irish Bishops in 1814 by Cardinal Litta, then Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, is not unfrequently regarded as a withdrawal of *all* the extraordinary privileges and faculties granted in favour of Ireland during the time of persecution. On reference to this document,² however, it will be seen that it regards only the special faculties granted by the then Pope, Pius VII., "*jam ab anno 1808 ob interclusam communicationem, difficilemque aditum ad S. Sedem,*" and has no reference whatever to those granted by other Pontiffs, or previously to the year thus named.

3. In regard to one of those privileges,—that which dispensed with the necessity of dimissorials—the present learned Bishop of Ossory, in his "*History of the Archbishops of Dublin,*"³ mentions the interesting fact that "Dr. James Daly, in a letter to the Archbishop of Paris in September, 1736, energetically protested against this privilege being made use of in regard to the students of his diocese, adding that the privilege had been accorded by Rome at most only for the times of persecution when there was no Bishop in Ireland."

4. The violence of the persecution which the Irish Church was undergoing in those troubled times was no doubt the motive of the concession as originally made;

¹ See the *Propaganda Bullarium*, Tom. iv., p. 114.

² See Dr. Renehan's *Collections on Irish Church History*, edited by the present Bishop of Kerry, Vol. i., p. 490.

³ *History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i., page 299. *Note.*

but, as Dr. Moran remarks, "the privilege was granted and re-sanctioned repeatedly, *without limitation*, for the greater advantage of Ireland, and hence should last until recalled by the Holy See."

5. The principle thus laid down is one that the canonists are practically unanimous in affirming. As to its application, it seems plainly to show that the privileges granted by Urban VIII., with the exception only of the special privilege dispensing in the necessity of dimissorials, which was recalled by Gregory XVI. in 1835, are still fully in operation.¹ It does not appear that any revocation of any of the remaining four has ever taken place.

6. It may perhaps occur to some of my readers that perhaps at least the privilege of receiving the Holy Orders on *consecutive* days had been cancelled by the Decree of Innocent XII. in 1693. The point, no doubt, is worthy of examination.

7. In the first place, then, it is to be remembered that the Decree of 1693 does not in any way purport to have a retroactive effect. The preamble recites that the special Commission by which the Decree was drawn up, had been appointed by the Pope to report on the form that should *in future* be followed in the *issuing* of such Indults—"ut referri possent quae ratio *deinceps* ineunda, modusque adhibendus videretur, in *concessione* similium Indultorum."² Whatever effect, therefore, it may be supposed to exercise as regards the ordinary Faculties of ordaining *extra tempora*, as granted in the *Formula Sexta*, issued at stated periods to each Bishop, it does not appear that it can in any way affect the concession granted in favour of the Irish Colleges nearly a hundred years before.

8. In confirmation of the view that this general restriction of the faculties subsequently to be granted should not be taken as affecting the special privilege in this respect conferred by the Holy See on the Irish Church, I would call attention to two points seemingly of much significance.

9. It is beyond question noteworthy that, as we have already seen, the privilege in question is one that was most freely granted in favour of the Irish Colleges, when it was withheld from the Colleges of other nations.

¹ See Most Rev. Dr. Moran's *History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, Vol. i., page 299; Dr. Renehan's *Collections*, edited by the Most Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, Vol. i., page 191; and the Propaganda *Bullarium*.

² See the Decree in Giraldis, *Jus Pontificium*, Part. 2, sect. 95.

10. But there is another point which must not be overlooked. We have seen that in the case of the English College of Douay, exceptionally favoured as it was, the concession of this privilege, although granted by special grace in the years preceding 1693, was in subsequent Indults not merely omitted, but was expressly excluded by the insertion of a clause of the most explicit kind. On the other hand, in the only instance that I have met with of a subsequent Indult regarding ordinations, granted in favour of an Irish College, the reception of the Holy Orders on successive days, so far from being excluded, is, on the contrary, expressly sanctioned by a formal and explicit concession. The document thus signally illustrating the special benignity of the Holy See in regard to the Irish Church claims at least a passing notice.

11. It is an Indult of Clement XIV. in favour of the Irish College in Rome. Its date is 1773. In it the Pope recounts that the Cardinal Protector of the College had sought for an extension of the privileges previously enjoyed by the College in regard to Ordination, so that these privileges might be available for those students who were obliged, from ill-health or other reasonable cause, to leave the College before the close of their College course. His Holiness, in granting the extension thus sought for, transcribes in full the Indults previously granted by Urban VIII. (1631), and by Innocent X. (1647), in favour of the College. In both of these the clause, "*continuis vel interpolatis*," is found. And, so far from excluding the renewal of this privilege, as was done in 1767 by Clement XIII., in the case of Douay, his Holiness grants in the fullest and most unreserved terms the extension, that was sought for, of the privileges *as previously granted*—"gratias omnes illius alumnis, *ut praeferitur*, attributas confirmantes, per praesentes decernimus, &c."¹

12. Thus, then, even over and above the reason mentioned above (n. 7), there are good grounds for supposing that the general Decree issued in 1693 should not be understood as affecting the privileges with which the Holy See had previously so specially favoured the seminaries of the Irish priesthood. But there is a still stronger reason for believing that the privilege in question, and—with the one exception, already mentioned, in regard to dimissorials—all the other privileges granted

¹ See Propaganda *Bullarium*, Tom. iv., page 158.

to the Irish Colleges by Urban VIII. are still in full operation.

13. It is a primary principle of legal interpretation, and, in fact, of common sense, that when two or more privileges have been granted by the same authority in the same document, the subsequent withdrawal of one, without any reference to the others, is a plain indication that the withdrawal of the others is not intended. Now, the five privileges which I have already enumerated were granted by Urban VIII. in one and the same document. This document is expressly mentioned by Gregory XVI. as the one in which the Holy See had granted the privilege regarding dimissorials, which he was about to withdraw. He then formally withdraws this one privilege, stating that he does so at the instance of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, who considered its withdrawal, in the altered circumstances of the times, expedient. Throughout the Decree there is not the slightest allusion to any of the four other privileges which had been granted at the same time and in the very document then before the Congregation. On what principle, then, could we suppose that they also had been withdrawn? Up to the issuing of the Decree of Gregory XVI. the privilege regarding dimissorials was fully available for the Colleges concerned. But for that act of the Supreme Pontiff it would be fully available to-day. How then can we come to any other conclusion regarding the other privileges, as to which the Pope took no action, than that they are still in full operation?

14. It may be well to transcribe the essential words of the Decree of 1835 :—

“*Litteris Apostolicis quae incipiunt Pius Christifidelibus* permisit [Praedecessor Noster Urbanus VIII.] ut Hibernensium Seminariorum alumni, quae in Hispania, Gallia . . . jam erecta erant, vel quae in posterum erigenda essent, etiam sine litteris dimissorialibus propriorum ordinariorum sed cum litteris testimonialibus Rectorum Seminariorum . . . ad omnes Minores et Sacros Ordines usque ad Presbyteratum inclusive possent promoveri. . . .

“*Archiepiscopis ipsis atque Episcopis Hiberniae ita precantibus, statuimus declarandum indultum ab Urbano VIII concessum effectum in posterum habere amplius non debere* . . .

“*Constitutionem igitur ejusdem Pontificis pro temporum necessitate datam abrogantes decernimus Seminaria Hibernensium . . . non gaudere amplius indulto, ut eorum alumni sine propriorum ordinariorum dimissorialibus litteris . . . ordinari possint, sed debere omnes et singulos . . . ordinariorum suorum dimissoriales litteras . . . impetrare, &c.*”

15. The Irish College in Rome is specially exempted from the withdrawal of even this privilege, and thus remains in full enjoyment of all those granted by Urban VIII. In addition, indeed, to the general concession of that Pontiff, regarding the Irish Colleges generally, a special Indult was granted by him in 1631 conveying the same privileges in a somewhat ampler form to the College in Rome. The scope of this Indult was still further enlarged by Innocent X. in 1647, and again by Clement XIV. in 1773. The documents may be seen in the *Propaganda Bullarium*.¹

16. Before passing from this subject I may refer to an interesting series of articles that I have recently met with in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, on the diocesan institutions and administration of Rome. In the section on the Colleges of the city, and their privileges, a distinction is clearly drawn between the less ample privileges of other Colleges and the more extensive ones enjoyed by the College of Propaganda and the Irish College. The writer, after explaining that many of the Colleges enjoy the privilege of having their students ordained *extra tempora*, and without dimissorials, goes on to say that in the case of the Irish College the privilege is more ample, "as the Indult is granted expressly even for three *consecutive* days." He adds that the students of Propaganda enjoy the same privileges.²

V.—THE COLLEGES COMPRISED IN THE INDULT OF URBAN VIII.

1. It seems to have been invariably assumed that the Indult of Urban VIII. was granted only in favour of Irish Colleges *abroad*. It is indeed not unnatural to suppose that these alone were in contemplation when the Indult was sought for and obtained. But so far as the concessions contained in it have not been revoked, it is obviously a matter of much practical importance definitely to ascertain for what Colleges these concessions are available.

2. On this point the document itself is singularly clear. The Pope begins by reciting that Thomas [Fleming], the Archbishop elect of Dublin, had sought for certain privileges in favour of the Irish Seminaries in France, Spain, and Flanders—"cum jam quamplurima," are the words of the Indult, "Deo coadjuvante, erecta sint, et plura in dies erigi sperentur." These privileges, as already enumerated

¹ Tom. iv., p. 158.

² *Analecta*, 2^{me} Serie, col. 2772.

the Pope grants, explicitly stating that the concession is made "*eorundem Collegiorum dictae Nationis in praefatis Regnis et Provinciis, ac aliorum ubique locorum fundatorum alumni . . . nunc et pro tempore existentibus.*" Or, as it is stated, in other words, in the revoking Decree of Gregory XVI., "*alumni seminariorum quae in Hispania, Gallia, Flandria, atque alibi, jam erecta erant, vel in posterum erigenda essent.*"

3. If then the limitation to Irish Colleges "abroad" has, as would seem to be the case, no foundation in the terms of the Indult, the question naturally arises, why should it not—subject, of course, to the withdrawal of the privilege regarding dimissorials by Gregory XVI.—be regarded as available for our Irish Colleges at home?

4. Two circumstances incline me to the belief that, at all events as regards our College of Maynooth, it was considered, when the College was established, that the concessions of the Indult were available.

5. In the first place, it is not easy to see on what other grounds the practice of ordaining "*ad titulum Missionis Hibernicae*" was introduced.

6. But secondly, and chiefly, I would note that in this, and in no other way, can we obtain a fully satisfactory explanation of the introduction, during Dr. Troy's episcopate, of the practice of holding the College Ordinations, not merely *extra tempora*, but on days that were not even "suppressed" holidays.

7. For probably the only copy of the Indult then accessible in Ireland was that printed in DeBurgo's *Hibernia Dominicana*; a book, I need not say, which Dr. Troy—himself a member of the illustrious order whose history in Ireland forms its subject—must naturally have held in more than common reverence. And the document, as printed by DeBurgo, if regarded as applicable to the new Irish College established at home, would fully authorise the very unusual mode of Ordination then established in the College.

8. The clause regarding the days of Ordination is printed in the *Hibernia Dominicana* thus:—

"*Alumni eorundem Collegiorum . . . ut unica duntaxat die, sive quatuor quibuscunque, feriatis vel non feriatis, etiam continuis vel interpolatis, ad sacros Subdiaconatus, Diaconatus, et Presbyteratus Ordines . . . etiam extra tempora ad id a jure statuta . . . Auctoritate Apostolica, tenore praesentium, de speciali gratia indulgemus.*"

9. When, some few years ago, in an application to Propaganda, reference was made to the fact that a privilege so ample as this had been granted in favour of the Irish Colleges abroad, by Urban VIII., the statement not unnaturally caused much surprise among the officials of the Congregation. Such a concession they knew to be altogether at variance with the established practice of the Holy See.

10. While search, however, was being made in the Roman Archives for the original text of the Indult thus quoted, special concessions were obtained for two or three years, through the influence of the late Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, authorising, from year to year, the conferring of the Holy Orders in Maynooth on three days, neither Sundays nor Holidays, at the close of the Academic year. The Indults thus obtained may probably be regarded as privileges without a parallel in the practice of the Holy See.

11. The search for the original text of the Indult was eventually successful. Its result, however, was to destroy the precedent supposed, on DeBurgo's authority, to have existed for the concession of so unusual a privilege. The announcement of the discovery of the document was therefore accompanied with an intimation from Rome that it would be useless to apply for the renewal of the special Indults granted in the preceding years: the Holy See could not consent to relax a provision of law, which had always been rigorously maintained even in regard to the most distant missionary countries.

12. The following is the correct text of the passage above quoted from the inaccurate version of DeBurgo:—

“*Alumnis eorundem Collegiorum . . . ut unica duntaxat die, sive quatuor quibuscunque, feriatis vel non feriatis, ETIAM CONTINUIS VEL INTERPOLATIS, ad quatuor Minores, et deinde tribus Dominicis vel festivis diebus, similiter CONTINUIS VEL ETIAM INTERPOLATIS, ad Sacros Subdiaconatus, Diaconatus, et Presbyteratus Ordines, absque aliquo titulo beneficii ecclesiastici vel patrimonii, sed ad tantum Missionis in Hiberniam titulum, etiam extra tempora ad id a jure statuta . . . minusque servatis ad id a Concilio Tridentino designatis interstitiis, . . . Auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium de speciali gratia indulgemus.*”

13. Transcribing it thus from the Propaganda *Bullarium* I would call attention to two points. First,—as a matter of critical interest—that the error of DeBurgo's scribe, or printer, is obviously to be traced to that most fruitful source

of transcribers' errors, technically known as *homoioteleuton*: hence I have indicated, by the use of special type, the two clauses, the similarity of which led to the mistake. Secondly—as a matter of practical importance—it will be noted that, so far as this privilege in its authentic form is available for any Colleges now existing, it authorises (a) the special ordination title of "The Irish Mission," (b) the fullest dispensation in *interstices*, (c) the conferring of Minor Orders on *any* convenient day, and (d) the conferring of Holy Orders *extra tempora*, even on *successive* days, provided of course that these be Sundays, or, at least suppressed Holidays of obligation.

W. J. W.

DOCUMENTS.

EX S. CONGREG. INDULGENTIARUM.

Decretum. Quo conceditur Indulgentia centum dierum recitantibus canticum *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*.

BEATISSIME PATER

Presbyter Dumoulin, ad SSmos provolutus pedes, humiliter exorat Sanctitatem Vestram, ut aliquam concedere dignetur Indulgentiam omnibus Christifidelibus, qui canticum recitaverint *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. in Audientia habita die 20 Septembris, 1879, ab infrascripto Secretario sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, universis utriusque Sexus Christifidelibus, qui corde saltem contrito ac devote Canticum B. Mariae Virginis, cuius initium *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*, devote recitaverint, Indulgentiam centum dierum, semel tantum in die lucranda, clementer concessit. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro, absque ulla Brevis expeditione, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem sac. Congregationis die 20 Septembris, 1879.

L. CARD. RANDI

A. Panici Secretarius.

[Our readers will be glad to learn from the foregoing Document that an Indulgence of 100 days is now attached to the recital of the *Magnificat*.—ED. I. E. R.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

 "DIRECTORIUM SEU ORDO."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR—I desire to call the attention of your readers to the *bulky* and *expensive* way in which our "Ordo" is brought out.

The one for this year contains close upon 400 pages, and of these no more than 150 are taken up by the Ordo proper, including a few necessary rubrics, the rest being devoted to *advertisements*, which for the great majority of priests have no interest whatever, and for this inconvenient volume we are called upon to pay 1s. 6d

Now, considering the large number of priests in Ireland, I think that they could and ought to be supplied with a handy volume, containing only what is necessary, at *sixpence*. If the publishers wish to make profit on it, as I suppose they are entitled to do, they should arrange to put all this extra matter into the edition prepared for the laity, viz., "The Irish Catholic Directory," for which they charge 2s. 6d., and let those who want such information seek it there. Other improvements might also be introduced into it, with advantage I think, but I content myself with objecting to the *size* and *price*. I may remark that the English clergy have their Ordo for sixpence, and if it be said that it contains less of necessary matter than ours, it should also be remembered that there are fewer persons to purchase it.

Regretting to have to trouble you about so small a matter.

I am, &c., W. O'B.

 THE INDULGENCED PRAYER "EGO VOLO CELEBRARE MISSAM."

[We have received the following interesting communication from a. respected clerical correspondent. It sufficiently explains itself, and serves to throw much light on more than one question of practical interest.—ED. I. E. R.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR—A certain Father of one of our religious orders, who was lately giving a mission in my parish, relying on the authority of Father Maurel's excellent, and otherwise generally accurate, work upon Indulgences, as well as upon that of several other writers on the same subject, stated in one of his instructions that there was an Indulgence of fifty years attached by Gregory XIII. to the prayer "*Ego volo celebrare Missam, &c.*," which priests are in the habit of reciting before Mass. Now, I was well aware at the time that this was an error, and I told him so, but it was not till after he left that I had an opportunity of looking the matter up. I subsequently wrote him a letter, which it has occurred to me you might admit into some future number of the RECORD, on the ground that it may serve to remove a very general error, and prove useful to many of your readers.

Beyond the mere question as to the Indulgence attached to the prayer "*Ego volo, &c.*," it may be a means of drawing the attention of the clergy to the far more important fact that Pius IX. has, by the Decree prefixed to the edition of "*the Raccolta*" of 1877, declared that edition to be a final authority in all controversies and doubts in the matter of Indulgences.—I am, Mr. Editor, yours faithfully,

J. S. F.

The letter alluded to runs as follows :—

DEAR FR.—With regard to the Indulgence attached to the "*Ego volo celebrare Missam*," as to whether it be fifty *years* (as most, or almost all, books have it) or fifty *days*, see the "*Raccolta*" the edition of 1877. This edition was formally approved by Pius IX., and is alone to be followed as authentic. "*Sanctitas sua*," so runs the Decree of 3rd June, 1877, "*expresse declarari voluit, ut praesens sylloge, cujus originale exemplar in archivo hujusmet S. Congregationis ad perpetuam facti normam adservari debeat, pro dubiis et controversiis dirimendis unice consulatur.*" Now at p. 335 of this edition of the "*Raccolta*" you will find it stated that the grant of Greg. XIII. is one of fifty *days*, and not *years*.

Canon Falise, of Belgium, perplexed between the books and the "*Raccolta*," had recourse to Rome. Here is his *dubium* and the response :—

Beatissime Pater—Joannes Baptista Falise, Canonicus Ecclesiae Catholicae Jornacensis in Belgio, ad pedes Stis. Vestrae pro-volutus, humiliter exponit quod in opere dicto: "*Raccolta di orazioni e pie opere colle indulgenze*" legitur Greg. XIII. Indulgentiam 50 annorum omnibus concessisse sacerdotibus, qui ante Missae celebrationem orationem: "*Ego volo celebrare Missam, &c.*" devote recitarent. Jamvero in ultima ejusdem operis editione, jussu S. P. Pii IX., Propaganda, anno 1877, facta, eidem orationi assignatur tantum indulgentia 50 dierum.

Hinc quaeritur cuinam versio standum sit? An prioribus editionibus; an vero ultimae? Quod Deus, &c.

R. Sacerdotes ante celebrationem sacri recitantes: "*Ego volo celebrare Missam, &c.*," lucentur indulgentiam quinquaginta *dierum* ex concessione Greg. XIII.

Ita reperitur in regulis Secretariae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem, &c. Ex secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 13 Januarii, 1879.

Loc. and Sig.

DOMINICUS SARRA, *Substitutus*.

I quote the above from the "*Revue Théologique*," published at Tournai. XI^{me} Année, No. 1. p. 37.

I think you will consider the point decided. If not, let me know where the crevice for fresh doubt is to be found.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

J. S. F.

[We may adopt as our own the reply which our correspondent received, namely, *causa finita est*.—ED. I. E. R.]

REPUBLICATION OF IMPORTANT OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

REV. DEAR SIR.—May I suggest to you the propriety of re-publishing in this new series of the RECORD, those documents issued by the Holy See and the Roman Congregations affecting moral questions of interest to Irish Ecclesiastics, which have already appeared in the former series. The old RECORD is a thing of the past for the great majority of us; and those comparatively few readers and supporters of your present most laudable undertaking who have the past series *complete*, may not unreasonably be expected to waive their objections in the matter for the general good. There are many who think with me that the supporters of the present RECORD will go on increasing in numbers every month, for reasons found in its character so far, as well as in the ever-extending taste for periodical literature, which is one of the characteristics of the day. If this opinion be correct, it gives an additional motive for reproducing these documents.—I remain, &c., &c.

[As soon as we shall have completed the publication of the official Documents issued by His Holiness Leo XIII., we shall take into consideration the friendly suggestion of our Reverend Correspondent with a view to republishing some of the more important Documents which have appeared in the first and second series of the Record.—
ED. I. E. R.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Little Books of the Holy Ghost. No. III. : The Lord's Prayer. By ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Translated, with Prayers added. By FATHER RAWES, D.D. Burns & Oates, London. 1879.

There is no prayer like the Lord's Prayer, and there is no author who has interpreted this prayer for us more fully than St. Thomas. Hence Father Rawes has done a good work not only for the servants of the Holy Ghost, for whom it is specially intended, but also for all Catholics who desire to know more of the meaning and of the efficacy of this perfect prayer, by giving them St. Thomas's interpretation of it translated into English.

The little book, which contains 140 pages, is enriched with prayers suitable to each petition, and with notes partly extracted from Father Hurter's works, and partly supplied by Father Rawes himself.

The letter of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Pastoral of the Bishop of Richmond recommending devotion to the Holy Ghost, which are found in its first pages, serve to make the little book still more interesting and attractive.

The Madonna ; Verses on Our Lady and the Saints. By the Rev. M. RUSSELL, S.J. Dublin : Gill & Son. 1880.

IN this little volume of beautiful poems Father Russell has given us a companion book to his well known "Emmanuel," and he promises to complete the trilogy by a collection of "Altar Flowers." It is quite unnecessary for us to say that the author of "Emmanuel" is a genuine poet, that is, a *seer* of visions of beauty, which he reproduces for his readers in simple and melodious song. This is a high gift to write fine poetry, and certainly its most worthy use is to weave a lily-crown for Mary Immaculate. We have in these songs about the Blessed Virgin and the Saints the pure wine of poetry that gives strength and gladness, not the fiery spirit that intoxicates and destroys. A coarse and sensual palate may not relish the flavour, but it will be a sweet draught for souls that thirst to satiate their love for God and heavenly things.

The first poem in the collection is a touching tribute to the author's uncle, the late President of Maynooth, a beloved, accomplished, and gentle-hearted priest, whom all the Church of Ireland mourns.

Properly speaking, however, the first of the series is "Our Lady's Magnificat," an outburst of exalted song, which fills the soul like the tones of a full-voiced choir chanting this the divinest of the Church's canticles. Then we have a "May Song" and a "Hymn to the Queen of May," which reminds us of the Tennysonian lay where the village maiden pours out her joyous ecstasies; but here the joy is not of earth, but of heaven, and we feel that it cannot perish with the May flowers, and will not be darkened by the shadow of an early grave. We have also several beautiful hymns to the Saints, a little gem "To my Angel," that breathes a fervent childish love, and a beautiful poem "To my Three," the boy-saints of the Great Order—Aloysius, Berchmans, and Stanislaus—who seem to have never borne the burden of flesh in this world.

These poems have many beauties: they are simple, devotional, musical, and eloquent of the heart's purest and deepest emotions. They are sure to be eagerly and generally welcomed in convents, schools, and private families, wherever devotion to Mary is cherished. The book will no doubt be specially welcomed by the *Enfants de Marie*, whom we should much prefer to call "Children of Mary," seeing that the French never loved Mary better than the daughters of Ireland, for she was for them "Mary my Treasure," "the Pulse of my Heart," in the woful centuries of the past, and she will always be their treasure in the future.

The work is beautifully brought out by the Messrs. Gill in the same style as "Emmanuel."

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1880.

ST. PAUL AND SENECA.—No. I.

FEW traditions are more interesting than that which prevailed almost unquestioned from the time of St. Jerome to the sixteenth century, about certain relations of communication and correspondence that were believed to have existed between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the philosopher Seneca. For many ages it retained its hold upon the belief of the Christian world. At one time it was believed not only that St. Paul and Seneca had met in Rome, not only that a certain epistolary correspondence had passed between them, but also that Seneca had bowed his intellect before the teaching of St. Paul, had become a Christian, and had introduced Christian teaching into his philosophic writings. About the sixteenth century, however, there arose in every department of human thought a critical spirit that had little reverence for the opinions of past ages, that questioned every tradition, and that seemed to cherish as its peculiar possession that iconoclasm that loves to dethrone those venerable images that have influenced the opinions and captivated the imaginations of bygone generations. This tradition of which we write shared the fortune of others that were more momentous. It was called into question, and subjected to the most rigid scrutiny. The supposed correspondence, which is still extant, was declared spurious. The authority of St. Jerome, on which to a large extent the tradition based itself, was found to be not quite so decisive of the question as men had hitherto imagined. The philosophical writings of Seneca were examined with a view to show that, even though, occasionally, separate passages of Seneca, especially if removed from their con-

text, have a marvellous likeness to certain points of Christian teaching; yet, taken as a whole, nothing is more alien to the spirit of Christianity than that proud philosophy which, however it might make a hero, could never hope to make, and never aimed at making, a Christian saint.

But the tradition has not died without a struggle. It had too strong a hold upon the imaginations of men to be dislodged easily; and as criticism advanced in its attacks from stage to stage, it was met by certain modifications of the original theory; and it was hoped that the inner substance of the tradition might be preserved by giving up certain portions that were no longer tenable.

It is easy enough to see how naturally such a tradition would make a home for itself in the Church; and how men—even those who either had not examined the proofs on which it rested, or on examination had found them unsatisfactory—should yet have hesitated before they gave up to the tender mercies of a criticism with the spirit of which they had no manner of sympathy, a theory which was graceful in its conception, not impossible in any of its circumstances, not improbable in many of its details, and which, even if it continued to be received with what might be called unscientific credulity, could do no possible harm to any one who received it. It went some way to supply a gap which the historical student has always lamented in the story of the early Church. It brought back into light those points of contact between the higher thought of Paganism and the Christian teaching—points that, owing to the inexplicable silence of contemporary pagan writers with regard to a subject of such transcendent importance, have been left in hopeless obscurity. But stronger still was this tradition in its appeal to human sentiment. Broad contrasts have always had a peculiar fascination for the imaginations of men. They have loved to contemplate Marius sitting amid the ruins of Carthage—Belisarius begging his bread at the gates of the city he had saved—Boethius hurled from a happiness that seemed more than earthly, to a depth of wretchedness which only philosophy and religion could assuage. Now the tradition that brought into close connection men so widely different in the character of their minds and in the fortune of their lives as St. Paul and Seneca, was so rich in varied contrasts, that it was always certain to secure for itself a certain amount of credence, almost entirely irrespective of any critical evidence that could be adduced in its behalf. Nothing could well be conceived

in more striking contrast than the position of St. Paul on his first visit to Rome—a stranger, a prisoner, a member of a hated race, associated by the very circumstances of the appeal that had brought him to Rome, with the internal disputes of a despised religion—and the position of Seneca, the tutor and minister of Nero, renowned for the political skill that was the one guarantee of anything like stability in those unquiet times, but still more renowned as the worthy successor of those philosophers whose lives and thinking had added dignity to human nature—and most of all renowned as the writer of those admirable treatises that draw to them, down to the present day, the admiration of men.

This is the first contrast that gives a certain piquancy to the tradition of which we treat; but there are others not less striking. What could be more different than the sublime purpose that animated the large soul in the small body of the Jewish stranger, and the wild, worldly, and vicious aims that had no bond of coherence except the unity of vice, and that shed such lurid light over the seething sea of corruption that had its springtide in the court of the bad Emperor, who, at this very time, had added to his other wickedness the portentous crime of matricide? What could be more interesting than to trace, by any of the means which tradition supplies, the relations that were established between the preaching and personal influence of an apostle, and the corrupt society in which he found himself; and is it any wonder that a tradition, such as that with which we are at present concerned, on however slender grounds it may first have based itself, should have grown and flourished, enriched by successive additions from the imaginations it captivated, until the middle ages saw in Seneca a complete convert to Christianity, and pretended to trace in his acknowledged writings the manifest influence of the Epistles of St. Paul?

We propose, then, to examine this tradition on its historical foundations—to trace the course which it pursued—the various modifications which it underwent: in short, to give a brief but faithful *resumé* of what has been written on the subject.

In carrying out this design, we intend, for sake of convenience, to divide the subject into the following paragraphs. (1) The possibility of intercourse and correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul. (2) The probability of such communication. (3) The growth and history of

this tradition from the time of St. Jerome down to the seventeenth century; and from that to the present day. (4) We shall examine briefly the evidence of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Tertullian, the epistles themselves which have been handed down. (5) We shall enter into the very interesting question, how far can we trace in the undisputed works of Seneca the influence of Christian teaching. The discussion of the first two paragraphs will give occasion to introduce certain circumstances connected with the life and preaching of St. Paul; and it will be found that though these may seem to be digressions from the main subject of this paper, yet they are more interesting than the subject itself, and serve, at all events, to show the precise historical foundation upon which this tradition rests. The other paragraphs will enable us to discuss the positive proofs advanced in favour of the tradition; and will thus put the reader in a position to draw his own conclusions.

(1) The possibility of certain personal relations between St. Paul and Seneca. St. Paul came first to Rome, A.D. 61.¹ He was then about 59 years old, having been born about the year 2. He landed at Puteoli on the Gulf of Cuma, not far from Baiæ, about 130 miles from Rome. The circumstances of his coming were these. St. Paul having accomplished his mission in Asia and in Greece, returned to Jerusalem at Pentecost, A.D. 58. He had by his zeal, and by his success, rendered himself specially odious to the Jews, and no sooner had he appeared in the temple than they laid hands upon him, and would probably have slain him, but for the intervention of the Roman soldiers. This was not the first time he had been attacked by the Jews, for already, five years before, A.D. 53, at Corinth, he had been brought by a rabble of the Jews before the pro-Consul Gallio, and accused of teaching a worship of God contrary to the law. It was the custom of St. Paul, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, to betake himself, in whatever city to which his mission led him, first to the synagogue of his Jewish countrymen, who, at this, time were to be found in every part of the civilized world. To them, first, was the Gospel to be announced, and the early training of St. Paul fitted him admirably to make the announcement. His intimate and expedite knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures enabled him to appeal in the most convincing manner to

¹ Without entering into any of the chronological controversies connected with the life of St. Paul, which would be utterly beside our present purpose, we merely select the dates that seem to us sufficiently probable.

the fulfilment of ancient prophecy in the person of our Lord; and both among the Jews themselves, and among the proselytes they were accustomed to gather around them, St. Paul, almost invariably happened upon "men of good will," who found his appeal attractive and his arguments unanswerable. But all were not men of good will, and to no mind was the preaching of Christ crucified, and crucified by his own nation, more bitterly irritating, than to the mind of a bigoted Jew, who revered the prophets, and yet refused to see the fulfilment of their prophecies; who had eyes that would not see, and ears that would not hear. Accordingly, as a general rule, the preaching of St. Paul provoked dissension in the synagogues, and the dissension often swelled into a tumult, which surged like an angry sea around the person of the Apostle.

It was so on this occasion at Corinth, and he was carried with tumultuous uproar, before the pro-Consul Gallio. Now this Gallio was the brother of Seneca, and this arrest at Corinth is the first link in the chain of the tradition that would fain bring the Apostle into personal relations with the philosopher. Conjectures have been advanced that Gallio not only protected St. Paul, and Christianity in his person, from the fury of the Jews, but also that he took occasion to send to his brother the sacred writings that were appealed to in the controversy. There is not a vestige of proof that he did so, and as for his protection of St. Paul, it would seem, from the account given in the Acts of the Apostles, to have been merely the effect of the contemptuous indifference of an honest Roman for the internal disputes of a religion which he despised; and concerning which no possible dispute could in his mind, be worth the shedding of a single drop of human blood.

A somewhat similar scene was enacted at Jerusalem on the occasion to which we have referred. Paul was accused of troubling the exercise of Jewish worship through the entire world, and also of having violated the sanctity of the Temple by introducing strangers (Acts, chap. xxiv. ver. 5). On this occasion, however, there were circumstances that made the situation of the Apostle more critical, and his danger more imminent than they had ever been before. There his accusers were not a mere sect, despised by the foreign races amongst whom they lived in sufferance, but the Jewish nation, at home in the Holy City, represented by their accredited leaders, the Sanhedrim and the High Priest. The circumstances of our Lord's

Passion are enough to show that, though a Roman governor might be profoundly indifferent to questions arising out of the Jewish religion, yet he might, on occasion, deem it expedient to sacrifice a life to appease the factious turbulence of the people whom he governed. St. Paul, on this occasion, does not seem to have owed his safety to any contemptuous indifference to the religious question at issue, on the part of the Romans, but simply to the right to which he appealed—the right of a Roman citizen. Rome was chary in bestowing such a right, but prompt in recognizing it, and strenuous in upholding it once it was bestowed. In the most distant quarters of the world the man invested with that dignity walked in conscious security that no power could oppress him with impunity, and that his voice, however feeble, could reach even to the throne of the Emperor. St. Paul was brought to Cesaræa before the Governor, Claudius Felix, a man of remarkable fortunes—the husband successively of three queens, and who owes to one of the biting sentences of Tacitus, an immortality of infamy:—“Felix, per omnem saevitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit.” “Felix in cruelty and lust exercised the power of a king with the disposition of a slave.” Felix at first adjourned the case. His Roman training had given him no clue to follow the intricacies of such a controversy, and he called in the aid of his wife Drusilla, who was of Jewish birth, to enable him to unravel the tangled skein of a discussion on points of Jewish religion. St. Paul improved the occasion, in a manner worthy of an Apostle, by speaking in presence of both, of two virtues in which they were signally deficient—justice and chastity, and of the judgment of God. Even the worldly Felix was moved, but on his light inconstant mind the impression was not lasting, and his thoughts seem to have turned quickly away from the questions at issue, to the possibility of extorting from St. Paul a bribe for his release. St. Paul, accordingly, having no inclination to obtain his deliverance by bribery, remained two years in bondage. Felix was removed from his post, and was succeeded by Festus, who, on his arrival, was importuned by the Jews to gratify them by putting Paul to death. His Roman sense of justice was too keen to allow him to celebrate his accession by shedding blood, in a case which he had not examined; and even the examination he was disposed to adjourn, on the ground of his incompetence to decide the questions at issue. He proposed to remit it to the Jewish

tribunals. Here St. Paul appealed, as a Roman citizen, to Cæsar, and as a matter of course, his appeal was allowed. In the meantime, King Agrippa came to visit Festus, and at his request, heard Paul's defence, and was so convinced of his innocence that he would have set him at liberty, had not the case passed, in consequence of the appeal, out of his jurisdiction. But we may well suppose that, under the circumstances, the report sent with the appeal, after the usual forms, was eminently favourable to the cause of the Apostle.

It is highly probable that St. Paul's appeal had been prompted, at least in part, by a desire to carry out a long cherished design of visiting Rome. In the providence of God, his work lay there, and it mattered little to him whether he went there bond or free, provided he were put in position to carry out to the full the arduous mission with which he had been entrusted. At all events he landed, after a very eventful voyage, at Puteoli, in the spring of the year 61. Few scenes can be more interesting to picture in imagination, than that landing of St. Paul. It was the most beautiful season of the world's fairest spot—rich with the wealth which nature lavishes, and richer still in the historical associations that outrival even the attractions of nature. On every side were evidences of the later Roman luxury, that found its most congenial haunts along the waters of that beautiful bay, which had not, at this time, known, nor was to know for yet eighteen years, the terrors of the eruption by which that luxury was so fearfully visited. St. Paul came, poor, lonely, and a prisoner—yet was he no stranger in the land to which he came. His name and his fame had gone through all the churches, and wherever there was gathered together a Congregation of Christians, the name of Paul stirred their hearts to enthusiasm. Accordingly, no sooner had he landed, than he was met by the Christians of the neighbourhood, who longed to look upon the face of one of whom they had heard so much, and who had special claims on their hospitality, as the writer of that magnificent Epistle to the Romans, which had already contributed so largely to their Christian culture. Here he remained for seven days, and then set out for Rome by the Appian Road. Already had his coming been announced in Rome, and at the Forum Appii, which readers of the Classics will remember as the second stage of Horace's celebrated journey to Brundisium, he was met by crowds of enthusiastic

Christians, who came to give him welcome to the city, Ten miles further on—at the Three Taverns—another band joined them, so that, captive though he was, his entry into the city was, in some sort, a triumphal procession.

Here, then, is laid the first stone of the tradition. St. Paul was in Rome, and Seneca was in Rome—a slight relation enough, but one which is much strengthened by the curious coincidence that the prefect of the Prætorian guard, to whose special charge St. Paul was committed, was no other than Burrhus, the fellow-minister and life-long friend of Seneca. St. Paul at this time remained two years in Rome under the charge of Burrhus, and during all that time Seneca was a prominent member of the Emperor's court. From this detail of the circumstances under which St. Paul came to Rome, it will be seen not only how possible it was that he may have been brought into personal communication with Seneca, but also how natural it was that a report of such communication should have arisen.

(2) But is there any probability that such communication took place? Of course if Gallio had written to his brother about his interview with St. Paul, and still more, if he had sent him any of the Sacred Writings, nothing would be more likely, and few things more certain, than that Seneca and St. Paul would have been brought into personal communication. However, we have seen that these things are based on mere conjecture, and cannot afford any grounds even of probability. The relations between Burrhus and St. Paul on the one hand, and between Burrhus and Seneca on the other, afford far better grounds, and afford if not proof, at least no insignificant degree of plausibility to the historical theory that brings St. Paul and Seneca into intimate personal communication. Burrhus was the Prætorian prefect who was responsible for the safe keeping of Paul. He was also, and had been for many years, the colleague of Seneca in the difficult task of managing the capricious Emperor. Indeed to their influence may be mainly ascribed the patience of the Roman world under the infliction of such a monster, and when Burrhus died, and Seneca had been removed by compulsory suicide, the reign of the bad, and, indeed, in historical charity one should say the mad, Emperor came rapidly to a close. Now, it is almost beyond question that Burrhus must have come into personal contact with his prisoner, and what more likely than that he should have been struck by one who was certainly the most remarkable prisoner of whom he ever had had charge, or what

again more likely than that he should have mentioned him to Seneca, whom he must have known as a man remarkable for nothing more than for his keen interest in the questions which Paul's conversation would be likely to raise in the minds of his hearers. Certainly St. Paul was not without exciting the curiosity, not only of the Christians and the Jews, but also of the Roman soldiery. We are told in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians that his captivity contributed to the furtherance of the Gospel, and that "his bonds were made manifest *in omni Prætorio*." The Prætorium mentioned in this passage was probably not the "Court," though that is the translation in our Douay version, nor was it the Prætorian Camp, but probably a guardhouse of the Prætorian soldiers within the city.

Now, it is interesting to recall the manner of St. Paul's captivity. He was not confined in any prison. To a certain extent he was free to carry out his own purposes. He selected for himself a lodging where he resided. Yet he was in custody and in bonds, for wherever he went he was accompanied by a Roman soldier, who was bound to him by a chain, arm to arm, and as these soldiers were often changed, and as each was led into scenes that would to him have all the impressiveness of novelty, and was brought within the hearing of things which would be utterly foreign to any of his former experience, it was no wonder that the sayings and doings of the remarkable prisoner should have become a common topic, not only in the guardroom, but in the Prætorian Camp itself. Even if Burrhus had not been brought by any duty of his own into personal communication with his Jewish prisoner, it is highly probable that he would not fail to have been made acquainted with a matter that excited such interest amongst his soldiers, and that he would have sought a personal interview with one who made such a vivid impression even on the coarse minds of the Roman legionaries. Whether St. Paul made any converts among the soldiers we do not know. Nothing is in itself more likely than that here also he reaped some harvest. That his intercourse with his military keepers was not without its effect on himself we have very interesting and very conclusive evidence in the familiarity which he manifests in many of his Epistles, and especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians, written during this captivity, with the terms of Roman military art. Indeed this familiarity has given rise to an opinion very ingeniously supported,

that St. Paul in early life was a member of the military profession; but in the minds of most men his acquaintance with military life and his fondness for military allusions will be sufficiently accounted for by his long and close companionship with the Roman soldiers during this his first Roman captivity.

It is certain that he made converts in the Imperial Court. In the Epistle to the Philippians, chap. iv. we read: — “All the saints salute you, especially those that are of Caesar’s household.” This very passage has been supposed by the upholders of the tradition we are discussing to have a particular reference to Seneca amongst others. But even were the expression applicable to persons holding in Caesar’s court so high a position as Seneca held (and this is what the best commentators deny), there is nothing in the passage that will prove it to have any special reference to Seneca.

There is a certain class of evidence adduced in this controversy which it will be interesting to examine. It is formed from certain circumstances in the life and character of St. Paul, and in the life and character of Seneca; and it is adduced for the purpose of showing that there is what may be called a certain degree of intrinsic probability in the theory that St. Paul and Seneca had personal communication with each other. The main proof of such intrinsic probability might be derived from the character and culture both of the apostle and the philosopher. Once the possibility of personal intercourse between two men has been established, the fact of such intercourse becomes more probable in proportion as there is found in them such qualities and such culture as would be likely to form in them an attraction for each other. Was St. Paul, then, even before his arrival in Rome, specially interested in Pagan philosophy and secular learning to such an extent as would make him naturally seek the acquaintance of a man so eminent as Seneca in these departments? This question has been the subject of a controversy so interesting in itself that we shall make no apology for discussing it briefly.

The birth and early education of St. Paul at Tarsus would have given him an opportunity, than which there could scarcely be one more favourable, of acquiring a knowledge of Gentile philosophy. Tarsus, which has been well described as “the Marseilles of the East,” was the emporium of every kind of commerce, literary as well as other. A busy multitude of comers and goers thronged the

port. The intellect was stimulated by constant collision. Philosophers by profession had their chairs in the city, and their renown, as well as that of its grammarians and rhetoricians, had spread even to Rome. Many critics have been of opinion that the active mind of Saul had availed itself largely of these sources of secular knowledge, and that when he afterwards spoke in a celebrated passage of the relation of Christianity to the "Greeks" and to the Jews, his judgment was informed by as minute and extensive knowledge of the philosophy of the former as it undoubtedly was by an exhaustive knowledge of the sacred writings of the latter.

On the other hand, however, there are no light reasons for considering that Saul, in his studious youth, made little or no use of such an opportunity. He was a Jew of the strictest sect, and the Jews, who at this time united in themselves two tendencies that would at first sight seem incompatible—a tendency to extensive colonisation, and a tendency to extreme exclusiveness—kept themselves studiously aloof from the peoples among whom they dwelt. For the Gentile population they had nothing but hatred—for the Gentile philosophy they had nothing but contempt. At no period of their history had the Jews been remarkable for their openness to foreign influences, literary or philosophic; and it is likely that the circumstances of the later days, that made them see a necessity for dwelling among the Gentiles, would only intensify their resistance to the influences which they were forced to feel. It was not likely that a father like the father of Saul—a father who destined his son for a high place in the Jewish synagogue, and who intended (and carried out his intention in Saul's sixteenth year) to send him to Jerusalem to sit at the feet of Gamaliel—it was not likely that he would have sullied the purity or dimmed the brightness of that young Hebrew spirit by a course of secular instruction most alien to his national and religious sentiments. The Jews, at this time, had broken down many of the barriers that, in olden time, had so rigorously fenced them in from the Gentile races of the earth. Greed of gain, already developed in the national character, had drawn them out of the sacred circle of the Holy Land, and placed them in thousands up and down upon the highways of commerce, and in the cities of the world. Leave had, of necessity, been given them to trade with the Gentiles, and as a necessary corollary to use the language of the peoples among whom they found

themselves. But in their own homes they still clung to Jewish usages, and around their own hearths the music of the old Hebrew speech was oftenest heard; and it would appear likely that Saul, when he left Tarsus for Jerusalem, carried with him, of Gentile knowledge, only such skill in Greek as would have resulted from the daily use of a language which was never used except by a necessity which every true son of Abraham deplored. In the school of Gamaliel Saul was not likely to make himself a proficient in Grecian philosophy. His time there was spent in acquiring that marvellous and expedite knowledge of the Scriptures which, in his facile hand, was afterwards so effective a weapon against his Jewish countrymen. After his conversion, A.D. 34, he returned to Tarsus, and remained there some months. He might then have entered more freely than before into intercourse with the Gentiles; but under the circumstances, as, indeed, under any of the circumstances in which the Apostle found himself during the remainder of his busy life, it is hardly to be supposed that he would have set himself to any systematic study of Gentile philosophy. We know that the Fathers generally did not hold the opinion that St. Paul was specially versed in Grecian philosophy or in Grecian literature. St. Chrysostom blames those who place St. Paul (considered merely as a philosopher) above Plato. St. Jerome notes the occasional incorrectness of his style, and attributes it to the want of literary culture. St. Irenæus is of like opinion; and, in later times, Bossuet says of him—perhaps with some of the exaggeration of the orator—“He is a barbarian who cannot cover with the flowers of rhetoric the unprepossessing face of his Gospel. The delicate ones of the world, whose ears are nice, are offended by the harshness of his irregular style.” What is more to the purpose, St. Paul himself declares in a memorable passage that his “speech and his preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom,” and he professes that he knew nothing but “Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.” Hence on this point we may well conclude that no proof of intrinsic probability of relations between St. Paul and Seneca can be drawn from any special culture of the Apostle of Gentile philosophy.

We now turn to the life of Seneca to determine whether there was anything in the circumstances of that life, in his character, or in the special turn of his mind that would attract him naturally to such a man as St. Paul. We shall give some brief details of his life, and here again, we shall

make no apology for a digression so interesting in itself as the career of one who was in later days, the most eloquent exponent of all that was good and great in the time honoured philosophy of the Stoics.

Seneca was born, probably, a year after the birth of St. Paul, A.D. 3, at Cordova, in Spain. From his father he inherited a taste for rhetorical studies, in fact a rhetorical spirit that breathes in every one of his works from first to last, giving them in the opinion of his admirers that peculiar keenness that makes his words stick and stay in the minds and memories of his hearers; and giving them, in the eyes of his detractors, that high flown and epigrammatic flavour that displeases the unsophisticated literary palate. In early life he excited the jealousy of Caligula, retired in consequence from the practice of rhetoric, and betook himself to the study of philosophy. Even as a young man he exhibited a rare and singular blending of enthusiasm for the pursuits in which he was engaged, and a sound common sense that prevented that enthusiasm from interfering unduly with his practical success in life. He was first a Stoic, pure and simple, then he became a Pythagorean and a vegetarian. His father warned him to take care lest his ascetic practices should bring upon him the suspicion of Judaism, a fact which incidentally reveals that much more than might have been supposed was even then known, about the inner life of the Jews. He accordingly somewhat modifies his asceticism, but never seems to have lost hold of the principle that has made itself a home in the best specimens of the human mind, that bodily mortification tends to elevate the soul. In the year 41, Seneca was exiled to Corsica, on a charge which is contradicted both by the general tenor of his life, and by the favour to which he was afterwards restored. He spent eight years in exile, and doubtless these years were, so to speak, the seed-time of his life, and formed in him those philosophic principles that do honour to his writings and his name. In the barren solitudes of that lonely island, far removed from the evil influences that ruled the Imperial world, he had leisure to conceive and to mature treatises which show a marked advance, both in philosophic thinking and in literary style. He was recalled from exile, and by the influence of Agrippina, was appointed tutor to Nero. He became prætor A.D. 50; amassed wealth largely, advanced in political influence, and began to make his mark upon the world around him. He emancipated himself gradually, but surely, from what

may be called the inhumanity of Stoicism, and applying, as best he could, his warmest admirers must admit not always consistently, his principles to practical life, he became in philosophical matters a professed eclectic. He says of himself, "*non enim cuiquam me emancipavi, nullius nomen fero*" (Epist. 45); and in another passage which describes most accurately his peculiar literary method he says:—"I pass from camp to camp, not as a deserter but as an explorer." He seems to have recognized teaching as his special vocation, and had a love of knowledge, not so much for its own sake, as for the sake of being able to communicate it to others. His political life is, on the whole, creditable to his character. It is true that like most practical politicians he yielded more than once to the temptation of sacrificing principle to expediency; and in the memorable instance of such weakness, his writing an apology for the murder of Agrippina, may be seen the one great blot upon the life and character of Seneca.

Still his influence was, as a general rule, employed for the public good, and there can be no question that the prudence and moderation of his political counsels retarded by some years the catastrophe which, shortly after his removal, overtook the wickedness of Nero. At the time St. Paul came to Rome, Seneca was, to all appearance, at the height of his power and the fulness of his influence, but in reality that influence was greatly weakened, and already in the mind of the Emperor the causes were at work that led in no long time to the removal of Seneca, first from the Imperial Court, and then from the stage of existence. St. Paul left Rome, honourably acquitted, A.D. 63. Seneca retired from the Court A.D. 62, and ended his life A.D. 65.

From this brief sketch of his life we may draw these conclusions, which will help, in some degree, to guide us to a judgment in the present matter. Seneca was eminently impressionable, was of an encyclopædic turn, had a singular openness to the reception of new views, had the spirit of an Eclectic, and would be naturally disposed to investigate such social and mental phenomena as would be presented to his mind by any report, whether from his brother Gallio, or from his friend Burrhus, about the sayings and doings of a man so remarkable as the Apostle St. Paul. He would be naturally likely to welcome a new teaching, let it come from what unlikely quarter it might, even from a quarter so disliked and so despised as the Jewish quarter of Rome. He was too flexible—and that

flexibility was, as predominant qualities often are, the root at once of his mental strength and of his mental weakness—he was too flexible to be the ardent partisan of any school. He began as a Stoic of the Stoics; he gradually emancipated himself from the hardest dogmas of that stern sect. As he said of himself in words before quoted, “he bore no master’s name.” And this it is, perhaps, that accounts for the coldness and even the hostility with which he was regarded by contemporary or nearly contemporary writers. Tacitus, indeed, speaks highly of Seneca, and praise from that stern historian is a patent of moral nobility; but Dion Cassius assails him with bitterness, and Antoninus, the last and the noblest of the Stoics, passes him by in silence, which must be regarded as studious, since it could not possibly have been accidental. For our own part we will say, that there is scarcely anything in Latin literature for which we hold a warmer regard than for the writings of Seneca. One conceives for the writer of the best portions of them a sort of personal affection, and even after all those years, the spirit of life breathes still, and the heart of a man still beats in these old-world essays.

J. F.

ST. COLUMBA AT BOYLE.

IN the very ancient life of St. Patrick known as the “Tripartite,” we are told that when he visited Moylurg, in crossing a ford on the River Boyle (Buil) his chariot was upset, and he himself was thrown into the waters. The ford was for that reason called Ath Carbuid, the Ford of the Chariot, and lies near the waterfall of Eas-Mic-Neirc, now Assylin. The Saint blessed the upper or western part of the river, foretelling that “a Son of Life should come there in after years who should like fruitful water at his place.” The ancient annotator informs us that St. Patrick here referred to Colum Cille, son of Fedhlimidh, at Ess-mic-N’Eirc. This prophecy was fulfilled when St. Columcille founded his monastery at Eas-mic-N’Eirc, before he left Ireland for Iona in 563, in fulfilment of the penance imposed on him by his Confessor, the monk Molaise, famed for his knowledge of Holy Scripture, whose name is known and fondly cherished, and whose ruined monastery is still visible

on the island of Innishmurry, on the coast of Sligo, belonging to the parish of Ahamlish, diocese of Elphin.

St. Adamnan, the cousin and successor of Columcille as Abbot of Iona, in his delightful and edifying biography of the Saint, refers more than once to his presence at Boyle. Thus he gives us a "Prophecy of the holy man regarding the Poet Cronanus." "At another time," writes Adamnan, "as the Saint was sitting with the brothers near Lough Cè (Key), at the mouth of the river called in Latin Bos (Bo), an Irish poet came to them, and when he retired, after a short interview, the brothers said to the Saint— 'Why have you not asked the poet Cronanus before he went away to sing us a song with accompaniment.'¹ The Saint replied, 'Why, my dear children, utter such idle words? How could I ask that poor man to sing a canticle of joy, who has now met with an untimely end at the hands of his enemies?' The Saint had just said these words, and instantly a man cried out from beyond the river: 'That poet who left you in safety a few minutes ago is now dead, having been killed by his enemies.' Then all that were present wondered very much, and looked at one another in amazement."

This anecdote reminds us that St. Columba, like many other great saints, as St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Paulinus of Nola, the friend of the poet Ausonius,² was a poet. Indeed, St. Patrick had foretold this when his hands fell on the head of the ancestor of the Cinel Conell, and he said:—

"A youth (*i.e.*, Colum Cille) shall be born of his tribe,
Who will be a Sage, a Prophet, and a Poet."³

He was also through life the friend and protector of poets and bards, whose influence was so powerful in ancient Erin, and who, as we also learn from Adamnan's narrative, were to be met with on the public roads, as well as in the palace of the prince. These bards were clearly great travellers. They seem to have gone their circuits with the regularity of our Judges. Thus we read in the Annals of the Four Masters, that "Melaghlán, son of Loughlin O'Mulconry, died while on his bardic circuit through Munster." It is a singular and curious coincidence to find

¹ See chapter on Irish National Music, in Hist. of Music, by Dr. Renahan, President of Maynooth.

² St. Paulinus, *Carmina*, X., 18.

³ Hennessy's Tripartite, in Sister M. F. Cusack's Life of St. Patrick, p. 435.

the last and not the least of the Irish Bards, leading the same troubadour life, going the same bardic circuit, and wandering along those same roads round Boyle, nearly a thousand years after the death of the unfortunate minstrel Cronanus. Provided with a horse, a harp, and boy, by the MacDermot of Alderford, in the Barony of Boyle, Torlogh O'Carolan made his circuit through the counties of Leitrim, Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, becoming the honoured guest of the oldest families, celebrating their praises in those beautiful pieces of music which still live in popular tradition, some of which have been wedded to the immortal melodies of Moore. It may be remarked, in passing, that it was in the town of Boyle, of a night, Carolan composed his unrivalled piece, the "Receipt for Drinking," over a bowl of that favourite Uisquebaugh, to which he is said to have been unduly attached, and sang and played it the following day in the house of his friend and frequent host, Mr. Stafford, of Portobello, near Elphin. At Alderford he played his last piece, the well-known "Farewell to Music." When he felt his death-sickness coming on him he betook himself to that hospitable mansion. He was received then as always, with true Irish warmth and welcome, by Mrs. MacDermot, still in the health and spirits of youth, though bearing the burden of four score years. Like another "Latest Minstrel," his trembling hands wandered feebly at first over the strings of his harp, till at length the fervour of other days was enkindled,

"The old man raised his face and smiled,
And lighted up his faded eye
With all a poet's ecstasy,"

and he played the Farewell to his long-loved art in a strain of tenderness and feeling that drew tears from the eyes of those who heard him. He was borne immediately to a bed from which he never rose; he was carefully tended by his best benefactress, Mrs. MacDermot, and was interred in Kilronan, in the vault of the MacDermot Roe.

Montalembert refers to the incident which we have quoted from Adamnan. He says of Columba—"Himself a great traveller, he received the travelling bards in the different communities where he lived; among others in that which he had built upon an island of the lake which the Boyle traverses before it throws itself into the Shannon. He confided to them the care of arranging the monastic and provincial annals, which were to be afterwards deposited in the charter-chest of the community; but above

all he made them sing for his own pleasure and that of his monks; and the latter reproached him energetically if he permitted one of those wandering poets to depart without having asked to hear some of his chaunts accompanied by his harp. The monk Columba was a poet. After Ossian, and his glorious compeer of the Vosges, he opens the series of two hundred Irish poets, whose memories and names, in default of their works, have remained dear to Ireland."¹ We are led to admire, too, the gentleness, the familiarity with his monks, the tender regard for the feelings of others, of this great man, sprung from the royal race of Niall, the nephew or near cousin of seven monarchs, himself possible heir to the throne, and even then the founder of a crowd of monasteries.² "Weep with the unhappy," was one of his own maxims quoted by Montalembert. This practice of the great Saint, in causing poets to sing for himself and his monks, reminds us also of the constant and serene joy of those monks of old, so often represented as sad and gloomy ascetics. As St. Chrysostom says so beautifully, "They had no sadness: They waged war with the devil as if they were playing—(ὡς περ χορεύοντες, as if dancing);³ or, as a poet of our own day, Lord Houghton, expresses the same idea:—

"They went about their greatest deeds
Like noble boys at play."

Among the qualities of sainted abbots and holy monks, we find it related that they were gay, joyous, amusing, loving to laugh, "jucundus, facetus." "See," wrote that great monk, St. Anselm, "with what lightness the burden of monastic life is borne, by Christians of each sex, of every age and condition, who fill the whole earth with their songs of joy."⁴

St. Adamnan, almost the contemporary of St. Columba, again tells us, that "At another time also, when the Saint was stopping some days near Lough Cei (Key), he prevented his companions from going to fish as they desired, saying: 'No fish will be found in the river to-day or to-morrow: I will send you on the third day, and you will find two large river salmon taken in the net.' And so after two short

¹ Monks of the West, vol. iii., book ix.

² Colum-Cille, Eo quod multarum Cellarum, i.e., monasteriorum institutor, fundator, et rector fuit. Notker Balbulus, Martyrol. 9th June.

³ St. Joan. Chrysost. in Math. Homil. 69. Ed. Gaume vii. 770.

⁴ St. Anselm, Epist. ii. 12.

days, casting their nets, they hauled in two of the most extraordinary size, which they found in the river Bo."¹

From these incidents recorded in that biography which is regarded as one of the most ancient and authentic relics of Christian history, *St. Adamnan's Life of St. Columcille*, it appears that Boyle, and particularly the neighbourhood of Lough Cè were favourite resorts of Columba. We have visited the spot where the Saint conversed with the poet Cronan, the place, as Adamnan tells us, where the Boyle river enters the western extremity of the lake, when the groves were vocal with the song of blackbird and thrush, and the clear note of the cuckoo, heard through glade and dell, woke the echoes of the hills around. The scene is one of sweet and quiet loveliness. Not grand or wild, but extremely beautiful and picturesque, is the view from the margin of the crystal lake glowing in the evening sun, the emerald hills around, and wooded islands on its bosom flinging their shadows over the sunlit waters. To such scenes of sweet repose and sylvan beauty memory often bore the illustrious exile in after years, from that "sad and sullen" island of the wild Hebrides, which bears his name, in which he became "an exile for Christ." To that loved and lovely lake, those sweet and secret cells on Inchmacnerin and at Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, on the green and fertile banks of the swift-flowing Boyle, he goes back in spirit, when he weeps that "He can no longer sail on the lakes and rivers of his native land, nor hear the songs of the swans of Comgall, nor the wind sigh among the oaks, nor the song of the blackbird and cuckoo." The memory of those scenes of tranquil beauty must have mingled in his mind, with his dear monastery at Durrow, and his beloved oak-woods of Derry, when the sainted exile of Iona penned those poetic messages by returning travellers to his forgotten Erin, which are still extant, in his native Gaedhlic.²

Lanigan, who is very sceptical with regard to many of the foundations ascribed to St. Columba, expresses no doubt as to the establishment by him of the monastery of Eas Mic n 'Eirc.³ O'Donnell⁴ in his life of the Saint tells us that he dedicated the place to God, and placed Dachonna over it as superior. Colgan, who gives the life of St.

¹ Book ii., c. 19.

² Diversa poemata S. Columbae, patrio idiomate scripta extant penes me. Colgan, Trias. Thaum., p. 472.

³ Ecc. Hist. ii., 133.

⁴ L. ii., c. 104.

Dachonna at the 8th of March, says that he was more generally called Mochonna, but that his real name was Chonna. In the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerys, at the 8th of March, he is styled Mochonna Mac Eirc, Abbot of Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, in the county of Roscommon. In the Feilire Aenguis of the same day, the place is distinctly called Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, *i.e.*, the Cataract of the Son of Eirc, namely Dachonna. The author of a Life of St. Columba, quoted by Colgan, also calls him Dachonna, and says that St. Columba erected a monastery at Eas mic n 'Eirc, and gave him the care of it. Colgan further informs us that he was of the family of the chieftain of the place, whose name was Erc, and that he was renowned for his virtues and miracles, "*Sanctitatis laude, et miraculorum gloria ipsum claruisse.*" We may here admire the admirable dispensation of Divine Providence, in thus drawing from the family of Erc, who offered the most stubborn opposition to the grace of the Gospel and the preaching of St. Patrick,² the patron Saint of their territory. Maelmaire O'Gorman, who compiled his Martyrology, "when Rudhraidh (or Roderick) O'Conor was monarch of Erin," mentions two Saint Chonnas, one at Boyle, at Eas mic-n 'Eirc, the other at Eas-Roe, on the north bank of the Erin. The latter was son of the provincial King of Ulster, and followed St. Columba into exile, becoming one of his most ardent and devoted disciples.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that St. Columba founded a monastery at Eas mic n 'Eirc on the banks of the Boyle river, over which he placed St. Dachonna as Abbot; but the actual site of this foundation has been mistaken by many writers of great authority, through want of actual and familiar acquaintance with the localities round Boyle. Thus the learned Colgan, and after him the acute and accurate Lanigan, say it was the same monastery, which many centuries later, fell into the possession of the Cistercian Order, and became so famous under the name of the Abbey of Boyle: "*Eas mac Neirc, Monasterium ad ripam Buellii fluvii in Conacia. Hodie vocatur Monasterium Buellense, estque ordinis Cisterciensis.*"³ Dr. Charles O'Conor, grandson of the celebrated Charles O'Conor, of Bellinagare, writes—"The ancient monastery of Boyle was founded by St. Columba, and called Eas-mac-n 'Eirc, a name which it derived from its pleasant situation, near a

¹ A.A. SS. Hib. p., 565.

² Hennessy's Tripartite, p. 411.

³ A.A. S.S. Hib., p. 411.

cataract about a mile from where the river Boyle discharges itself into Loch Cé. The Cistercian Monastery of Boyle was founded, not exactly on the site of the ancient monastery, but not far from it, in the year 1161." Ware¹ thought that this place might have been the same as Inchmacnerin, an island in Lough Key. D'Alton, in his History of the Barony of Boyle, tells us that "St. Columba erected a noble monastery, where the ruins of Drum still mark holy ground, and near the fall of water whence it took the name of Eas-mac-Neirc." Montalembert, following the authority of Colgan, makes the site of the Columbian House the same with that of the Cistercian Abbey. "On the banks of a cascade," he writes, "formed by the Boyle, as it throws itself into the lake (Lough Key), rises another monastery founded by Columba, and which became in 1161, a celebrated Cistercian Abbey, the Abbey of Boyle."² But it may be clearly shown that Eas-mic-n'Eirc is not the Great or Cistercian Abbey of Boyle, which during its early history is styled in our Annals Mainister Atha da laarg, *i.e.*, Vadum duarum Furcarum, Ford of two Forks, though afterwards, more generally, the Abbey of Boyle, Mainister na buille. The ancient name of Drum, referred to by D'Alton as the site of the monastery of Eas-mac Neirc, was Drumconnell, and the place was founded by St. Counell or Connell, brother of St. Attracta of Killaraght. The notion of Ware cannot be admitted, as Eas-mic n'Eirc is never spoken of as an island, but is said by all the old writers to be near the river Buill (Boyle). But there was on Inchmacnerin a House also founded by St. Columba. This island, now called Church Island, is near the western shore of Lough Key, and north of Trinity Island, and contains upwards of four acres. Many records of it, under its ancient name, Inchmacnerin, occur in the Annals of Boyle, and the Annals of Lough Key are held by many to have been compiled there. The tradition of the place has it, that the ruined church, which still remains, was founded by St. Columcille, about the same time that he founded Eas-mic n'Eirc. We find in the Calendar of the O'Clerys, at 22nd Sept., "Barfion Mc Ernin, son of Ernin, of Inis MacErnin, in Lough Cé, in Connaught." It is clear from O'Donnell's Life, that St. Columba founded a house on one of the islands of Lough Cé, sometime about the year 550, for he speaks of the Saint as staying on an

¹ Antiq., chap. 26. at Roscommon.

² Monks of the West, vol. ii., p. 115

island in Lough Key, in Connacht. "From this notice," says O'Curry, "as well as from several other references that could be adduced, it is certain that Saint Columba founded a monastery on an island in Lough Cé,"¹ which was anciently called Inchmacnerein, now Church Island. The ruins of the Columbian monastery are yet to be seen on the island. They consist of lofty and extensive walls, amidst an intricate mass of rocks, trees, dwarf ash, and thorns, closely bound together by tendrils. But it is at least equally certain that this house was not the monastery of Eas-mic n 'Eirc.

O'Donnell, in his *Life of Columkille*, clearly points out the site of Eas-mic-n 'Eirc: "*Inde ultra Senanum versus occidentem progressus, pervenit (Columba) ad eum locum, cui praeterlabentis Buellii fluminis Vicina Catharacta nomen fecit Eas-mic-Eirc, eumque Deo sacrauit.*"² This, beyond all doubt, is the place now called Assylin, situated on the north bank of the river Boyle, about a mile west of the town.

It is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 748, that "Fursa, of Eas-mic-n-Eirc died. (Eas-mic-n-Eirc on the Buill, at this day Eas-Ui-Fhloinn.)" From this entry we see, that Eas-Ui-Fhloinn, which has been anglicised into the present form Assylin, is identical with Eas-mic-n 'Eirc. In the year 1209, we meet the record—"Flaherty O'Flynn, Coarb of Dachonna of Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, died." In the *Irish Calendar of the O'Clerys*, as we have seen, the Saint is styled Machonna Mac Eirc, Abbot of Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, in the county of Roscommon; and in the *Feilire Aenguis*, the place is distinctly called Eas-mic-n 'Eirc, namely Dachenna, from whom it was afterwards called Eas Dachonna, the patron saint of the locality, Mac N'Erc being the saint's patronymic name, *i.e.*, the son or descendent of Erc. In the year 1222, we read of the death of Maelissa O'Flynn, Prior of Eas-mac n 'Eirc." At the year 1207, we are told that "Cathal Carragh, son of Dermot, took a great prey from O'Flynn of the Cataract" (Ua Fhloinn Eassa). In Macgeoghegan's translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ann. 1315, we are told that "Rorye O'Conor caused to be assembled from all parts his forces, and with them encamped at Ballymore O'Flynn, and made little respect of the reverence due to the churches of Kill-Athraeta and Easse-da-chonna." The *Annals of*

¹ MS. Mat., p. 112.

the Four Masters relate that "Dermot More, son of Dermot O'Connor, was slain at Eas Da Conna, on the river Boyle." In an Inquisition of the reign of James I. the place which was called Ballymore O'Flynn in 1316, is called Ballymore Assylin, showing that Ballymore was church land belonging to this monastery.

It is clear, then, that the ancient Eas-mic n 'Eirc, the site of the monastery founded by St. Columba, is identical with the present Assylin, which is nothing more than a modern anglicised form of Eas-ui-Floinn, the name which the place acquired in later ages, from the family of O'Flynn, whose name we find so often mentioned in the Annals, in connection with it, and who were the hereditary Eranaghs or Wardens of the Church, and the Comharbas, or lay-incumbents of St. Dachonna. It is situated opposite the cataract, about six furlongs west of the town of Boyle. It is at least a mile from Ath-da-laarg, the site of the Cistercian Abbey, and two miles from Drumconnell, the site of St. Connell's church, both of which are on the opposite side of the town. It is about a mile from the estuary from which the river issues out of Lough Gara. Here, close beside the river where it makes a sweep to the left, and immediately after widens into a little lake, and where its banks swell into gentle knolls, covered with deepest emerald, stand the ruins of the ancient monastery of Assylynn. Opposite to the ruins, the river rushes over the rocks with considerable velocity, and at one place still forms a small cascade,

"With one short rapid, where the crisping white
Plays ever back upon the sloping wave
And takes both ear and eye."

This cascade, which gave the place the names of Eas-mic n 'Eirc, Eas Da Chonna, and Eas Ui-Floinn or Assylynn, O'Flynn's Cataract, its present name, was in ancient times much larger, and has been nearly removed by the wearing down of the rocks, as will be seen on examining the place. The waterfall was under the present railway bridge, whose very capacious single arch here spans the Boyle river. The foundations of the old church, and a great portion of one side of the walls still remain. The walls are massive, built of large hewn stone, two and a half feet in thickness. In parts, they rise in detached masses, to a height of twenty feet. The choir measures sixteen yards by eight, and the aisle twenty-five by eight. All the casings of windows and doors have been carried away. A burial ground,

which has recently been largely increased, enclosed with walls, ornamented with trees and walks, surrounds the ivy-covered walls of the ruined church of St. Dachonna-mac-n'Eirc. From the crest of the hill, on the slope of which the monastery stood, extensive prospects open across the river and towards the plains of Boyle, the town itself standing in the valley, with the river winding towards it, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills. Even to-day it is a sweet spot, wearing an aspect of indescribable calm, a meet retreat for holiness, a fitting site for the cell of seclusion, solitude, and prayer. As we walked by the murmuring cascade, when the evening sun was sinking to its rest, the shadow of the great saint, next to Patrick in the reverence and love of Irish hearts, for us made the ground holy. Memories of him, of Saint Dachonna and their holy brotherhood, clung to those old walls, within which many a world-weary soul

“Had passed into the silent life of prayer,
Praise, fast, and alms.”

Reflecting on the labours of those ancient monks, and particularly on the glorious works of the Apostle of Caledonia, we could enter into the feeling which moved the Protestant Johnson to exclaim: “I never read of a hermit, but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery, but I fall on my knees and kiss the pavement.” It was not without a pang of pain we learned, that before the building of the present Protestant church in 1770, Assylin had been the Protestant place of worship. Was it not enough to have driven out the old monks from their loved cells, and to have seized upon their lands, which the self-styled Church of Ireland, in part, still holds? Was it necessary to desecrate the ancient sanctuary hallowed by so many cherished memories, by the novel rites of modern religionists, celebrated in a tongue, whose first low Germanic element had not yet been heard in the forests of Britain, when Columba first consecrated it to God in the Catholic language of Rome? The words of one of the poems of the Poet-Saint, spoken of another of his Irish Sanctuaries, occurred to us:—

“My dear little cell and dwelling,
Oh God, in the heavens above!
Let him who profanes it be cursed.”¹

The retreats of piety and learning founded by Columba,

¹ Reeve's Adamnan, p. 288.

Dachonna, and their successors, at Eas-mac n'Eirc and Inch mac Nerin, have been destroyed. The lands bequeathed by Christian charity, cultivated and made fruitful by the toil and sweat of many generations of unwearied monks, have been torn from their rightful owners. Their sanctuaries have been profaned, even their ruins have been almost obliterated—

“*Vix reliquias, vix nomina servans.*”

but the names and memories of those sainted and heroic men have not faded from the hearts of the people. The enduring effects of the labours of those great Irish Saints remain indelibly impressed on the faith, the manners, the customs of the Irish nation. They remain in the purity of their homes, in their salutations, every one of which is a prayer or a blessing, in their changeless adherence to the old faith of Patrick, Bridgid, and Columkille, in their deep reverence and love for their priests and for all who wear the venerated habit of monk or nun. To-day, after nearly 1300 years, there is no cabin in Ireland in which the saintly memory of Coluncille is not preserved, enshrined in faithful hearts, his name loved, and his prayers invoked. In our own time, a writer of world-wide fame, the eloquent Montalembert, has added fresh lustre to the fame, and fresh glory to the name of Columba, to the history of whose life and labours he has devoted nearly the whole of the third volume of one of the greatest works of the nineteenth century, “*The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard.*”

J. J. K.

REVIEW OF DR. WARD'S ESSAYS ON THE CHURCH'S DOCTRINAL INFALLIBILITY.

THE contrast between the activity of the Church in Ireland and in England for the last thirty or forty years is very remarkable. With us in Ireland all energies have been directed to the practical work of getting our house in order, and repairing the ravages left in its external appearance by the evils of the penal times. We have had no large differences of opinion, nor opposing schools of theology, and the current of men's thoughts has run with so even and uniform a flow in the same channel that one might mistake its peace for intellectual stagnation: whereas in England

they have had activity enough, which at times broke into rough and dangerous controversies.

Yet when we come to judge them we must bear in mind that the keenness of their discussions arose from their practical bearing, and whatever wrong or extravagant opinions got a footing amongst them were attributable mainly to a mistaken judgment in trying circumstances.

It is not long ago since a similar state of things existed in Ireland; and the use that was made by Mr. Gladstone in a recent controversy of the writings of "J. K. L." brought it unpleasantly to our minds. In the days of Dr. Doyle many of the ablest of our fellow-countrymen were led to take a low and un-Catholic view of their duties to the Holy See and of its prerogatives, in the hope that such a concession to Protestant prejudice would smooth the way for a relaxation of the Penal Code. They were the "minimizers" of those times, and their course of action, however well meant, was wrong and misguided, and led to bitter and angry dissensions.

A recollection of these things may well temper our views with regard to the dissensions which have arisen amongst English Catholics, some of whom have published opinions on important and vital doctrines that fill us with amazement and regret. These opinions and the disputes to which they led were the outcome of peculiar circumstances too difficult for mere human judgment, unless shaped and guided by the unerring instincts of the Catholic Church.

Since the Tractarian Movement there has been a continuous accession to the Catholic Church in England of a race of converts, in their general characteristics unique in the history of the Church, and in many respects the superiors of any body that has ever been received into it. They were men exceptional in learning, in culture, in intellectual power and activity; and in the enthusiasm with which all these faculties and attainments were devoted to the service of religion, I doubt if the history of the Church affords a parallel for such a body of converts. Now men of that stamp could not rest in their new position. They could not settle down, like simple emigrants, merely to live in their new land, but set to work with renewed vigour to examine, explore, and analyse the regions of thought which constituted their religious "environment."

And naturally, too, they all looked back to those whom they had left. Many of them had come far on the journey, and unaccountably stopped short, and there was even some

reason to hope that the "leaven had leavened the whole mass," and that corporate re-union of the entire Anglican sect with the Holy Catholic Church was within the bounds of probability.

This hope of the salvation of their brethren was good and holy, yet it was the source of a great temptation. Those who had removed many of the obstacles which "low Protestantism" had kept in the way of return to the Church, and the converts who desired to help and hasten it, naturally directed their attention to that point of Catholic doctrine which must ever be the substantial difficulty of every Anglican—the necessity of full and entire submission to the whole teaching of the Catholic Church. It was simply the desire to extenuate this doctrine for the benefit of their Protestant brethren that made the special temptation of English Catholics. The writers of the *Home and Foreign Review*, the liberal Catholics who re-echoed the opinions and principles of Montalembert, the unionists within the Pale—all had this error in common. They were on slippery ground. There is always the danger that the man who begins by "minimizing" for others may come to believe only the "minimum" himself, and end a great deal lower down.

Now Dr. Ward, in the Volume of Essays which he has reprinted from the *Dublin Review* under the name which is at the head of this article, sets over against these various phases of thought, the different aspects of the "one great truth available against them, that the whole Magisterium of the Ecclesia Docens is simply infallible; and that an entirely unreserved submission to that Magisterium is a duty no less incumbent on the ablest and most thoughtful philosopher, than on the most ignorant peasant."

It would be simple presumption for me to speak of his ability to treat this great subject. He has made it his special study for years, and has brought to its mastery and exposition literary power of the highest order, and rare theological training and knowledge. He has moreover received from the highest authority in the Church, the most consolatory and encouraging testimony. In his preface he places that testimony, which is no less than a letter from our late Most Holy Father Pius IX., on the most permanent record in his power.

"We congratulate thee, beloved son," writes the Holy Father, "that having been called into the light of God's sons thou labourest to diffuse the same light over the minds of others, and that having

been received into the bosom of Holy Mother Church, thou studiest to exhibit and illustrate her holiness, and to assert the divine authority of her supreme Pastor, to vindicate his prerogatives, to defend all his rights. . . . The unwearied labour with which for many years past, thou hast applied all the gifts of ability, knowledge, erudition, eloquence, given thee by the Lord, to supporting the cause of our most holy religion, and of this Apostolic See, plainly shows the faith inherent in thy heart, whereby thou art pressed to redeem the past time, and to atone for any controversy formerly perhaps undertaken in behalf of error, by alacrity and strenuousness in defending truth."

To this splendid testimony Dr. Ward is able to add that of our present Holy Father Leo XIII., who in conferring on him the Commendæ of the Order of St. Gregory, commissioned the Card. Secretary of State to write that "the distinction is conferred on you in testimony of the great satisfaction with which the Holy Father sees a Catholic layman employing the lights and talents which Divine Providence has bestowed upon him for the defence of the rights of the Roman Pontiff, which have been violated, and for the diffusion of the doctrines against which the self-called philosophers of our times direct their attacks."

The whole "Magisterium" of the Church then which Dr. Ward undertakes in these essays to exhibit and illustrate as the *regula proxima fidei*, imposing on us in his view, an immense and almost indefinite intellectual captivity, is exercised in various ways, which, however, all may be classified under either of two heads.

To the first belong those definitions concerning Faith or Morals, which are pronounced from time to time by a General Council, or a Pope teaching *ex Cathedra*, and these may be called the Church's Definitional Magisterium. To the second belong the various acts of teaching in the everyday life of the Church, by which the knowledge of the true faith, and the principles of Christian morality, and the practices of Christian duty are continuously brought home to the faithful. This latter is called the *Ordinarium Magisterium*, and for it to its full extent Dr. Ward claims the prerogative of infallibility no less than for the solemn definition of the Church. Paraphrasing a passage from Perrone, he thus describes the scope and character of this Magisterium.

"Catholics throughout the world are instructed in certain doctrines, are exhorted to certain practices, are encouraged and trained in certain tempers and dispositions. The Church's office in providing for this is no other than her Magisterium, whereby, as

Fr. Perrone expresses it, she leads them by the hand, as it were, along the path of eternal salvation. Now firstly, when we say that the Magisterium is trustworthy, we mean that the doctrines so taught are true, that the practices so inculcated are really serviceable for sanctification, and salvation, that the tempers and dispositions so encouraged are really acceptable to Almighty God. Fr. Perrone, however, pronounces not merely that her Magisterium is trustworthy, but that it is infallible. For the truth of this proposition that the Church is by Divine promise infallible in her whole Magisterium I argue in more than one part of these Essays."

This conception of the Church as a living "Magistra," taking her children by the hand, and training and guiding them, is as familiar to the simple faithful, as the homeliest practice of devotion; and even those of us who have more or less studied the Constitution of the Church as expounded in Theology, would hardly find a reason to hesitate in accepting to the full this idea of her Magisterium. It is true, as Dr. Ward remarks, that the subject is not treated as fully and methodically as one could desire in the great treatises on the Church; perhaps because no difficulty had arisen about it; but no one can deny that at least in general outline they all assume the doctrine which Dr. Ward here expounds, and for the truth and importance of which he argues throughout these Essays.

Yet in our time amongst the vagaries of some of our English Catholics has been a denial of this Magisterium Ordinarium; and amongst non-Catholics, an ignorance of it, as an integral part of the *regula proxima fidei*, which thus constitutes the teaching office of the Catholic Church, a living, breathing system, as distinguished from a set of dead formularies, has led to vain attempts at corporate re-union on a basis utterly impossible.

Against all those Dr. Ward's argument is most important and telling. It goes to the very root of the question. When Dr. Pusey proposed a re-union of the Anglican sect to the Holy Catholic Church, on the basis of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, setting aside her living and practical teaching, he simply asked the Church to renounce one part of her infallible Magisterium to which he objected, and admit him to the fold on the acceptance of the rest.

It was necessary then for a correct idea of the Church to vindicate the truth and importance of her "Ordinarium Magisterium;" and this is done with great learning, and most convincing argument in the Historical Essays of this volume. It would be impossible in a short notice of this

kind even to summarize their reasoning. They will well repay perusal, not only for the masterly overthrow of the non-Catholic theory, but more especially for the solid and permanent contribution which they make to Catholic Theology. And Dr. Ward may fairly claim in his preface that, although much has been written on both sides since these articles originally appeared, the Catholic additions do not supersede them, nor the anti-Catholic arguments tend to invalidate their force.

The evidence for the personal and living character of the Church's Magisterium in the Apostolic Church, and the subsequent centuries, is put together with learning and force, and leads to the conclusion which is drawn from various aspects of the argument that the reasoning which evinces that the Church is infallible at all, evinces directly not that she is infallible in her Decrees, but that she is infallible in her *Ordinarium Magisterium*. The following passage will illustrate his style.

"In the Apostles' lifetime the Church was one infallible society. But their death caused no change in that particular; therefore she is one infallible society still. She inherits then not some other infallibility, but that infallibility which was first granted. Now, in what sense, in what respect, was the Apostles' Church infallible? Most undeniably, most obviously, in this precise respect of the *Ordinarium Magisterium*. On the great mysteries of faith there were no explicit decrees at all during the Apostles' life, and some years of their government elapsed before there was any Ecumenical Council whatever. Yet no one will deny that the faith of Christians then rested on a secure basis. We drew out just now what we meant by the Church's infallibility in her ordinary Magisterium. Every syllable of that description applies precisely and accurately to the Apostolic period. Individual teachers were, of course, liable to error, because not one out of a thousand disciples received his full course of instruction from an inspired Apostle. In particular places again fearful corruptions of doctrine might arise; for did not the great body of Galatian converts fall from the faith? But throughout the Church there was a large mass of practical guidance, both in doctrine and in spirituality, given to the faithful, with full knowledge and approval of the Apostles. It was precisely the infallibility of this guidance which was the infallibility of the then Church."

No one can fairly question the validity of this argument, and against non-Catholics it is simply final; but when Dr. Ward proceeds by a similar train of thought, and from the same premises to determine against "minimizing" Catholics the extent of that infallibility, I venture to think that there

is a fallacy in his reasoning. He describes very fully what may well be supposed to have been the course of action pursued by a Christian teacher in the Apostolic period towards a recent convert. It included various acts of practical guidance, such as warnings against dangers to faith in certain books and certain practices, words of advice in difficult circumstances, and a variety of other such directions as in every age the authorities of the Church have had to give to their subjects. It is obvious what Dr. Ward had in his mind when drawing out this description. He was thinking of the condemnation of the Augustinus of Janse-
nius, the "Mirari Vos" against Lamennais, the Munich Brief. Now, to prove to Catholics who deny that the Church's infallibility extends to these things, by assuming as a matter of fact that they came within the sphere of that infallibility of the Apostles which the Church has inherited, is simply to beg the question. Whoever denies it in the case of the living Church, will hardly allow you to assume it as a matter of course in an Apostle. If he could show that an Apostle not only gave such guidance to the faithful of his time, but claimed infallibility in giving it, then the argument would stand. As it is, I venture to question its conclusiveness.

But the principle which underlies the argument all through Dr. Ward's writings is perfectly sound—that the Church's infallibility is co-extensive with her claim; and therefore we must look to the recognised channels through which the Church puts forth her claims to determine what is the precise extent of the infallibility of her *Ordinarium Magisterium*. We know for certain that there is one unfailing "note" of infallible teaching in the Church dispersed, and that is—universality. The *Ordinarium Magisterium* is exercised by the *Ecclesia Docens* dispersed, which inherits the infallibility of the Apostolic Church, and the sphere of its exercise is Catholic tradition.

That ordinary *Magisterium* then is concerned, not only with deductions from the deposit, but proposes doctrines of the deposit itself to be believed *fide divina*, for so it is expressly taught by the Munich Brief to which Dr. Ward frequently refers. And hence we can conclude that whatever is taught or believed throughout the universal Church as *de fide*, or as obligatory in belief, is such to the extent precisely that the belief of all the faithful reaches. For not only is the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin so proposed to us as of faith, but also her Assumption is taught authori-

tatively. It may or may not be definable, but no cordatus Catholicus thinks himself free to deny its truth, as it is proposed to him by the ordinary teaching of the Church. We come then to another class of truths, about which it is not easy to speak with confidence, and on which Dr. Ward does not give us a quite satisfactory theory. They are those which he describes as taught practically, if not explicitly, by the pastors of the Church. His instance is the doctrine that souls in Purgatory suffer pain analogous to that of fire on the body:—

“It cannot, we think, be fairly denied,” he writes, “by any one that the bodily torment inflicted by fire is placed before the whole Catholic flock with full knowledge and approval of Pope and Bishops as a representation of purgatorial suffering. We infer from this, as the Church’s infallible teaching, that the souls in Purgatory undergo a keen anguish, of which a true idea is imparted by the analogy just mentioned.”

And in reference to this and similar doctrine on other points he remarks, that they are taught not as *de jide*, as that is not necessary, but as indisputably true.

Now on the face of it there is nothing objectionable in this theory, but in the practical application of it the difficulty is to determine what constitutes exactly “practical teaching” on the part of the Church. The tolerance of certain books of devotion; the prevalence of certain pictures conveying a particular idea, can hardly, except under very rare circumstances, be sufficient to commit the the infallible Magisterium of the Church to the doctrine which they convey. We require some tangible means of determining when a particular “teaching” is that of individuals; and when it is the responsible teaching of the Church. It is quite true that in every part of the Church there is to be found a great deal of infallible teaching through the Ordinarium Magisterium; and on the other hand it is equally true that there is hardly a part of the Church where some superstitious or otherwise erroneous view of doctrine does not obtain. What is the practical test by which we can distinguish true from false, the Church’s infallible teaching, from human error? Unless universality I do not know a reliable note, and Dr. Ward does not suggest another.

But when we descend from the first division of the triple sphere in which Dr. Ward contends, and rightly, that the Ordinarium Magisterium of the Church works, and pass from doctrine to practices, how are we to determine those

which are guaranteed to us by that *Ordinarium Magisterium* as really serviceable for sanctification and salvation?

No doubt the use of the Sacraments, the liturgies of the Church—her ceremonial—the principles of morals, all these are brought home through her *Ordinary Magisterium* to the knowledge of the faithful, and in this teaching, apart altogether from her definitions, the Church is infallible. And indeed it is safe I should think to assert, that whatever practice is sanctioned throughout the universal Church, and everywhere imposed upon the people as obligatory, or recommended as useful to sanctification, must be really so, otherwise one should hold that the entire body of the faithful might be led astray in the practical end for which the Church exists.

But over and above those practices which are everywhere inculcated throughout the Church, there are numberless devotions taking a more or less deep and wide hold upon the faithful, and varying in different times and places. How do these stand, and to what extent do they fall within the scope of the *Ordinarium Magisterium*? It is quite true that the definitional infallibility of the Church may be pledged to some of them indirectly by the formal sanction of the Pope, but that is not the question here. Our inquiry now is, to ascertain in what precise circumstances we can pronounce that a particular practice of devotion is an outcome of the Church's infallible teaching.

Reading some of Dr. Ward's *Essays on the Eirenicon*, an impression is left on one's mind that he would include amongst the practices infallibly authenticated for us, many that really have no claim to such authority. He suggests rather than asserts this view, and it is remarkable that throughout the whole volume we are told very little about what he would exclude from the object of this *Magisterium*. His tendency is to give the largest possible extent to its operations. To interweave our lives, and all our operations with the guiding, but restraining influence of an ever-living and energizing teacher, who makes our whole existence an intellectual captivity. No doubt the captivity imposed on us by God is very great; and for my own part I am at a loss to see how any one who knows explicitly something of the mysteries of the Incarnation, and accepts it with Divine faith, can ever have any trouble about a greater or less submission of his intellect to the revelation of God. But although we may be prepared to admit that the authority of the *Ordinary Magisterium* is

wide in its general reach, that does not justify us in propounding a theory which would include in it mere local customs or practices.

This head is closely connected with the next—the formation of certain tempers and dispositions, in which also Dr. Ward claims infallibility for the Church's Magisterium. It is still more obvious here than in the preceding point, that it is difficult to fix the exact limits of that infallibility. That the Church has some, indeed very much, is evident. She is founded for the purpose of making us conformable to the image of our Divine Pattern; and *a priori* it is clear that a system of belief such as the Catholic Church teaches, and a morality such as hers, must have a great effect in forming the tempers and dispositions of those who come under their influence. This is well illustrated by Dr. Ward in the third Essay, on the Church's Magisterium.

And, furthermore, it cannot be denied that in so far as any certain temper or disposition comes necessarily from the tenets of faith or principles of morality taught by the Catholic Church, it must be acceptable to God. If Christian faith and morality produce certain effects in man's soul, it needs no argument to conclude that they must be good, in as much as they are the results which God intended. And so far Dr. Ward is evidently right.

But again the difficulty recurs, how are we to identify a temper or disposition as the legitimate outcome of the Church's Magisterium? As against Dr. Pusey and those who seek to re-enter the Catholic Church on the basis of her definitions, claiming to themselves liberty to reject, or stand apart from her practical teaching, nothing could be better or more fundamental than this argument. To enter the Catholic Church, is to be inserted on the living vine, and to exist and flourish, and bear fruit with its life. That is all true, yet one feels the need of some qualification such as Dr. Newman has given in his famous letter to Dr. Pusey, in answer to the same *Eirenicon*. The Catholic Faith and morality are not written out on our souls as on so many sheets of white paper, but they enter into a strange complex system of intellectual and moral qualities, varying in individuals, but much more in different countries, and coming out in the concrete affected by the peculiarities of those who receive them. The difficulty for Dr. Ward is to suggest some note by which we may separate the human from the Divine. The drift of his mind is to accept as infallibly taught almost all the practices of devotion in the concrete

that are largely followed. He does not, I venture to think, put as clearly as it deserves the necessity of caution in dealing with them. In answer to the charge that practices largely adopted in the Church are bad and un-Christian, he insists on the truth that practices, tempers, and dispositions formed by the *Ordinarium Magisterium* are good and serviceable to salvation. But against the same charge, Dr. Newman sets most strongly the other aspect of the case, that those particular devotions which were a scandal to Dr. Pusey, were not indeed guaranteed by the Church's authority, and were, to a large extent, merely local or private in their character.

"Now then," he says, "when we come to England itself, which after all in the matter of devotion alone concerns you and me; for though doctrine is one and the same everywhere, *devotions*, as I have already said, *are matters of the particular time, and the particular country*. I suppose we owe it to their natural good sense that English Catholics have been protected from the extravagances which elsewhere are to be found."

That was Dr. Newman's way of disposing of Italian and Spanish devotions which were made an objection to the practical teaching of the Catholic Church; but he goes farther, and in a most remarkable passage writes:—

"The religion of the multitude is ever vulgar and abnormal; it ever will be tinged with fanaticism and superstition, while men are what they are. A people's religion is ever a corrupt religion in spite of the provisions of Holy Church."

I have made those quotations from Dr. Newman for the sake of the contrast which they present to Dr. Ward's whole tone; and for the sake of the most important truth in reference to the Church's *Ordinarium Magisterium* which they suggest: that devotion, and consequently practices, tempers, and dispositions, being by their very nature, at least as a general rule, transitory and local, can seldom be identified as the true outcome of that *Magisterium*.

There is just one other remark which I should wish to make about the *Ordinarium Magisterium* as one of the *loci Theologici*. It is not to be disregarded even when we have only probability for its pronouncements. For instance, a devotion arises in some corner of the Church, about which we cannot form a certain opinion, but some pious soul, such as Blessed Margaret Mary, recommends it, and others in whom the spiritual sense is keen and pure, warm to it, and become its apostles. Some opinion is propounded by a

pious writer—St. Teresa, perhaps; it is adopted by the humble and good, and grows apace in acceptance. The Church makes no definition; she appears to be silent; but the devotion or opinion gains ground. All the while the Infallible Magisterium may be teaching us. The *sensus fidelium* is being gradually formed: the *consensus Theologorum* daily gains in weight and number; the various partial pronouncements which go to indicate the speaking of the infallible voice of the Church are combining in their assurance of her teaching; and it is only when the Universal Magistra leaves no doubt that the devotion or opinion comes from her, that we of the grosser multitude accept what long before had been plain to more spiritual intelligences.

When there is question then of some truth or practice on which the *Ordinarium Magisterium* has not yet for certain set its infallible seal, but which for all that may be an outcome of it, theologians must rely as much at least on a spiritual discernment as on mere science. There is more than an accidental connection between the sanctity, and the learning and wisdom of the greatest doctors of the Church. St. Thomas learned the Divine philosophy of the Church from his crucifix; and whoever will undertake to expound that philosophy must be penetrated with its spirit, which is Faith. Therefore Dr. Ward has written well:—

“A theologian who is penetrated with this truth (the existence of the *Ordinarium Magisterium* of the Church) ever gazes throughout his investigations on the Church's aspect and countenance. He is eagerly desirous that her spirit may be infused into his whole body of thought, that he may understand her definitions according to her true mind, and that he may duly grasp those other doctrines which she magisterially teaches without express definition. Every fresh conclusion at which he arrives he distrusts, until he has carefully considered how far it harmonizes with her practical conduct and maxims. . . . He seeks her whole mind, not in her explicit definitions alone, but in her sanctioned ascetical and theological treatises; in her catechisms; in the maxims of her seminaries and schools; in her daily habits of action.”

Doctrines deduced from these sources, in this way, must obviously vary much in their claims upon our acceptance. They may range from the slightest probability to absolute certainty; but while it is possible or probable that they are the teaching of the Church's Ordinary Magisterium, we must, in shaping our belief or action in reference to them, never

forget that fuller knowledge or purer vision may at any time change our doubt into certainty.

But when we come to regard this Ordinary Magisterium in its own proper sphere, which is the practical guidance of men's spiritual lives, then its importance grows out of all proportion to the logical completeness with which we deduce its doctrines. In truth, its teaching is the object of a spiritual sense, akin to instinct, rather than of mere reason. "Non in dialectica placuit Deo salvum facere genus humanum." The voice of the Church's practical teaching is heard by her children in forms that often cannot be reduced to the propositions of a theological science, and there is accordingly nothing truer in this volume than the idea expressed in the following passage:—

"The mass of the faithful know well that if they would learn their religion they must open their heart unreservedly to the Church's full influence; study for their guidance those manuals and spiritual books which she places in their hand; listen with docility to the instruction of her ministers; practise those duties which she prescribes in the very form in which she prescribes them; labour, in one word, that that great body of truth may sink silently and deeply into their heart, which her whole system of practice and discipline inculcates and implies."

To sum up, then, I should venture, of course with the utmost diffidence, and under the most entire correction, to offer an opinion that Dr. Ward has established the existence of the Ordinarium Magisterium as an integral part of the *regula proxima fidei*, and that his historical arguments on this head are simply unanswerable; and, furthermore, by this argument he points out the fundamental "blot" in the whole Anglican system, more especially in Dr. Pusey's dreams of re-union. But as against "minimizing" Catholics his position is weak, on account of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of identifying, for the *purposes of argument*, much that is infallibly taught by the Ordinary Magisterium over and above the Church's definitions. Leaving argument, however, and coming to the more peaceful ground of religious guidance, Dr. Ward must carry every *Cordatus Catholicus* with him in asserting the immense practical importance of that Magisterium, and its infallibility, as the principal and predominant end for which God has granted the Church infallibility in her explicit decrees. I may be permitted, in the next number of the RECORD, to say something of Dr. Ward's views on this latter point.

E. T. O'D.

LEAVES FROM THE NOTE BOOKS OF AN OLD THEOLOGIAN.—No. 1.

THE POWER OF FORGIVING SIN: WAS IT COMMUNICATED IN OUR LORD'S WORDS (*John*, xx. 23)?

“Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose you shall retain, they are retained.”—
Αν τινων αφήτε τας ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς, αν τινων κρατήτε, κεκρατηνται.

THIS is one of the many texts of Scripture, the Protestant interpretations of which involve a violation of the fundamental laws of speech as clearly as they involve a denial of Catholic doctrine. One of these fundamental laws—I should rather say, *the* fundamental law—is this, that the true, and the only true meaning (or meanings, for there are often several meanings) of words is that which the usage of the language, to which the words belong, gives to them. If I attach to any word a meaning utterly unsanctioned by usage, a meaning in which no other writer has ever used the word, this meaning is by the very fact a false meaning. Such is the law, announced long ago by old Horace, received by all at all times, “semper, ubique et ab omnibus.”

2. There is however, in this matter, a difference worth noticing between a dead and a living language. Usage in the latter may vary, and often does vary, from one period to another. For example, words in our own language were used in the days of Shakespeare in a sense quite different from that in which they are used now. But as to a dead language, whatever variations may have prevailed in it while yet spoken, all further changes ceased to be possible from the time when it ceased to be spoken. Moreover, notably with regard to the Greek and Latin languages, the labours, for so many centuries, of so many acute and learned men, grammarians, lexicographers and commentators, have determined their usages with a degree of certainty, beyond which little or nothing is now attainable.

3. The Protestant interpretation above alluded to is thus stated by BLOOMFIELD (the italics being his):—“The best [Protestant] Commentators are agreed that *ἀφήτε* and *κρατήτε* must be taken *declaratively*, i.e. to *pronounce* the remission or retention of sin, which is the usual and the safest view of the sense.”

4. Is this interpretation, judged by the standard just laid down, a true interpretation? Let the standard be applied. Does the phrase "to remit" or "forgive," "to forgive a sin, a debt, an injury, an insult," &c., according to the usage of the Greek language, *or of any other language*, signify not really "to forgive," but "to declare forgiven." I. To confine our inquiry to the Greek, in which the Gospel of St. John was written, I open the dictionary, and among a variety of meanings there given to the word *αφιημι* I find not one simply declarative of the acts imported by these meanings—"to send forth," not "to declare sent forth;" "to loose," not "to declare loosed;" "to dissolve," not "to declare dissolved;" &c. The aforesaid interpretation is a departure from the recognised laws of speech, as if you said that the phrases "to build a house," "to heal a wound," "to wash a garment," signified only "to declare the house built," "the wound healed," "the garment washed."

5. II. But it may be said that the meaning of a word is sometimes modified by the context, and moreover that the thing signified by a word in the heathen classics is often entirely different from that signified by the same word in Scripture; for example, "faith," "charity," "grace," &c.

6. I answer (*a*) it does not follow that the phrase "to do anything" (whatever that thing may be, *e.g.* to forgive a debt, to heal a wound) may therefore signify not to do that thing, but only to declare it done.

7. (*b*) I know of no Protestant writer who has quoted even one text to show that the Scripture usage modifies in any way the universal extra-scripture usage, according to which the Greek word signifies "to forgive," and not "to declare forgiven."

8. (*c*) On the contrary, the Scripture usage is wholly and clearly dead against the Protestant interpretation. To confine ourselves to the New Testament, the Greek words *αφιημι αφεις* occur there, in the sense of "forgive," "forgiveness," upwards of fifty times, almost always in reference to sin, and in not one instance do they signify "to declare forgiven," or "declaration of forgiveness." I quote a few passages. "Forgive, if you have aught against any man: that your father also, who is in heaven, may forgive you your sins." Mark, xi. 25. "Father forgive them." Luke, xxiii. 34. "To give repentance to Israel and remission of sin." Acts, v. 31. "If he be in sins, they shall be forgiven

him." James, v. 15. "He is faithful and just, to forgive us our sins." 1 John, i. 9.

9. Let me not be met here with the Lutheran theory of imputed justice. I have elsewhere shown that the theory is utterly false. But, even if it were true, the preceding argument would remain untouched. For, then, power would have been given to forgive by really imputing the justice of Christ, and not merely by declaring it imputed.

10. The power imparted by our Lord of forgiving sins is, like all supernatural endowments, mysterious to the "natural man:" but the words are plain and common words, and their construction obvious—"sin," "forgive," "retain." Here is the gloss of a recent popular commentator, the late Dean Alford, which he gives in his usual off-hand and slovenly style (the italics are his):—"The words, closely considered, amount to this: that, with the gift and real participation of the Holy Spirit, comes the conviction, and therefore the *knowledge*, of *sin*, of *righteousness*, and *judgment*: and this knowledge becomes more perfect, the more men are filled with the Holy Ghost. Since this is so, they who are pre-eminently filled with his presence are pre-eminently gifted with the discernment of sin and repentance in others, and hence by the Lord's appointment authorized to pronounce pardon of sin and the contrary. The Apostles had this in an especial manner," &c.

11. "The *words* considered," and "*closely* considered!" By what pressure of exegetical analysis the worthy Dean squeezed out of those simple words such a turbid stream of Methodist and Evangelical slang about "conviction of sin," "discernment of hearts," &c., passes my comprehension. This gloss may contain a correct statement of a certain Protestant theory of justification. But is that theory the meaning of the text before us, the true interpretation of the text? Is that theory expressly signified by the words of the text, or in any way inferred from them, proved from them? Can the "words" of the text, by any process of verbal twisting and torturing, be made to "amount to" the faintest insinuation of such a theory? Clearly not. Neither the Dean, nor any other writer known to me, has attempted to show this.

There is more in the Note Book, but what I have given amply demonstrates that the Catholic interpretation is the only true one.

P. M.

O'HAGAN'S "SONG OF ROLAND."¹

THERE are so many important topics of a more strictly professional interest which have claims to be discussed in these pages that we might hardly be expected to devote any portion of our not too abundant space to mere literary criticism. However, when a Catholic Irishman of the character and standing of Mr. John O'Hagan, Q.C., produces a work like that which is named at the head of this paper, it is a literary event in which many of the readers of this journal are sure to take a special and almost a personal interest. Nor will this attraction be lessened when on the first page they read the affectionate words in which "The Song of Roland" is dedicated to the late President of Maynooth. Though the volume has only just been issued from the press in a garb almost too exquisite, it was in type before Dr. Russell was taken from the devotion of his friends—none more devoted than the one who has linked Dr. Russell's name with the first work to which he has attached his own, and which (as he repeats in the introduction) "most certainly would never have been completed or published if it had not been for the encouragement given by the lost friend to whom it is dedicated."²

In order that the beautiful story may come upon the imagination with its full glamour of romantic reality, we should be inclined to counsel those who have still before them the pleasure of making Roland's acquaintance to begin by reading the "Song" itself through—if aloud, so much the better. After that, the introduction—which shows its learning and its elaborateness chiefly in being modest, clear, and simple—will give them the internal and external history of the poem, in prose as delightful as ever poet wrote. And then, finally, a second reading of the *Chanson*, more pleasant even than the first, will qualify them to "go into committee" on its merits, both as an original work and as a translation. At present, however, we must suppose our readers to have already reached the third

¹ *The Song of Roland. Translated into English Verse.* By John O'Hagan, Q.C. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1880.

² We may here, in the name of many, venture to thank Mr. O'Hagan for another service rendered to the memory of his friend—namely, the admirable reply given by "A Catholic Layman" in the *Spectator* of March 20th, 1880, to the distorted though personally complimentary estimate formed of the character and career of the late Dr. Russell by a writer in the *Saturday Review*, of March 6th.

stage of these proceedings ; and, long before going so far, they will, we are sure, be ready to sympathise with our astonishment that the glory of such a feat as this has been left to an Irish lawyer in the year of our Lord 1880. We must confess that this last personal item of the author's profession increases our surprise a good deal. No doubt, barristers have written poetry before now. He whose "heart was weary waiting for the May" had previously eaten his dinners at Lincoln's Inn. But that an eminent Irish lawyer, engaged in the fullest practice of his exhausting and absorbing profession, which is proverbially jealous of all rivalry, especially on the part of the lighter muses—that an overworked leader of the Equity Bar should produce, not a clever squib or two or a graceful "copy of verses," but a work of *longue haleine* requiring high literary gifts and culture of the most varied kind, for which one might rather have looked to Mr. William Morris, or to the translator of Calderon—this is a portent for which the history of literature, as far as we are acquainted with it, affords no parallel.

Yet it seems scarcely candid to exaggerate this marvel by pretending to forget altogether that, although Mr. O'Hagan's name has never before appeared on a title-page, he has, as the *London Academy* stated when announcing the present work, been "long known as a poet of rare merit, whose original poems are distinguished at once by tenderness and power, and whose translations combine, in a most remarkable degree, elegance and fidelity." But even if we were not happily familiar with many exquisite pieces which we trust their author will soon be induced to collect and give to the world as his own, we should have had no hesitation in concluding that the translator of the poem now naturalised amongst us is himself a true poet, and that "The Song of Roland" is but the ripe and mellow fruit which spring as well as summer has had its part in bringing to perfection.

From something that has been said, the reader might perhaps infer that a special providence has interfered to save "Roland" from a less worthy translator, during the eight centuries which have elapsed since the jongleurs first chanted it for ladies bright and barons bold. But it is quite sufficiently wonderful if we reduce this space to the last forty-three years. Strange to say, it was only then, in 1837, that the "*Chanson de Roland*" was first given to the world at large, in print. Though it was composed hundreds

of years before Shakspeare, it had dropped out of the world's memory, and lay hidden away as a solitary unintelligible manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. One out of a thousand possible accidents might have destroyed for ever what France has now learned to be proud of as almost her typical epic. The buried treasure was merely referred to once or twice by literary antiquarians, till, at the date we have named, M. Guizot ordered the transcription and publication of the "Chanson" at the cost of the French Government. It is well that the good work was done then, for now-a-days the policy of French statesmen points in a different direction. Since then, the mediæval lay has been translated and edited over and over in France and Germany, till it has inspired quite a copious literature of its own. Yet fortunately, as we have said, in spite of sundry articles in the English Reviews, it has been left to our distinguished countryman to sing anew in the English language "the lay Turolodus sung."

Did Turolodus sing it? The last line of the poem says so, and some consider this to be Théroulde, whom William the Conqueror made abbot of Peterborough. A catalogue that has been preserved mentions two copies of a poem on Roncesvalles as belonging formerly to the Cathedral of Peterborough. These and certain other circumstances are, indeed, slender grounds for determining the authorship of the "Roland," about which Mr. O'Hagan holds that nothing is established except the statement of "critics who have devoted the most conscientious labour to the task of examination, that the language shows the date to have been the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century."

On one point, as regards the authorship, we think Mr. O'Hagan has laid too much stress—the poem seems to him not to have been the work of an ecclesiastic. "Devout it is, and displays a deep and tender faith, but it is absolutely untheological." But a priest of that warlike time—a priest like Archbishop Turpin himself, or like our own Heber MacMahon in later days—such a cleric narrating such a story might well be "untheological" also. A writer in the *Freeman's Journal* has well said of this poem: "All the motives of mediæval chivalry are at play in it—the haughty tenderness of the King, the loyalty true unto death of his peers, the prowess of the hero, the tender friendship of brothers in arms, the fervid religious feeling exalting and purifying even wild military passion—all, save the influence of

woman, which, singularly enough, influences nobody to anything in this Charter Song of a system which enthroned woman almost as a goddess." Does not this very omission point towards the priestly origin of the "Chanson," together with the absence of all that grossness which makes mediæval romances so unsavoury even in the dull, sneering analysis given of them in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*?¹ "From the beginning to the end of the poem," says its translator, "the page is not sullied by one evil thought or expression. All is pure, dignified, and chivalrous. The very love between Roland and the fair Alda is only shown by her dying for him." And this also is only once alluded to in the briefest manner at the last.

Cardinal Newman in the *Dream of Gerontius* versifies thus a part of the *Ordo Commendationis Animæ* in the Roman Ritual:—

"Rescue him, O Lord, in this his evil hour,
As of old so many by Thy gracious power:—
Moses from the land of bondage and despair,
Daniel from the hungry lions in their lair."

Was there any similar echo of the prayers of the Church ringing in our poet's ear when he made the dying Roland pray as he prays in the following passage?

"Beneath a pine was his resting place,
To the land of Spain hath he turned his face.
On his memory rose full many a thought—
Of the lands he won and fields he fought;
Of his gentle France, of his kin and line;
Of his nursing father, King Karl benign;—
He may not the tear and the sob control,
Nor yet forgets he his parting soul.
To God's compassion he makes his cry:
'O Father true, who canst not lie,
Who didst Lazarus raise unto life again;
And Daniel shield in the lions' den;
Shield my soul from its peril, due
For the sins I sinned my lifetime through'."

This passage illustrates another point to which we wish next to call attention. Quite recently Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his Introduction to the copious volumes of "Selections

¹ No one reading the fourth chapter of this work—which treats of the Chronicle of Turpin and the romances of chivalry relating to Charlemagne and his peers—would have any suspicion of the rich treasures of the purest poetry lying hidden in "The Song of Roland."

from the English Poets," now appearing under the editorship of Mr. T. H. Ward, contrasts some of the foregoing lines from the *Chanson* (of which the present translation was then unknown to him) with a famous passage in Homer. The former he translates literally thus: "Then began he to call many things to remembrance,—all the lands which his valour conquered, and pleasant France, and the men of his lineage, and Charlemagne, his liege lord, who nourished him." For the lines from the *Iliad* (III., 243-4) he gives Dr. Hawtrey's English hexameters:—

"So said she; they long since in earth's soft arms were reposing,
There, in their own dear land, their fatherland, Lacedaemon."

He professes to see in these last lines some supreme merit absent from the others, which he calls "primitive work with an undeniable poetic quality of its own." For our part we agree with a recent writer in the *Athenæum* that criticism founded on such comparisons of dissimilar passages is illusory, and that the man who speaks of Keats's "Ode to a Grecian Urn," as superior or inferior to Shelley's "Ode to a Skylark," shows himself incapable of appreciating the true beauty of either. However, our object in referring to this little point just now is not to pit the *Song of Roland* against the *Tale of Troy*, but we merely cite the passage as a completely random test of the literal fidelity which Mr. O'Hagan has combined with the spirit and freedom of his version. Mr. Arnold's prose is hardly more literal than Mr. O'Hagan's verse in the corresponding lines towards the beginning of our preceding extract. Every other fragment which we have been able to collate with the original shows how very literally we in turn must take Mr. O'Hagan's assurance, that he has "striven throughout to be as literal as difference of idiom and 'the wicked necessity of rhyming' would permit." Skilful a versifier as he is, he could not, we think, have accomplished this remarkable exploit half so satisfactorily in any other metre than the one he has chosen.

That metre, and the nature of the poem, force one to think of Scott. We heartily concur in the opinion expressed by one of the reviewers of "*Roland*," that since Sir Walter's time no versified romance has been read with so much ease and pleasure, or with so heart-stirring an interest from beginning to end, as the laziest reader will read this song now re-sung by Mr. O'Hagan, and that it will have a more powerful influence in rekindling sympathy with the deeds

and heroes of the days of chivalry than anything published of late, except the "Idylls of the King."

In this sense the volume may well be welcomed as a spiritual boon. The men of our time need badly the lessons it teaches. The *Saturday Review* had an article some years ago on the "Dead Virtues," which turned out to be the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Dead indeed in those who are cut off in sad reality, and not only seemingly, from the one living Church of God. But even in true Christian hearts the dry breath of a self-satisfied world has withered up much that was fresh and good in a simpler era. This makes it often very hard for the children of this gossiping and shopkeeping generation of ours to enter into the spirit of many illustrations and arguments drawn by ascetic writers from the feelings and customs of feudal times. For instance, how coldly most of us receive the martial apologue of "The Kingdom of Christ" in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, who meant our very hearts to be thrilled by that "call of a temporal king" summoning all true Christian knights to follow him and fight for a perilous and holy cause, promising that he will ask them to incur no danger, to submit to no hardship, in which he himself will not be the foremost. But such an appeal would not have fallen tamely on the chivalrous heart of Tennyson's Sir Galahad, or better still this brave Count Roland, whose name is henceforth to be more familiar to our mouths than any of the knights of the Round Table. Let us quote the conclusion of Part First, "The Treason of Ganelon," beginning a little further back than is needed to bring out the particular point which is our excuse for breaking with a quotation the monotony of prose:—

Thus were mustered King Marsil's peers,
With a hundred thousand heathen spears.
In haste to press to the battle on,
In a pine-tree forest their arms they don.
They don their hauberks of Saracen mould,
Wrought for the most with a triple fold;
In Saragossa their helms were made;
Steel of Vienne was each girded blade;
Valentia lances and targets bright,
Pennons of azure and red and white.
They leave their sumpters and mules aside,
Leap on their chargers, and serried ride.
Bright was the sunshine and fair the day;
Their arms resplendent gave back the ray.

Then sound a thousand clarions clear,
Till the Franks the mighty clangour hear.
"Sir Comrade," said Olivier, "I trow
There is battle at hand with the Saracen foe."
"God grant," said Roland, "it may be so.
Here our post for our king we hold;
For his lord the vassal bears heat and cold,
Toil and peril endures for him,
Risks in his service both life and limb.
For mighty blows let our arms be strung,
Lest songs of scorn be against us sung.
With the Christian is good, with the heathen ill:
No dastard part shall ye see me fill."

And a little later on in the 91st stanza, if it can be called so:—

When Roland felt that the battle came,
Lion or leopard to him were tame;
He shouted aloud to his Franks, and then
Called to his gentle compeer agen.
"My friend, my comrade, my Olivier,
The Emperor left us his bravest here;
Twice ten thousand he set apart,
And he knew among them no dastard heart.
For his lord the vassal must bear the stress
Of the winter's cold and the sun's excess—
Peril his flesh and his blood thereby:
Strike thou with thy good lance-point, and I
With Durindana, the matchless glaive
Which the king himself to my keeping gave,
That he who wears it when I lie cold
May say 'twas the sword of a vassal bold."

Such a soul as this could have made very fruitfully the contemplation *De Regno Christi*. But our hearts are colder and more cowardly. "The age of chivalry is gone." Loyalty in many of its forms and degrees has become a difficult virtue, especially for certain races. Hero-worship is unfashionable now-a-days: or rather every man is his own hero, and people do their worshipping on the premises. The spirit of such a book as "Roland" is good for such a time. To stir the soul with manly and unselfish impulses—to hinder the divorce which too many seek to establish between the beautiful and the good—to hallow the imagination, the memory, the affections, and the very passions of the human breast, and to hold high the ideal of courage and heroism: these are some of the blessed uses to

which genius and the finer mental gifts can be applied, and these ends have been kept in view, and not vainly, by the singers of "The Song of Roland," both as it fell on the ears of a bygone age and as the hand of an Irish Catholic has now again, after so long a silence, wakened with its martial music the latent chivalry of many a heart. Such a task could only have been fitly done by one filled with the spirit of the best poetry of the ancients and the moderns, and moreover sharing largely in the ardent Christian faith and generous sentiments which animate the old poem; and indeed some measure of these qualities is needed also for those who would read rightly "the lay Turolodus sung."

M. R.

LITURGY.

I.—THE NUMBER OF REQUIEM MASSES ALLOWED ON A PRIVILEGED DAY.

IN former papers¹ we mentioned the different classes of days on which, by privilege, Requiem Mass may be celebrated. Here an obvious inquiry suggests itself touching the number of Masses allowed on these privileged occasions. Are two or more allowed, or one only? To illustrate what we mean, let us suppose the following cases:—A corpse is present in a church for the two or three days preceding the burial; is it allowable, in virtue of the privilege, to have a solemn Requiem Mass on each of these mornings, or to celebrate two such Masses on the day of the obsequies? Again, to make a more plausible case, suppose that the body of the deceased lies for a day or so in the church of the parish in which he died. The burial, however, is to take place in another parish, and, accordingly, for convenience sake, the corpse is carried, before the third morning, to the church of this parish where, by arrangement, the Solemn Requiem Mass is to be said. It may be asked whether a Solemn Requiem Mass might not also be celebrated in the other church before the body was removed from it, even though the day was a double feast. Is this the meaning of the privilege which allows, as we stated,²

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, May, June, 1880.

² *Ibid.* May, 1880.

Solemn Requiem Mass, "*praesente cadavere*," on any day except (a) a double of the first class which is also "*de praecepto*," (b) the feast of the Titular of the Church, and (c) the three last days of the Holy Week?

Let us take another illustration from the 30th day after the date of the death or burial, which, as we have seen, also enjoys certain privileges. Now it may occur to one to ask, does this privilege permit two or more Month's Minds, one in this district and another elsewhere? Or, if the Month's Mind be held on the 30th day from the date of the death, is it within the extent of the privilege to celebrate another on the 30th day from the date of the burial in the same or in different churches? In short, is the concession on the occasions we have classified as privileged granted for numerically one Mass only, or does it extend to two or more; and if it be granted for two or more, in what manner are they to be distributed?

We reply that the concession on all these privileged occasions applies to only one Mass numerically, if we except the occasion (a) of the announcement of the death of one "*de gremio congregationis*," and (b) that of the Anniversary Mass. In what sense these are exceptional cases we shall explain later on.

This is the common teaching of Rubricists.¹ It is founded on the ruling of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which, in its decisions relating to these privileged days, sometimes expressly mentions that the concession extends to one Mass only (*unica Missa*),² and sometimes positively excludes a second.³ In no decision of the Congregation are two Masses allowed. Hence, no matter how long the body of the deceased is lying in a church; no matter whether it was placed first in this and was afterwards removed to another church, only one Requiem Mass altogether is allowed in virtue of the privilege. So also the privileged Requiem Mass on the occasion of a Month's Mind cannot be celebrated in more than one place, and but one Mass is recognized as such.

This decision applies to all privileged occasions, with the two exceptions mentioned above. The first of these is the day of the announcement of the death of a member "*de gremio congregationis*." It is exceptional to this extent,

¹ De Herdt, Tom. i., p. 1, 57. Bouvry, Tom. ii., p. 3, s. ii., 15.

² S. R. C., 2nd September, 1741, 3970, 4; 4th September, 1745, n. 4026, 2, n. 4187, 2; 29th January, 1752, n. 4074, n. 4261.

³ S. R. C., n. 4926. 1.

that one Mass *de Requiem* is allowed for a deceased brother in each monastery, or separate house of the Order or Congregation, as soon as they receive the notification of his death; but more than one in the same monastery is forbidden. This follows from the decision of the Sacred Congregation sanctioning this privilege, inasmuch as it supposes the celebration of Mass in the church of every distinct community. Hence Bouvry¹ writes, “Unica Missa, ratione primi nuntii videtur permissa cuicunque ecclesiae ubi accipitur nuntium. In decretis enim Missa non limitatur ad unam Ecclesiam sed, contra, praefata Missa supponitur celebrari in pluribus ecclesiis. Et revera eadem militat ratio pro singulis ecclesiis, non autem pro pluribus Missis in eadem ecclesia.” And De Herdt says, “hanc Missam posse cantari in quolibet ejusdem congregationis monasterio, cum primum ibidem de obitu accipitur nuntium.” Tom. i., p. 1, n. 57. This is the common teaching of rubricists.

The founded Anniversary Mass is the other exception. This also is exceptional only in the sense that there is no prohibition to found an Anniversary for the same person in many churches. “Testator,” writes Bouvry, “possit tot anniversaria fundare in diversis ecclesiis quot sibi placuerit, modo unum in unaquaque fundatur.”² Again, “et rubrica et decretis deducitur anniversarium absolute et ratione sui privilegiarii, ita tamen ut favor ad unam extendatur in eadem ecclesia, quamvis non limitetur ad unam ecclesiam.”³

II.—THE FOUR MISSAE DEFUNCTORUM: FOR WHAT OCCASIONS EACH OF THEM IS INTENDED.

Having now treated of the days on which a Requiem Mass may be celebrated, we pass to the next question of importance in connection with this subject, which is to determine the rules one is to follow in selecting the particular Mass to be read on any given occasion.

Every priest knows that there are four “Missae defunctorum,” styled in the Missal respectively, the first:—“*In commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum*”; the second: “*In die obitus seu depositionis defuncti*”; the third: “*In anniversario defunctorum*”; and the fourth: “*In Missis quotidianis*”

¹ Tom. i., p. 3, s. ii., tit. v. n. 21.

² Tom. i., p. 3, s. ii., tit. v. n. 21, 2°.

³ Ibid.

defunctorum." The difference between these Masses is but slight. It may be reduced to the prayers only. For the *Introit, Gradual, Tract, Prose, Offertory*, and *Communio* are the same in all four, and it is left to the celebrant to choose which of the four Epistles and four Gospels he will read in any of the Masses, according to the following rubric: "Epistolae et evangelia superius posita in una Missa pro defunctis, dici possunt etiam in alia Missa similiter pro defunctis."¹ It is also known to every priest, that, notwithstanding this slight difference, these four Masses may not be said indifferently on every occasion. How then are we to determine which is the proper one to read?

The *first Mass*, according to the order in the Missal, *must be said*:

(a) On all Souls Day.²

(b) For a Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop, on the day of their death or burial,³ and also on their 3rd, 7th, 30th, and anniversary days, a suitable prayer being substituted for the "*Fidelium Deus*."

The rubrics in the Missal referring to this matter call for some explanation, as they do not of themselves clearly prove the conclusions just laid down.

The Missal rubric regarding the Requiem Mass for the Pope is expressed thus:—"In die depositionis et anniversaria Summi Pontificis dicitur prima Missa, ut supra, praeter Orationes quae dicuntur ut infra."⁴ It will be remarked that there is no mention here of the 3rd, 7th, or 30th days, but it is a rule enunciated in the rubric at the end of the second Requiem Mass, styled, "In die obitus seu depositionis defuncti," that "In die tertio, septimo et trigesimo depositionis defuncti dicitur Missa, ut supra, exceptis Orationibus." All rubricists understand this to convey a general direction that in all cases the Mass for the 3rd, 7th, and 30th days is to be the same as on the day of death or burial, except in the prayers, which sometimes must be changed.

The rubric regulating the Requiem Mass for a Bishop is still less clear. It runs thus:—"Pro defuncto Episcopo dicitur prima Missa. Orationes ut supra." Here there is no reference even to the anniversary; but again, the

¹ Rub. Missae, in fine 4^{tae} Missae Defunc.

² Tit. Missae in loc

³ By the "*day of death or burial*" rubricists understand all the time that elapses from the day of death to that of burial inclusive. De Herdt, Tom. i, p. 1, n. 55. Bouvry, Tom. ii, p. 3, s. ii. Romsee.

⁴ Rub. Missae Speciales in loc.

unanimous sentiment of the best authorities is that this rubric is intended to convey the same sense as that which relates to the Requiem Mass for a Pope. "Dicitur Missa prima in die depositionis et anniversario, etiam in tertio, septimo, et trigesimo Summi Pontificis, Episcoporum et Cardinalium, cum orationibus propriis."—P. HAGERER p. 1, tit. v. n. ii. And GAVANTUS (p. 4, tit. xviii., 2, 12), writes:—"Sed pro praedictis ecclesiasticis in tertio, septimo et anniversario quae Missa? quae oratio dicenda est? In his diebus repetenda est Missa quae dicta est in die depositionis."

The *first Mass may be said* for a priest, on the day of his death or burial, on his third, seventh, thirtieth, and anniversary days, but in this case a choice lies between the first and second Masses. This was decided by the Congregation of Rites on the 29th of January, 1572. The question was put to it: "Quaenam dicenda est Missa in die obitus vel depositionis alicujus sacerdotis? Prima quae est pro Episcopis assignata, ut in commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum, cum oratione *Deus qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes*; et insuper quaenam dicenda sit Missa in exequiis solemnibus post sepulturam cadaveris?" The Congregation replied:—"Una vel altera Missa dici poterit in sepultura cadaveris vel anniversario pro sacerdote defuncto, dummodo oratio pro eo designata, '*Deus qui inter apostolicos omnino adhibeatur.*'" S. R. C., 29th Jan., 1572.

II. The *second Mass*, styled "*In die obitus seu depositionis defuncti*," must be said on the day of death or burial, and also, with a change of the prayers, on the 3rd, 7th, and 30th days.

(a) For laics, and (b) for clerics; except a Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop. In the case of a priest either this Mass or the first one, as we have said already, may be taken.

The day after burial, the body having been buried "*ob causam rationabilem*" before a Requiem Mass was celebrated over the deceased, follows the rules of the "*dies obitus seu depositionis*." Accordingly the Mass will be the first or second, to be determined by the principles just given.

The Mass on the day of the announcement of the death of one "*de gremio congregationis*" will be same as for the third or thirtieth day, omitting the word "*tertium*" or "*trigesimum*" if this prayer is to be said.—(GAVANTUS, p. iv., tit. xviii. n. 15.)

III. The *third Mass*, styled in the Missal "*In Anniversario*," must be said (a) on the anniversary of laics, and (b) of clerics, except a Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, or priest.

If, for rubrical reasons the anniversary is anticipated or deferred, there is no change in the Anniversary Mass. "Si anniversarium anticipatur aut postponitur per aliquot dies, an dici possit Missa ut in anniversario?" Resp. "Affirmative." S. R. C., 5th July, 1698.

IV. The *fourth Mass*, called in the Missal "*In Missis Quotidianis*" is for non-privileged semidoubles, ferias, and simples, unless they happen to be the day of death or burial, or the 3rd, 7th, 30th, or anniversary day. In other words, the Missa Quotidiana is intended for the days of suitable rite which are not provided for by any of the three other Masses *de Requiem*.

III.—WHICH MASS IS TO BE SELECTED FOR A MISSA PRIVATA SAID ON A PRIVILEGED DAY WHICH HAPPENS TO BE A SEMIDOUBLE.

To make more clear the subject we are treating, we shall give in this place the answers to some questions that have been sent to us.

It is asked what Mass should be read on the days from the death to the burial inclusive, if they happen to be ordinary semidoubles, by priests who say private Requiem Mass for the deceased? Should the Mass be the Missa Quotidiana, or the Mass for the day of death or burial? Does it make any difference whether the Mass is in the presence or the absence of the body of the deceased?

In these circumstances the Mass should be the one suitable for the day of death or burial, that is, the first or second, according to the station of the deceased, as was explained above, and not the Missa Quotidiana. We are of opinion that it makes no difference whether the Mass is said in the presence or the absence of the corpse. The presence of the body would justify the saying of one Mass, as we have seen, on a day of a higher rite than is allowed by the general rubrics, but here there is question only of the Mass to be read on a semidouble or day of suitable rite. This is not influenced by the presence of the corpse.

Again, it is asked what Mass should be read on the 3rd, 7th, or 30th day from the death or burial, if it is a semi-

double, by priests who say a private Requiem Mass for the deceased? Should it be the *Missa Quotidiana*, or one of the two first?

The Mass to be read is, we believe, not the *Missa Quotidiana*, but the one suitable to the 3rd, 7th, 30th day. It should be borne in mind that the three first Masses are not intended to be used exclusively as privileged Masses. They are private Masses quite as much as the *Missa Quotidiana*, and differ from it only as to the occasions on which they are to be said. Hence when the occasions for which these Masses are assigned come round, and the day is of suitable rite for a Requiem Mass, it follows that one of them is to be said and not the *Missa Quotidiana*.

IV.—THE ORATIONES IN A REQUIEM MASS: HOW MANY AND WHAT PRAYERS ARE TO BE SAID.

Passing from these general questions, we come, in the next place, to treat briefly of particular parts of the Requiem Mass.

We said that the *Introit*, *Gradual*, *Tract*, *Prose*, *Offertory*, and *Communio* are the same in all the four Masses *de Requiem*, and that the four Epistles and Gospels, which are arranged in the Missal, one in one Mass, and another in another, are interchangeable at the choice of the priest. Formerly these Epistles and Gospels were placed together at the end of the *Missa Quotidiana*. They are to be seen so arranged in some of the very old Missals. In course of time, they were distributed among the Masses as they are now found, but this was done with no intention of restricting the freedom which the priest had had of choosing which of them he pleased. This freedom of choice the rubric at the end of the *Missa Quotidiana* still asserts. However, many rubricists say that the fact of distributing these Epistles and Gospels according to the Masses is an indication of the wish of the Church as to the order of saying them, which ought not to be disregarded without reason.

The prayers are, perhaps, the only part of the Requiem Mass that presents any difficulty to the priest. There are chiefly three questions regarding them—first, as to their number; secondly, as to the prayers which should be selected; and, thirdly, as to the order in which they are to

First. How many prayers ought to be said in a Requiem Mass?

The rubric regulating the number of prayers runs thus:—"In die commemorationis omnium defunctorum et in die depositionis et in anniversario pro defunctis, dicitur una tantum oratio: et similiter in die tertia septima, trigesima et quodcumque pro defunctis solemniter celebratur: in aliis Missis plures, ut de Feriis et Simplicibus dicetur infra in Rubrica de Orationibus."—(Rub. Mis. Gen., lib. v. 3.) From this rubric it follows—1 that only one prayer is to be said (*a*) on All Souls Day, (*b*) on the day of death or burial, (*c*) the anniversary, (*d*) and the third, seventh, and thirtieth days. This holds for the *private* as well as for the *solemn* Masses on these days. The rubric makes no distinction that would limit this ruling to Masses that are sung. This too is the common teaching of rubricists:—"Rubrica minime distinguit sed simpliciter loquitur: unde par iudicium habendum est de Missis privatis quas Missae solenni decet esse conformes. Missarum textus ipse unam duntaxat Orationem adnotat, quin pro privatis ullam exceptionem faciat; cur igitur sub una tantum Oratione dicendae non erunt, cum Missae illae in usu sint tam pro solenni quam pro privata celebratione."—CAVALIERI, Tom. III. dec. 78, n. 1.¹

When any of these days are necessarily anticipated or transferred on account of rubrical difficulties, the same ruling applies, *i.e.*, only one prayer is to be said on the day to which the translation takes place.² Rubricists extend this to all privileged days.³

2° It also follows from this general rubric that only one prayer is to be said at a Solemn Requiem Mass, whether this be the *Missa Quotidiana* or one of the other Masses. The Sacred Congregation has affirmed this,⁴ and has also decided that the same holds for a *Missa Cantata*. When asked by the Archbishop of Quebec, "Quae et quot orationes dicendae sint in Missis cum cantu, etiamsi non habeantur ministri sacri" the Congregation answered,⁵ "*Detur Decretum in una Briocensi, diei 12th August, 1854.*" Now in this decree of the 12th August, 1854, it is laid down, "*unicam orationem dicendam in Missa de Requie*

¹ See Bouvry, Tom. ii. p. 3., sec. ii., n. 23. De Herdt, Tom. i., p. 3., n. 65.

² Cavalieri. De Herdt. Bouvry.

³ Bouvry, Tom. ii. p. 3. sec. ii. n. 25.

⁴ R. C. 16th August 1852.

⁵ 4th August 1854.

cum cantu pro anima illius, quam designat eleemosynam exhibens."

We infer, then, that *only one prayer* is to be read in the *first, second, or third Mass, whether it is said as a private or a Solemn Mass*, and that the same holds for the *Missa Quotidiana, when it is sung*.

Whenever the *Missa Quotidiana* is said as a private Mass, no fewer than three,¹ and no more than seven² prayers, are allowed. There must in all cases be an odd number, and the last prayer is to be "*Fidelium Deus omnium, &c.*" "*In Missis Quotidianis, quae pro defunctis celebrantur, possunt quidem plures dici orationes quam tres, sed curandum ut sint numero impares et . . . dummodo ultimo loco dicatur illa 'Fidelium.'*" (S. R. C. 2nd Sept., 1741.)

Second Question. What prayers are to be said? When the *first Mass* is offered for all the faithful departed the one prayer will be "*Fidelium Deus*" (Rub. *in loc.*) When it is offered for a Pope, the prayer is "*Deus qui inter Summos Sacerdotes*"³; for a Bishop, the "*Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes famulum tuum . . . Pontificali fecisti dignitate rigere, &c.*"⁴; and for a Cardinal one of the suitable prayers found also among the "*Orationes Diversae*."⁵ When the *first or second Mass* is offered for a priest the prayer, *on all occasions*, is to be the "*Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes*," changing of course the "*Pontificali*" and "*Pontificis*" into "*Sacerdotali*" and "*Sacerdotis*." This is the ruling of the Sacred Congregation which gave the following reply to a question we have quoted above:—"Una vel altera Missa dici poterit in sepultura cadaveris vel anniversario pro sacerdote defuncto dummodo oratio pro eo designata '*Deus qui inter Apostolicos*' omnino adhibeatur." 19 Jan. 1752.

When the second Mass is offered for one who is not a priest, on the day of death or burial, the prayer should be "*Deus cui proprium est misereri semper*," which is read in the Mass itself, and not one from amongst "*Orationes Diversae*."

When this second Mass is said for one who is not a priest, on the third, seventh, or thirtieth day, the prayer is that placed at the end of the second Mass "*Quaesumus*

¹ Rub. Mis. Gen. tit. v. 3. et ix. 12. S. R. C. 2nd Sept., 1741, 5.

² Rub. Mis. Gen. *Ibid.*

³ See Rub. inter Orat. Diversas.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Domine, &c." This prayer is also to be said on the occasion of the announcement of the death of one "de gremio congregationis," omitting, however, the word "tertium" or "trigesimum."

In the third or Anniversary Mass, which is never said for a Pope, Bishop, or priest, the prayer is "*Deus indulgentiarum*" and not a prayer from amongst the "Orationes Diversae," which might appear to be more suitable.

Such is the teaching of Cavalieri on the prayers to be said in these Masses. "Obitu itaque et anniversario quorumcunque, praeter exceptos, dici deberint collectae, prout assequantur in iisdem Missis et non quae in fine Missalis exaratae inveniuntur. Hae igitur collectae unice in Missali ibidem invectae sunt ut dicantur pro orationibus quae ad libitum vel de mandato adderentur in Missis Quotidianis." CAVALIERI, cap. xi., 16.¹ He gives the following reason why an apparently more suitable one from amongst the "Orationes Diversae" is not to supplant the prayer found in the Mass. If this was to be done, the prayer given in the second and third Masses need never be said, since we have among the "Orationes Diversae" prayers specially suitable to every class of persons. What then is the use of the "Orationes Diversae"? They are to be used in the private "Missa Quotidiana," in which we are allowed to insert in the place of the "*Deus veniae largitor*" a prayer specially suitable to the person for whom we offer the Mass. Besides we use them in making commemorations of the different classes of deceased friends in the private Missa Quotidiana in which, as we have seen, as many as seven prayers are allowed. "Ad defunctorum orationes, quae in fine Missalis habentur, quod attinet, non nisi, ut supra monuimus, dicendas esse, non vero in die obitus, anniversario aliisque enumeratis diebus pro quocunque (exceptis solum Summis Pontificibus et Episcopis) fiat Missa, non est quod vocetur in dubium: alias quippe cum ibidem peculiare habeantur collectae pro quolibet personarum genere, nunquam in usu forent orationes praedictorum dierum, quas tanquam eorundem Missis proprias consulto Rubrica assignat." CAVALIERI, cap. xxvi., dec. 2, n. 6.

When the *Missa Quotidiana* is sung, the one prayer will be suitable to the person or persons for whom the Mass is offered; for a Pope, the "*Deus qui inter summos Sacerdotes*"; for a Bishop or priest, "*Deus qui inter Apostolicos*"; for a lay-

¹ See also Guyetus lib. iv., cap. xxiii., Q. 29.

man or cleric, "*Inclina Domine*;" for a woman, "*Quaesumus, Domine*," or any one of the suitable prayers from among the "*Orationes Diversae*."¹

In a private *Missa Quotidiana* not fewer than three and not more than seven prayers are allowed, as we have already said. Of these the first and last prayers are unchangeable. The first must in all cases be the "*Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes famulos tuos Pontificali seu sacerdotali dignitate vigere, &c.*," as given in the Mass itself, and the last prayer is to be the "*Fidelium Deus, &c.*" This has been decided by the Sacred Congregation.² If then the priest says only three prayers, the second alone may be changed for one of the "*Orationes Diversae*" which may be more suitable to the person for whom the Mass is offered.

If two or more prayers are taken from the "*Orationes Diversae*," they ought to be said in the order in which they are found in the Missal. "*Orationes quae ultra tres tertio, quarto, quinto aut etiam sexto loco adduntur pro libitu sacerdotis, desumendae sunt ex illis, quae pro defunctis in Missali post Missam quotidianam assignantur. Convenit autem, ut in his orationibus servetur ordo Missalis, ita ut quaecunque ante aliam in Missali ponitur, ante aliam in Missa recitetur.*"—DE HERDT, Tom. I., p. 1, n. 65, 3.

R. B.

We have received the following questions:

FIRST QUESTION.

The altar in my church has sculptured images of the Apostles—fixtures—at each side of the tabernacle. Now I find De Herdt (Tom. ii. n. 25) saying that on the occasion of Benediction the images of saints are to be removed from the altar of Exposition. Please decide for me the question:—Are such fixtures *in majore altari* in accordance with the rubrics?

We are of opinion that it is not a violation of the rubrics to retain these fixed images of saints on the altar during Benediction. De Herdt, in the passage quoted, refers to *movable images*. He, in fact, cites in this place the rule

¹ Guyetus, lib. iv., cap. xxiii. Q. 29., S.R.C., 12 Aug. 1854.

² S.R.C., 2 Sept., 1741. 27 Aug., 1836. 23 Sept., 1837. 12 Aug., 1853.

laid down in the "Instructio Clementina" for the proper decoration of the altar on the occasion of the Quarante Ore, or Solemn Exposition. "In altari non ponantur Sanctorum reliquiae aut statuæ (non exclusis tamen angelorum statuæ quæ candelabrorum vicem gerunt)."—*Ins. Clem.* Now, to understand fully the bearing of this rubric, we must go back to the rubric in the "Caeremoniale Episcoporum." The "Caeremoniale" suggests as suitable ornamentation for the altar on greater feasts, to place between the candelabra reliquaries and images of saints, and also vases of flowers—"a cujus (crucis altaris) lateribus, si haberentur aliquæ Reliquiæ aut tabernacula cum Sanctorum reliquiis, vel imagines argenteæ seu ex alia materia, staturæ competentis, congrue exponi possent . . . sed et vascula cum flosculis frondibusque odoriferis seu serico contextis, studiose ornata adhiberi poterunt."—(Lib. I. cap. xii. 12.) But the "Instructio Clementina," plainly alluding to this passage, points out that this mode of decorating the altar with the reliquaries and images of saints is not allowed on the occasion of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. It is manifest that in both rubrics the images of which there is question, are supposed to be movable.

It is, however, expressly forbidden to expose during Benediction the relic of a saint with the usual ceremonies, by placing a lamp before it and lighted candles on either side of it—(S. R. C., 19 May, 1838). Neither could any similar testimony of veneration to an image of a saint, fixed or movable, be allowed during the Benediction.

SECOND QUESTION.

Please explain why the Feast of the Purity of the Blessed Virgin, which is a transferred feast and only of the "double major" rite, was celebrated this year within the Octave of Corpus Christi? The rubrics would seem not to allow this.

Our correspondent is correct in saying that the rubrics do not allow an ordinary transferred double feast to be celebrated within the Octave of Corpus Christi. "*Infra Octavam non fit de duplici translato.*"—(*Rub. in Festo Corp. Xti.*) The Sacred Congregation has indeed declared that transferred double feasts of the *first* or *second* class are not included in this general prohibition (30 May, 1669): but we have no authority for withdrawing *double major* feasts from the operation of the general rubrics. Indeed Cavalieri (Tom. II. cap. xvi. dæc. 6, 12) expresses the opinion that

they cannot be held within the Octave. Hence the transferred Feast of the Purity could not be celebrated, as it was this year, without a privilege. The Very Reverend Compiler of the Directory kindly informs us that there is such a privilege.

THIRD QUESTION.

At the profession of a nun one priest may celebrate Mass, whilst another, or the bishop, receives her vows. In that case, who is to give Holy Communion—the celebrant, or he who receives the vows?

We should wish to know more exactly to what form of profession our respected subscriber refers. In those we have seen the vows are pronounced “*intra missam*,” so that no one except the celebrant can, we believe, receive the vows of the nun, or give her the Holy Communion.

This is supposed in the form of consecration of virgins given in the Pontifical. We have before us the ceremonial for the profession of a nun in the Presentation Order, and it lays down that, “after the Post Communion, the celebrant approaches the grate, and says three times, ‘*Domine non sum dignus*.’ At the third repetition, the novice kneels at the steps of the grate, adores profoundly the Blessed Sacrament which the celebrant raises a little, whilst she pronounces her vows as follows . . . As soon as the novice has read and signed the Act of Profession, the celebrant gives her the Holy Communion.” Here it is one person only, the celebrant of the Mass, who receives her vows and gives her Holy Communion.

If the ceremony of profession, to which our correspondent refers, be like this, we should say that the person who receives the vows should also give the Holy Communion.

R. B.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND, 24TH OF JUNE, 1880.

THE following important Resolutions were adopted by their Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, at their recent Meeting in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

The Resolutions regarding the Land Question and the present Distress in Ireland have already been published in several newspapers. They have not, however, in all instances been accurately printed. Even apart, therefore, from the obvious advantages of placing on permanent record, and in a form in which they can always be referred to with facility, Resolutions of such importance, there is in this case a special reason for thus presenting them to our readers in authentic form.

The Resolution addressed to the Commissioners of National Education, regarding the remuneration of teachers in Convent Schools, and the two Resolutions addressed to the Irish Members of Parliament, regarding the maintenance of Training Schools, and the proposed sequestration of the property of Propaganda, are now we believe published for the first time.

I.

Resolutions regarding the Land Question and the present Distress :—

“1. That we deem it our duty to express our heartfelt gratitude to the generous friends who in every part of the world came to the assistance of our afflicted people in their dire distress. We regret that our appeal to the Executive last autumn for work for our labouring classes to avert the threatened famine was not attended to, and that we were forced to have recourse to the charity of Christendom to save our country from the horrors of famine.”

“2. That we emphatically reiterate the resolution adopted by the Irish Episcopacy in the year 1869. viz. :—‘The bishops of Ireland, deeply sympathising with the sufferings of their faithful flocks, believe that the settlement of the Land Question is essential to the peace and welfare of the United Kingdom. They recognise the rights and the duties of landlords. They claim, in the same spirit, the rights, as they recognise the duties of tenants. They believe that the comparative destitution, the chronic discontent, and the depressing discouragement of the people of Ireland, are at this period of her history to be attributed more to the want of a settlement of this

question on fair and equitable principles than to any other cause. Therefore, in the interest of all classes, they earnestly hope that the responsible advisers of the Crown will take this most important subject into consideration, and propose to Parliament such measures as will restore confidence, stimulate industry, increase national wealth, and lead to general union, contentment, and happiness."

"3. That, in the present severe crisis of our country, we desire to convey our special sympathy to the farming classes; and we exhort all those who have at heart the best interests of Ireland to use their influence with our Parliamentary friends towards remedying the manifold injustice of the laws which regulate the sale and tenure of land in this kingdom, and which have so long fettered and depressed the energies of our people."

"4. That we deplore, more than words can express, the unchristian feeling displayed by certain landlords of this kingdom during this period of destitution in their dealings with their suffering tenants."

"5. That we deem it our duty also to warn our devoted flocks against allowing themselves to be drawn by their sufferings or persecutions to the employment of unjust or illegal remedies; and we exhort them to be on their guard against such principles and projects as are contrary to the teachings of religion and justice."

II.

Resolution regarding the Remuneration of Teachers in Convent Schools:—

"RESOLVED:—That we earnestly call the attention of the Commissioners of the Board of National Education to the very insufficient remuneration at present given to the Teachers of Convent Schools connected with the National Board, and that we pray them to remedy this crying grievance, either by granting increased Results' Fees, or by some other satisfactory arrangement."

III.

Resolutions regarding the Maintenance of Training Schools, and the proposed Sequestration of the Property of Propaganda:—

"1. That, inasmuch as the great majority of the National School Teachers are untrained, the Bishops and Catholics of Ireland, wishing to remedy this evil, as far as is in their power, have established and maintain Training Schools of great efficiency: that the expense of founding and maintaining these Institutions has fallen on the Catholics of Ireland, already over-taxed and pressed down by existing destitution: that the Bishops and their flocks feel it to be an injustice that while Training Schools are

maintained at considerable expense, to which they object on conscientious grounds, their schools are left unaided, although equally efficient; the Bishops, therefore, call upon the Irish Members of Parliament to demand assistance for the maintenance of Catholic Training Schools throughout Ireland."

"2. That we protest against the proposed sequestration of the property of the Propaganda by the Italian Government, as a violation of our rights as well as those of the Holy See, and we call upon our Representatives in Parliament to urge Her Majesty's Ministers to protect those rights."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Τόρμυζεαδὲ Ὀδιαμμοῦ αἰσὺρ Ḡράιννε. *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne.* Part I. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1880.

"The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language" has done good service to the cause of Irish Literature by the publication of this little volume. It forms a portion of the Celtic course prescribed by the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, and it is also not only one of the best edited of the Ossianic Series, but one of the most interesting specimens of our ancient Celtic Literature which still survive. Eugene O'Curry tells us that the study of this historical romance formed an essential part of the literary course prescribed for the Ollamh of ancient Erin—a degree equivalent to a doctorate in Canon and Civil Law in later times. Father O'Carroll, S.J., has, in the earlier numbers of the present series of the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, written an interesting sketch of the plot of this piece, as well as an eloquent introductory notice, in which he points out its real value in a course of education; for, as he truly remarks, it furnishes us with a vivid picture of pre-Christian life and heroic society in this Island. It is in character similar to those heroic lays in ancient Greece which furnished Homer with the material for his own immortal songs. There can be no question but the reader will find the romance far more interesting than might be anticipated. It is the poetic expression of the vigorous youth-hood of our Pagan forefathers at a time when heroism and magic, and wild adventure, were elements of their daily life. The study of these ancient records has been too long neglected by Irishmen, and yet, in every sense, they are more valuable than the history of Rome's Seven Kings, who, if they lived at all, were merely petty chiefs of a petty village; and they are, at least, as interesting as the labours of Hercules, or the voyage of the Argonauts. We venture to hope that the Priests of Ireland will, by word and example, encourage the study of our ancient literature, which, unlike that of Greece, even in Pagan times, contains hardly anything impure or debasingly unholy.

The Examination Papers issued at the Second Examinations held under the Intermediate Education Act (Ireland) (41 & 42 Vic., Cap. 66), in June and July, 1880. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

To school teachers, as well as to pupils preparing for future examinations under the Intermediate Education Act, this volume of the collected questions proposed at the recent examinations will prove most instructive and most interesting. There is no safer or better guide to the class of questions likely to be proposed in future, than a collection of the questions actually proposed at the past examinations. We cannot fancy a better exercise for boys or for girls who may be aspiring to a "Pass," "Prize," or "Exhibition," than the solution of the very questions which at the recent examinations have been regarded as a sufficient test of sound scholarship in the junior, middle, and senior grades. As far as we can see, this volume is most accurately printed, and it certainly reflects the highest credit on the promptitude and efficiency of the Publishers. Close on 100 pages of varied matter are given to the public for One Shilling.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From MESSRS. GILL & SON, Dublin—

The Dignity, Sanctity and Intercessory Power of the Blessed Virgin.

By VERY REV. CANON ULICK J. BOURKE.

Maria Monk's Daughter. An Autobiography.

The Life of the Venerable Francis Mary Paul Libermann, First Superior-General of the Society of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Heart of Mary. By the REV. PROSPER GOEFFERT.

Emmanuel; a Book of Eucharistic Verses. By the REV. M. RUSSELL, S.J. Third Edition.

Songs for Freedom and other Poems. By the REV. M. J. MACHALE.

Loretto Flowers; or Short Meditations on the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. By DOM SILVANO RAZZI, O.S.B. Translated by F.M.

Memoirs of Gabriel Beranger and his Labours in the cause of Irish Art and Antiquities. By SIR WILLIAM WILDE, M.D.

From MESSRS. DUFFY & SONS, Dublin—

The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. By W. J. FITZPATRICK, LL.D.

From C. SMITH & SON, London—

Illustrated Europe.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1880.

THE LIA FAIL, OR STONE OF DESTINY.

IN TWO CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

IT may be fairly admitted that, neither in size nor in architectural beauty is Westminster Abbey the first of English Cathedrals, yet in many respects it is superior to them all; for, its shrines of illustrious dead, of kings, of warriors, of poets, its long and glorious history, its priceless treasures, invest it with an interest which may be well called unique. It is rich in architectural decorations too, and to see Henry the VII's chapel would be abundant reward for a long journey. Amongst the antiques of that superb chapel is to be found a plain wooden seat, which is called the coronation chair, because in it, for centuries, the kings and queens of England have been crowned. When it was my good fortune to see Westminster Abbey for the first time, I well remember, that this plain old chair had a greater interest for me than anything else within its walls; the reason being that, fixed under its seat is that *Lia Fail* on which, as I had read, the kings of Ireland were wont to be crowned thousands of years before. But I was not then aware that there was a rival *Lia Fail* nearer home, whose claims I intend to put forward in this paper.

The names of three colonies, who were successively possessors of Ireland, are connected with the history of the *Lia Fail*; namely, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha de Danaans, and the Scoti or Milesians.

1. And first as to the Firbolgs: those Firbolgs are said to have ruled in Ireland at a very early period—A.M. 3266, according to the common computation—but their rule was

a short one, being, according to all the authorities, less than one hundred years, some making it much shorter. One English translation which is given for the compound word *Firbolgs* is, "the men with the leathern bags." Previously to their landing in Ireland, they were, according to some authorities, slaves in Greece, where they were compelled to dig the earth out of the valleys, and carry it in leathern bags to the summits of the hills, in order to fertilize them, and hence the name of *Firbolgs*. But O'Flaherty rejects this derivation, and says (*Ogygia*, Vol. 1, p. 21), "Nothing is more evident than that *Bolg* is derived from the *Belgæ* of Britain, who, emigrating from Belgium, or the lower parts of Germany, occupied all those places in and about Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and the interior country of Hampshire; and I am assured that the British language, which they spoke then, was pompously styled the *Belgaid*,¹ as if you should say, they spoke the Belgian tongue." Whatever may be the true derivation of their name, the *Firbolgs* are admitted by all our historians to have been a real, genuine race of people, although their history, like that of all early peoples, is clouded with fable.

2. Having been masters of Ireland for the above comparatively short period, the *Firbolgs* were conquered and driven out by the *Tuatha de Danaans*. This colony held the country for nearly two hundred years, and in their knowledge of the arts of what is called civilized life, were far superior to the *Firbolgs*, as well as to the *Scoti* who conquered and succeeded them; a fact which is attested by the belief of both races, that those *Tuatha de Danaans* were gods and magicians. That they were workers in metal may be fairly inferred from the following passage in Dr. Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*:—

"Of the less remarkable monuments within the *Rath na Riogh*, the first is *Dunha na Bo* or the mound of the cow, called also *Glas Teamhrach*, which is described as lying to the west of *Dunha na n-Giall*. This is a circular mound six feet high, and forty feet in diameter at the base. In illustration of the name or origin of this mound no historical or even legendary account has been discovered. It may, however, be remarked, that innumerable legends respecting the cow, *Glas*, which belonged to the *Tuatha de Danaan smith*, *Gaibhnionn*, are still traditionally current throughout Ireland."²

¹ Book of Lecan, fol. 283.

² *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 134.

3. The Scoti, who succeeded the Danaans were a Scythian colony, which, O'Flaherty says, migrated to Ireland from the Getulian confines of Spain. They are popularly known as the Milesians—a race which held this country for a longer period than any other; and from a certain stand point, may be said to hold it still, although they are not its actual rulers.

The *Lia Fail*, according to all the Irish authorities, was brought to Ireland by the Tuatha de Danaans, but in this the Scotch chroniclers do not agree; maintaining that it was conveyed from Spain by the Scoti or Milesian colony; they, moreover, name one Simon Breac as the actual chieftain who brought it; but unfortunately for this assertion, the Irish historians do not regard Simon Breac as a Scot at all, but a Firbolg. For the sake of clearness, I will give the history of the *Lia Fail* from Hector Boetius, the Scotch chronicler, in the first instance. He tells us it was used as a royal seat in Spain by the Milesians, before they came to Ireland. When the Scoti or Milesian colony was some considerable time in Spain, the Spaniards took alarm at their formidable numbers, and made secret preparations to exterminate them: the Milesians coming to the knowledge of this resolve, took measures of defence. After some time the two rival parties came to blows; the Milesians, Boetius says, won, and the result was a peace, on the basis that each party should hold the possessions which belonged to it before the battle. Matters being thus arranged, we are assured by Boetius that Gathulus, a Milesian chief, "*sitting in his marble chair*," in his city of Brigance, governed his people in justice. Boetius then says of this marble chair that "it had such witch-craft that it made every land where it was found *native* to the Scottish race." This power of the *Lia Fail* is expressed in the following distich:—

"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."

Which is commonly translated thus:—

"This fatal stone where found till time's last day,
There shall a Scythian prince hold sovereign sway."

An English version by the translator of the Ogygia is more literal. It runs as follows:—

"Else fate's belied, or where this stone is found
A prince of Scottish race shall there be crowned."

John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross, who lived shortly after the time of Boetius,¹ translated the whole of his chronicles from the Latin into such English as was then spoken in Scotland. His quaint rendering of the above lines is worth giving here :—

“ The Scottis sall bruke that realm as native ground
Geif Weirdis faill nocht, quhair evir this chier is found.”¹

In quoting the above two Latin lines, an omission is made by all the authors in whom I have found them quoted ; they give them as if they were composed by Boetius himself, or taken by him from some older writer, and the reader is left in ignorance of the important fact, that they are said by Boetius to have been engraved on the stone or chair itself, not of course in the Latin tongue, but in some dialect of the Celtic.²

Besides securing the throne to a prince of Milesian blood, wherever it happened to be, the *Lia Fail* had another wonderful quality, it had the power of declaring the rightful heir to the throne. Thus writes O’Flaherty :—“There is an old tradition, confirmed by many ancient historians, that it (the *Lia Fail*) was called fatal for this reason, because the princes of the blood royal, in the times of Paganism, standing on it, would usually try who should reign : if it would make a noise under the person who sat on it, it was an infallible sign of his accession to the crown : but if it proved silent, it precluded him from any hopes.”³

The occasion on which the *Lia Fail* was brought from Ireland to Scotland, was, according to Boetius, the going to the latter country of Fergus, the son of Ferguhard, to aid the Scots against the Picts. Fergus led the Scots to victory, and, as a reward, they made him their king, and he was crowned, says Boetius, “in the fatale chier of merbil, which he brought with him from Ireland by inspiration of the gods, in order to give stability to his throne.” According to the common computation this happened 330 years

¹ Hector Boece (Latinized Boetius) was born at Dundee about 1465-6.

² “Suprascriptio lapidi, longa post sæcula (ut res indicat) hæc est insculpta, Ni fallat fatum, &c.” Boetius, lib. i., p. 45. So that it would seem this old chronicle is often quoted at second-hand.

There is no inscription whatever on the stone in Westminster Abbey, unless it is on the side concealed by the seat of the Coronation Chair, which is very improbable, as such an important thing as an inscription would not be likely to be hidden away.

³ Ogygia, vol. i., p. 67.

before the Christian era.¹ O'Flaherty says the period at which the *Lia Fail* was transferred from Ireland to Scotland cannot be fixed, but he hazards a conjecture in the following words:—"The time that it (the *Lia Fail*) came from Ireland into the possession of the Scots of Britain, cannot be ascertained, but if I may be allowed to conjecture, it was in the reign of King Kinneth, who conquered and subjected to the empire of the Scots the Pictish nation, and deposited that stone in the Abbey of Scone, in the country of the Picts, where he transferred the palace."² Between the assertion of Boetius and the conjecture of O'Flaherty there is a vast discrepancy, and yet a certain agreement. According to each, the bringing of the *Lia Fail* into Scotland was connected with the conquest of the Picts, and he who reigned immediately after it was brought was the first king who ruled over all Scotland; but as the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth happened Anno Domini, 843, there is a difference of nearly twelve hundred years between Boetius and O'Flaherty, as to the time at which the fatal stone was transferred from Ireland to Scotland.

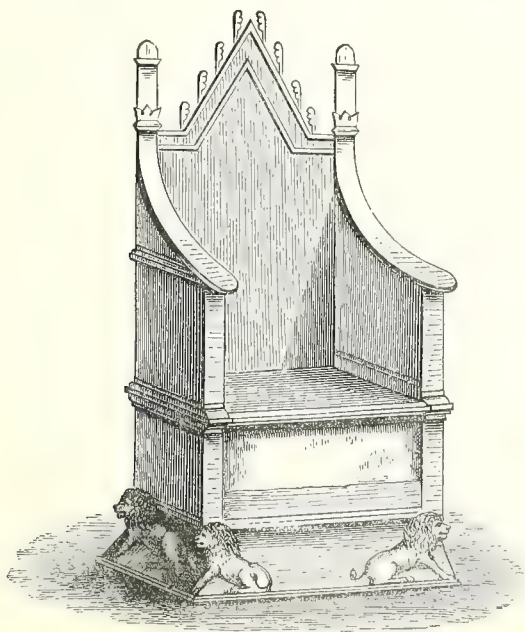
That there was at Scone a *Saxum fatale*, wherever it came from, on which the kings of Scotland had been for a long time crowned, is a historic fact; that Edward the First, of England, brought it from Scone to Westminster Abbey is equally certain. The circumstances under which he did so were shortly these:—Edward was an able and a warlike prince, and like many of his successors, he had a great desire to enlarge his dominions at the expense of his neighbours; he subdued the Welsh in 1282, and with the hope of reconciling them to his rule, he managed to have his son and heir born in Carnarvon Castle, and he paid them the additional compliment of styling him Prince of Wales. This success only increased his desire for new conquests. Looking at the map of that island, of a portion of which only he was ruler, he saw that Scotland would round off his territory to the north admirably. Edward had claims to Scotland, for Queen Margaret, wife of Alexander the Third, was his sister. Alexander met an untimely death; he fell from his horse and was killed. His only daughter was married to the king of Norway, who died soon after her father, leaving an infant daughter. This child, who was

¹ This is the date given by Boetius as the commencement of the reign of Fergus in Scotland, and Anderson and other chronologists agree with him.

² Ogygia, part i., p. 67-8

destined to be married to Edward's son, also died, before the commissioners appointed to arrange the marriage reached Norway. The immediate heirs to the crown of Scotland having been thus disposed of, twelve or thirteen claimants to that crown started up without delay. Edward was not sorry that there were so many of them, but he well knew that so important an affair called for clever and delicate handling. He was equal to the occasion; for he won half the battle at the first stroke, by getting himself appointed arbitrator between the claimants. After much finessing and apparent deliberation, he appointed John Baliol King of Scotland, who, according to ancient usage, was crowned at Scone on the Stone of Destiny: but Edward's award was accompanied by so many conditions, that Baliol was little more than his deputy, not indeed ruling in his name, but ruling by his permission. Baliol seems to have been a weak subservient man, which probably was the reason why Edward appointed him; but the proud nobles of Scotland determined not to allow their country to be handed over to the King of England, through the weakness or incapacity of their sovereign. They, therefore (in his name of course, and with his permission, which he dared not refuse) entered into an alliance defensive and offensive with Philip of France, then at war with Edward about the possession of Guienne. But even this could not save Scotland. Edward raised levies in Wales and Ireland, and soon appeared before Berwick with a powerful army. Whether by design or accident, the Scotch drew the sword first, but unsuccessfully. A thousand of them who had marched to take possession of the Castle of Werk, which had been betrayed to them, were cut off almost to a man. The English invested Berwick and took it by assault. They next marched to Dunbar and summoned the Castle to surrender within three days; before the three days were expired the Scottish army appeared in sight, stretching along the hills beyond the town. A battle ensued. The English commander, Warenne, ordered his troops to make a retrograde movement, and the Scotch, believing they were retreating, poured down upon them. They were mistaken, and found, too late, that they were caught in a trap; great numbers of them were slain, and the remainder, panic stricken, fled in utter confusion. Edward was lord of Scotland. He made a military tour through that kingdom, but no where was there manifested even the semblance of resistance to his power; he then returned to England, taking with him from Scone the Stone of Destiny.

Edward was determined to convince the Scotch that their country was no longer to be an independent kingdom, so he, as their historians assert, destroyed the proofs of their independence which were preserved in the different monasteries; he, moreover, carried off the Regalia of Scotland, as well as the Stone of Destiny. No one can suppose that Edward set any value upon this stone, but he attached much importance to the abolition of everything that could remind the Scotch people of their former nationality. Scone ceased to be royal when the *Lia Fail* was gone. The famous stone, when brought to England, was consigned to neglect and obscurity for three hundred years; but when James the Sixth of Scotland became James the First of England, it rose into favour again for an obvious reason, and he was crowned upon it King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland on the 25th of July, 1603; and although the Stuarts no longer reign in England, the custom of having the English monarchs crowned in the Coronation Chair, beneath which is fixed the *Lia Fail* from Scone, has continued to the present time. The engraving given below is a correct representation of this chair, as it stands at present in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.



THE CORONATION CHAIR, KEPT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, SHOWING THE STONE OF DESTINY UNDER THE SEAT, WHICH WAS CARRIED OFF FROM SCONE BY EDWARD THE FIRST IN 1296.

The chair proper has no interest attached to it, and was probably got up for the coronation of James the First. The stone beneath it is a thick rough slab without any marks of tooling or lettering upon it that one can discover, and is totally different from the "marble chair" of Boetius, or, indeed, from any thing that could be called a chair. That it was carried away from Scone by Edward is, of course, quite true—that it was ever brought to Scone from Ireland is extremely doubtful, as we shall presently see.

Some weeks ago I applied to a friend in London to procure for me the dimensions of the supposed *Lia Fail* in Westminster Abbey: having obtained Dean Stanley's permission, he examined and measured it, and kindly sent me the result in the following letter:—

"I send in registered letter the measurement of the stone . . . I applied for permission at the Dean of Westminster's residence in the Cloisters . . . the house steward took me through the Dean's private way into the Abbey, and direct to the Chapel of the Shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, and he allowed me to get over the brass rail that I might take the measure. The sides and ends are very rough, so that it is not quite the same length or thickness top and bottom, but nearly so. The top may be smooth, but it is fixed close under the seat of the Chair—a fixture. The bottom of the Stone is more than a foot from the floor on which the gilded feet of the Chair rest.

"Yours truly,

"——."

DIMENSIONS.

"The Stone in Westminster Abbey fixed under the Coronation Chair in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel measures—

2 feet 2 inches in length,
1 foot 3 inches in width,
,, 9 inches in depth.

"The Stone is in a very rugged state. It seems to have been chiselled and broken to make it fit under the Chair. There are iron handles bent at each end."

It is pretty evident that the workmen who fitted up the Coronation Chair knew little or cared little about the famous *Saxum fatale*.

CHAPTER II.

1. The first thing which raises a doubt as to the stone in Westminster Abbey being the *Lia Fail* of Irish history is, that no Irish writer anterior to Keating speaks of the removal of this stone from Ireland to Scotland. Now, as Keating was born about the year 1570, he must have written his history in the early part of the seventeenth century, and he is, therefore, not an authority upon the point, unsupported, as he undoubtedly is, by earlier Irish authorities. He only quotes Boetius for his view, and whilst quoting him he differs from him on a rather important fact; for Boetius says that Fergus, when going to Scotland from Ireland, to aid the Scotch, brought the *Lia Fail* with him, "by inspiration of the gods," whilst Keating tells us he sent home for it, to be crowned upon it, in order to give stability to his throne, when he was elected King of Scotland. Thus, according to Keating, so far from bringing the *Lia Fail* with him in the first instance, he only despatched messengers for it when he required it, as if it were the merest matter of course that it would be sent to him; on which Dr. Petrie justly remarks, that the *Lia Fail* being regarded as a most sacred inheritance in Ireland, "it is in the highest degree improbable that, to gratify the desire of a colony, the Irish would have voluntarily parted with a monument so venerable for its antiquity, and considered essential to the legitimate succession of their own kings."

2. Boetius asserts without hesitation, that the Scoti carried with them the *Lia Fail* from Spain to Ireland; but in this he differs from all the Irish writers, who say, with a greater show of reason, that the Danaans were the people by whom it was brought—not from Spain but from the north of Germany, which becomes still more probable from the extraordinary qualities attributed to this stone; for the Danaans, who were, on all hands, regarded as "notable magicians," would be far more likely than the Scoti to be the possessors of such a stone. This, to be sure, does not affect the question of the transference or non-transference of the *Lia Fail* to Scone, but it does affect the credibility of Boetius, inasmuch as the Irish chroniclers assert, not as against him, for they wrote long before him, but as the settled accepted tradition of their times, that the Danaans were the people who brought the *Lia Fail* to Ireland. Boetius makes no reference at all to the Irish authorities on the subject, so that he was either ignorant of them, or passed

them over in silence, because they interfered with his theory.

3. The evidence that the Stone of Destiny transferred from Scone to Westminster by Edward is not the Irish *Lia Fail* is very strong. The Irish *Lia Fail* was kept at Tara, where the kings were crowned; but Dr. O'Connor (Stowe Catalogue, p. 27) says:—"this stone is said to have been removed from Temara, the Royal Rath of Meath, to Cruachan, the Royal Rath of Connaught, at a remote period of time." This notion, however, is founded on a mistaken reading of an Irish MS., in which the monarch Cormac Mac Art saw, *in a dream*, that the *Lia Fail* would be removed from Tara to Croghan. But there is, as Dr. Petrie remarks, much value in this passage, inasmuch as it identifies the *Lia Fail* with the stone referred to by the Irish writers, as existing on the Mound of Hostages at Tara. "The *Lia Fail* is spoken of not only in these authorities [previously quoted by Dr. Petrie], but by all the ancient Irish writers, in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it remained in its original situation at the time when they wrote. Thus in the poem of Cuan O'Lochain:—

‘The Rath of the synods of great power
To the north of the *Fal* of Temur,
East of the Rath at the side of *The Stones*,
Is the house from which Benen escaped.’

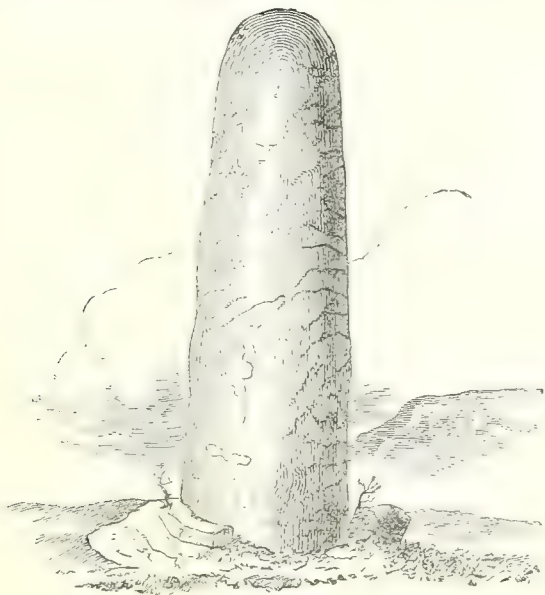
And the prose account of the monument in like manner states, that ‘*Fal* lies by the side of *Dumha na n-Giall* to the north, *i.e.*, the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of the throne of Ireland. *Fal* was the name of this stone, that is *Fo-aíl*, that is the under stone, that is the stone under the king.’

“A still stronger proof of its existence at Tara is furnished in the following verse quoted by Keating, and by the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, from a poem of Kineth O'Hartigan, who lived in the tenth century:—

1n cloc fofur ταιτ μο ῥά	This stone on which are my <i>two</i>
páil	<i>heels</i>
hualoi paiteari inir fáil	From it is called <i>Inis Fail</i> ,
eteairi ῥά τριαῖς túile émn	Between two shores of strong
	floods,
maḡ fáil uile fofu Eirinn.	<i>Magh Faill</i> [is a name] for all
	Erin.” ¹

¹ History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, pp. 135-6.

If we accept the above accounts, especially that from O'Hartigan, and they are at least as trustworthy as any thing which can be quoted on the subject, the *Lia Fail* could not have been carried away to Scotland in the fourth century before the Christian era, as Boetius asserts, nor even in the ninth century after it, as O'Flaherty surmises. If not, then what became of it? Dr. Petrie's opinion is that it was never removed from Tara at all, but lay there neglected after Tara had ceased to be a royal residence. "It is an interesting fact," he says, "that a large obeliscal pillar-stone, in a prostrate position, occupied, till a recent period, the very situation on the Hill of Tara pointed out as the place of the *Lia Fail* by the Irish writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; and that this was a monument of pagan antiquity, an *idol-stone*, as the Irish writers call it, seems evident from its form and character. Shortly after the year 1798 . . . it was removed from its ancient situation to the adjacent mound in *Rath na Righ*, called the *Forradh*, to mark, as a grave-stone, the remains of the rebels who fell there at that memorable period."¹ It stands six feet above the surface, and is said to be sunk into the earth about six feet more, so that its whole length is about twelve feet. The portion above ground is accurately represented by the annexed engraving.



THE LIA FAIL AT TARA FROM DR. PETRIE'S HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF TARA HILL.

¹ History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, p. 137.

“The material of which this monument is composed is a granular limestone, very probably from some primary district; but whether it be Irish or foreign has not been ascertained: it may be remarked, however, that no granular limestone occurs in the vicinity.”

4. We find in Keating a very strange inconsistency regarding the *Lia Fail*: he agrees with the Irish authorities that it was the Tuatha de Danaans who brought with them, as he says, “that stone which gave the name *Inis Fail* to Ireland,” and then, in opposition to what he has just said, he passes on to Boetius’ account of it, quoting the couplet: *Ni fullat fatum*, &c.; but this apparent lapsus is accounted for by Keating’s supposed desire to sustain the Stuart dynasty in England. “It is a remarkable fact,” says Dr. Petrie, “that though the Scottish account has been adopted by the Irish themselves, since the succession of the House of Stuart to the British throne seemed to verify the ancient prediction connected with it, yet no Irish account has been found to support it earlier than that of Keating, who evidently adopted the statement of Boetius’ well known verse, which he quotes with the palpable view of sustaining the right of the first Charles to the throne.”¹

5. The idea of a stone or marble-chair, such as is spoken of by Boetius; or a thick rough slab, as the stone in Westminster is, does not at all agree with the shape or appearance of the *Lia Fail*, as described by the Irish writers. An idol-stone, as they call the *Lia Fail*, was commonly a pillar stone or obelisk, and the species of worship given to such monoliths, as emblematic stones, although not a thoroughly settled question, is supposed to have been uniformly the same and somewhat peculiar. It is therefore not improbable that the worship accorded to the true *Lia Fail*—as an idol-stone—was of the same kind as that given to the world-famous Cleopatra’s Needle. A name by which the *Lia Fail* was usually known is given in Dr. Petrie’s account of Tara Hill, and is descriptive of a monolith, whilst it indicates the kind of worship supposed to have been given to such idol-stones.

6. If the real *Lia Fail* be at Tara, whence came the *Sarum fatale*, so long venerated at Scone, and which is now in Westminster Abbey? That is unknown, and must remain so; but its existence, independent of the Irish *Lia Fail*, and the existence of other king-making stones besides,

¹ History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, p. 136.

would seem to be fairly accounted for by the following passage:—"There is no other manner of inauguration with some of the northern nations than unanimously to constitute the king elect, lifted upon a stone, with all possible acclamations and demonstrations of joy—as Saxa Grammaticus and others relate."¹

I have now given, in brief, the chief facts about the *Lia Fail*, and whether it is still in Ireland, out in the cold on Tara Hill, or honored with a special place in Edward the Seventh's gorgeous chapel in Westminster, each reader will form his own judgment: all, however, I think, must agree that there are not many more interesting monuments of antiquity in Europe than the true *Lia Fail*, whether it is in Tara or Westminster. For myself, I may have prejudices on the subject, but it seems to me that the weight of evidence goes to prove that the *Lia Fail* of the Tuatha de Danaans is not in Westminster Abbey, but that, having braved the vicissitudes of nearly three thousand years, it stands proudly and firmly at the head of the rebels' grave on Tara of the Kings.

J. O'R.

ST. PAUL AND SENECA.—No. II.

THE HISTORY OF THE TRADITION.

TO readers of the former paper it may have been something of a surprise that so much space was devoted to the discussion of points so abstract as the possibility and the probability of personal communication between St. Paul and Seneca; but the explanation is very simple, and the course pursued will recommend itself to those who are already familiar with the outlines of this controversy, and will vindicate itself to those who will follow to the end the present discussion. It will be found that the positive proofs in favour of the tradition are so inadequate and so inconclusive as to render necessary some explanation of the fact, that such a tradition prevailed so widely and so long. Now, this explanation is to be found in the paragraphs already discussed, which serve, at all events, to

¹ Selden, Tit. Hon. part i., c. 8. Quoted by O'Flaherty, Ogygia, vol. i., p. 68.

show how many points of contact, possible and probable, between the philosopher and the Apostle, placed themselves at the disposal of the numberless writers who, in the early ages of the Church, delighted to supplement historical facts by the aid of an imagination that was sometimes pious and always vivid.

And here seems to be a suitable place for making some brief remarks on those apocryphal writings that have come down to us in such numbers, and that have always exercised a strange fascination over persons whose own imaginations are in any degree akin to the imaginations that first devised them. The student of early ecclesiastical history will not need to be reminded that there is scarcely a name of any note in the history of the Apostolic times that has not been associated with some apocryphal writing, that strongly appeals to the innate curiosity of the human mind, that raises a host of expectations in the heart of the earnest student, and that, on examination, almost invariably ends in disappointing these expectations.

We may remark that to the word itself "apocryphal" a uniform meaning was by no means attached. Sometimes, perhaps oftenest, it had a bad sense; but sometimes also a sense that was not bad. At one time it is used to designate a work falsely attributed to a known author; at another time to indicate a production of which the author was unknown; without in either of these cases implying that the work in question contained anything erroneous in faith, or blameworthy in morals. It was, perhaps, oftenest used to denote a work that has on it some brand of error or impiety, and was therefore not to be publicly read like the Canonical Scriptures or the Ecclesiastical works of the Fathers of the Church. All these distinctions in the use of the word "apocryphal" may be gathered, by those who are curious in the matter, from the condemnation of books in the Roman Synod under Gelasius, who was Pope from A.D. 492 to 496. These apocryphal writings divide themselves into various groups. There were (1) "Gospels," such as the Gospel "*Secundum Egyptios*," which according to St. Epiphanius was abused by the Sabellian and Valentinian heretics; the "*Proto-Evangelium S. Jacobi*;" the "*Gospel of Nicodemus*." There were several of these Gospels written by heretics for the direct purpose of supporting these heresies; and to this class belong the "Gospels" of St. Peter, of St. Thomas, of St. Matthias, of St. Bartholomew, and the Twelve Apostles, and

of St. Philip. There was also (2) a number of works under the title of "Acts" of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. John, which appear to have been composed principally in the interests of Manichaeism. Again (3) there were "Revelations," as of St. Paul and St. Thomas. Another class (4) was of "Liturgies," under the names of Peter, James, Matthew, and Mark, which bear certain evidence of having been written long after the Apostolic times. Finally (5) there were certain writings of a doctrinal, moral, or historical character, which were not only harmless but edifying and instructive, such, for instance, as the "*Liber Pastoris*," attributed to Hermas, that disciple of whom St. Paul speaks in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and which may possibly have been the work of the author to whom it is attributed. To this last class may be referred the "Epistles of St. Paul to Seneca, and of Seneca to St. Paul."

From this enumeration it will be manifest that careful discrimination is necessary in pronouncing judgment on the early apocryphal writings; that even with regard to those of them, which do not stand the test of historical criticism, the degree of condemnation must be apportioned according to the merits of each particular case; and that some of them, though they fail to support the claim of their purported authorship, are yet of such a sort that the student of ecclesiastical history may well feel thankful for their preservation. Now this necessary discrimination has been too often forgotten, and sweeping censures, unjust because they are sweeping, have been launched against every ancient document that bears, in whatever sense, the evil-sounding name of "apocryphal."

Mr. Lecky, in a note to his extremely able and interesting "*History of European Morals*," declares "that the immense number of forged documents is one of the most disgraceful features of the Church history of the first few centuries." But this condemnation loses something of its force by the vagueness which, on examination, will be found to pervade it. It is an utterance dictated, we are sure, by a sincere desire for the purity of history, but, perhaps too, inspired by a mistake that has done incalculable harm to historical inquiry, the mistake of judging the transactions of past ages by standards that prevail in our own. We repeat there is in a condemnation so worded an absence of that discriminating accuracy which is needed to make hostile criticism effective. For, after

all, what is meant by the phrase "disgraceful to Church history"? It must mean disgraceful either to the writers of that history, or to the readers, or to both. Now, these forged documents may have been disgraceful to those—and from the circumstances of the case, these could have been only comparatively few in number—who forged them. If the ages in which they were produced accepted them with unquestioning credulity, surely some milder term than "disgraceful" might be found for what was, after all, only the absence of that critical spirit which only the progress of centuries could render possible. As well look for the ripe corn in April as look for a school of historical criticism in the early ages. But even to the authors of these apocryphal writings their production was not, as a matter of course, so disgraceful as might seem at first sight; and, certainly, not disgraceful to all in the same degree. They were, as we have seen, of several classes, and each class and its authors must be judged on their own merits. We have already given of them a classification that may serve for historical purposes: and we now proceed to give a classification that will enable us to judge how far each class is deserving of censure. There were, then, (1) some written by heretics for the express purpose of supporting their heresies, and these were, as a matter of course, scouted by the Church, and received no countenance from any orthodox Catholic writer, except in so far as such a writer, not being infallible, might have been temporarily misled in his judgment about them. There were (2) others written by, perhaps, well meaning, but certainly injudicious men, who thought they could, in some sort, serve the cause of truth by writings, which, however historically erroneous, contained nothing to wound the faith or shock the piety of the faithful. There was (3) a class of what may be called religious romance, which, taking for its basis a certain amount of historical possibility or probability, put forward that possibility or probability in the garb of actual fact. It is manifest that the Epistles with which we are at present concerned belong to this last class. We should remember also that there are some of those writings which may have been genuine, but which sank into the class of "apocryphal," simply by the accidental loss of the data for those positive proofs that were needed to establish their claims to authenticity. An instance of this we consider to be the "*Liber Pastoris*." Now this last class of apocryphal writings seems to be, to say the least of it, quite

harmless, and even the enlightened age that reads with pleasure, and without reprehension, the imaginary conversations of Walter Savage Landor, who, by the way, is little careful at times to preserve *vraisemblance* with the times and characters he selects (and often, we add, misrepresents) need not affect to be shocked by that class of apocryphal writing to which we allude, and which deserves surely no harsher name than the name of imaginative essays.

Having said so much about these apocryphal writings, we now proceed to give the history of the tradition with which we are concerned. It is on all hands admitted that the first express mention of a correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca is that made by St. Jerome. This admission in itself is very damaging to the cause of those who maintain the authenticity of that correspondence. It is hardly to be supposed that had such a correspondence, or even the tradition of such a correspondence existed earlier, some one or more of the early Fathers and ecclesiastical writers who flourished before St. Jerome, would not have mentioned, nay even expatiated upon, an incident in Christian history so interesting and so important. But on this subject there is amongst the earlier ecclesiastical writers quite a conspiracy of silence, and this is all the more damaging to the tradition from the fact that it was quite in the way, and after the fashion often pushed to excess, of the earlier, especially the Greek, Fathers, to seize upon and make the most of any discoverable or imaginable points of contact between Christian truth and pagan philosophy.

It is true that as time advanced, as Christianity attained a greater place in the world, and secured a firmer hold upon the minds of men, and as the intellectual and social influences of paganism grew weaker, the turn of Christian writers was rather to depreciate pagan philosophy and classical literature. But at first it was far otherwise. The circumstances of the time, the immense influence of Greek and Roman philosophy, the apparent weakness of Christianity in a philosophic and literary point of view, and, above all, the fact that its early defenders had, most of them, been from their tender years imbued with classical culture, made it most natural that the bent of their minds should be to establish as many points of contact as possible between the old and the new; and, in fact, to work out the idea that, as the Synagogue was to the Jews, the pedagogue to Christianity, so might heathen literature and

philosophy expounded by the light of Faith, quietly and naturally conduct men into the one true Fold.

It is even certain that, carried away by this favourite idea, and pushed by the exigencies of controversy, Christian writers sometimes advanced to lengths which no judicious mind can justify. They maintained the thesis that not only could pagan philosophy, in its best sense, be reconciled with Divine Faith, but also that that philosophy had actually, and as a matter of historical fact, been influenced and shaped by the teaching of revelation. It is strange, and in some degree amusing, to see with what vigour and earnestness such a writer as St. Clement of Alexandria boldly forced his way into the very camp of his controversial enemies, and sought to prove to them that the perfection of their philosophy and even the success of their arms had been owing to the influence of revealed truth. We may smile, if we will, when St. Clement declares that it was from the Old Testament that Homer borrowed his finest thoughts, and Plato his most sublime philosophy, and that it was by the study of the Pentateuch and by imitation of Moses, that Miltiades won the battle of Marathon; but we should remember that such statements have even a controversial value, though perhaps in a direction different to that for which they were intended. To the pagan world it must have been profoundly striking, and to us it must be deeply interesting, to see a vigorous mind demonstrating what at the very least St. Clement demonstrates, that the highest achievements of human genius had had their parallels in a religious system that had its origin amongst a despised and isolated people.

We may then conclude, from the fact that no writer before St. Jerome mentions this correspondence, that the great weight of evidence, negative to be sure, but not less powerful, lies against its previous existence.

To the remark, that no writing previous to the time of St. Jerome mentions this correspondence, an exception may seem to exist in the fact that this correspondence is expressly mentioned in a document which purports to be of much earlier composition. We mean the work attributed to St. Linus. This, however, is certainly spurious, and, as being so, it in no way supports the tradition of which there is question, we here introduce our examination of it, believing that it has a strict right to a place, not amongst the proofs, but in the history of the tradition. The title of this writing is—"Epistle of Pope St. Linus upon the

Passion of Peter and Paul, addressed to the Churches of the East, translated into Latin." In the form in which it has come down to us it affords a specimen of the worst faults of the apocryphal writings. There is in it such an incorrectness of style, such a manifest want of historical judgment, such a love of the marvellous for the sake of the marvel, and such obvious inaccuracy that, in its present form, no critic of any name has, for some centuries, ventured to maintain its authenticity. Bearing upon the present matter it has the following passage:—

"The Emperor's tutor" (it does not mention the name of Seneca) "was so bound up in friendship with him—St. Paul—seeing in him a divine knowledge, that he could scarcely refrain from conversing with him; and as he could not speak with him face to face, he sent him and received from him many letters, and thus enjoyed the pleasure of friendly intercourse with him, and the advantages of his counsel."

If the passage of St. Jerome first gave currency to the tradition of friendly intercourse between the philosopher and the Apostle, we have no doubt that the wide acceptance of the story in later times, was largely due to this passage which we have quoted from a work that is beyond all question spurious.

It is true that many writers of eminence, such as Baronius and Bellarmine, have been of opinion that, though the extant Epistle of Linus is spurious, yet there had been an authentic Epistle written in Greek which has perished, and which the present copy is an attempt at reproducing. This opinion receives some confirmation from the fact that the Roman Breviary, *Pars Autumnalis*, under September 23rd, states that Linus "*scripsit res gestas Beati Petri*." With regard to this it may be sufficient to observe that, in the first place, no one could reasonably expect that the compilers of the Breviary should transcend the criticism of their age, and that, consequently, historical statements made in the Breviary can scarcely be cited as evidence of anything more than the opinion of the time, which opinion must then be subjected to critical analysis. But, in the second place, for the purposes of any such historical controversy as that with which we are at present concerned, such a theory is very useless. Let it be granted that an authentic Epistle of Linus formerly existed, still the lost Epistle can give no manner of support to any statement made in the spurious reproduction that is still extant. If the original Epistle has perished, so also have perished all means of

selecting from the spurious the truths that were contained in the genuine.

If the mention made by St. Jerome and St. Augustine is the first in Ecclesiastical history, the tradition does not seem to have attracted much notice, nor to have had any weight attached to it for a considerable time. In fact, the first notice we have of Seneca, at all, from any ecclesiastical source, is when the Council of Tours, A.D. 567, quotes a passage from Seneca, and, curiously enough, a passage not to be found in any of his known writings. Of course such a citation proves absolutely nothing in the matter at present under discussion.

From this time, however, until the ninth century, there is no mention made in any author of the tradition of the Christianity of Seneca, and yet we know that had such a tradition prevailed extensively, it would have come directly in the way of ecclesiastical writers, whose turn of mind it would have precisely suited, and whose aims it would have admirably subserved. Sulpicius Severus, for instance, narrates the conversions made by St. Peter and St. Paul, yet never mentions the name of Seneca. Pope St. Leo has three sermons, and St. Maximus five homilies on the same subject, in which the name of Seneca does not even appear. St. Chrysologus was himself expressly compared with Seneca, but he never alludes to Seneca's relations with Christianity. Martin of Braga compiled "sentences" from Seneca, but makes no mention of the tradition; and surely all this is proof that up to the ninth century it had acquired no great hold even upon popular imagination.

In the ninth century, Freculphus, a Benedictine, who was Bishop of Lisieux, in a chronicle dedicated to the Empress Judith, makes mention of relations that existed between St. Paul and Seneca, and it is from the publication of this chronicle that the story may be said to date the first beginning, not, indeed, of its existence, but certainly of its popularity. And yet for nearly two centuries after Freculphus it did not seem to attract any notice. From the ninth to the twelfth century there is a complete absence of any allusion to such a tradition. Neither Alcuin, nor Eginhard, nor Agobard have any thing to say upon the subject. But suddenly, as it would seem, in the twelfth century the tradition sprang into new life and fresh vigour, and we find in almost every one of those whom we may call the popular authors of the next three centuries, beginning with Honorius of Autun (1120), abundant allusion to

the story. It is unnecessary, and would be tiresome, to quote their testimony. To readers of the present day such citations would be nothing more than a list of unknown or little known names, and in every case in which they give any authority for these statements, that authority is neither more nor less than the passage from St. Jerome.

It may be remarked, with regard to such testimonies, that the number of them adds nothing whatever to the weight of real evidence. No possible number of such testimonies could add anything. In the first place all disclose the common source from which they drew their inspiration, and support themselves on the authority of St. Jerome, the opinion of St. Augustine, and the Epistle of St. Linus. In the next place, they are the result not of independent research even among common authorities, but rather servile repetitions of each other. No one who has ever had occasion to pursue a historical statement through the chronicles of the middle ages can fail to have remarked the uncritical facility with which one writer follows in the footsteps of another, or can fail to have arrived at the conclusion that very little support accrues to any historical statement from the mere abundance of such uncritical testimony. Such, however, was the character of the evidence for three centuries, and it was, precisely, in these centuries that the tradition was most widely circulated, most firmly believed, and most fully embellished by additions made to it by men who allowed their imagination to outrun their sagacity.

Peter of Cluny (1123), cites a text from the correspondence in exactly the same way, and apparently with as much respect, as a text from the Sacred Writings. Petrarch, in his "Letter to Seneca," alludes to the correspondence without any doubt of its authenticity. A higher flight is attained by an Italian biographer of Seneca, Sizzo Polentone (1461), who represents Seneca, at the approach of death, invoking the Redeemer of men under the pagan title of Jupiter Liberator; baptizing himself with the water of his last fatal bath, and finally composing for himself an epitaph of which any Christian might be proud. Others went still further in their zeal. Because there is a certain Lucius mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and because Tertullian speaks of a Lucius who was suddenly converted, it was assumed as beyond question that this *must* have been Lucius Annæus Seneca. Not satisfied with making him a Christian they gave him seventy-two disciples, and attributed

to him an important part in the development of the early Church. Indeed it was the zeal of these well-meaning supporters of the tradition, a zeal that hurried them into numberless absurdities, that afterwards gave the greatest blow to its acceptance.

While, as we have remarked, these positive testimonies do not go far in support of the story, the negative testimony against it of those who never make the slightest allusion to it goes very far to discredit it. Neither St. Anselm, nor St. Bernard, nor St. Thomas, nor Peter Lombard, nor John Gerson, who may be fairly deemed the intellectual representatives of their times, give in their writings any support either to the correspondence itself, or to the tradition of friendly relations between Seneca and St. Paul. Indeed, the only one of the schoolmen who alludes to it is the unfortunate Abelard, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and as this testimony is a fair specimen of middle-age opinion on the subject, we subjoin his testimony in full :—

“ But how much St. Paul was esteemed even among philosophers who heard his preaching or saw his writings, let Seneca be witness. And St. Jerome in his book on illustrious writers, records the praise which Seneca bestowed on St. Paul.”

We find then that by the end of the fifteenth century this tradition had made for itself an unquestioned place in ecclesiastical history. No one seemed to doubt its authenticity ; no one ventured to criticize it. But it had seen its best days, and in proportion as men began to examine the proofs on which it rested, they began to modify their opinion on the matter. It was seen at once, that even though the correspondence itself were assumed to be genuine, it would not by any means prove that Seneca was a Christian, and hence the first modification of the historical theory was made by such writers as Lefevre of Etaples (1536), Curio (1557), Sextus of Sienna (1569), who, admitting, or at least not calling into question, the authenticity of the correspondence, and deducing from it the friendly disposition of Seneca towards Christianity, did not believe that Seneca ever became a Christian convert. Another step in advance was soon taken by critics more acute and less credulous. Early in the sixteenth century Louis Vives, a commentator on St. Augustine, boldly rejected the correspondence as apocryphal. Justus Lipsius, also, condemned it as an imposture, but, influenced by respect for the authority of St. Jerome, he would not

absolutely pronounce against the time-honoured story of intimacy between St. Paul and Seneca. From this time the correspondence seems to have been given up even by those who, on other grounds, countenanced the tradition itself. Natalis Alexander and Tillemont decide against the Epistles, but the former is of opinion that some letters, since lost, did pass between St. Paul and Seneca, and he seems to take it for granted, though in this matter some proof would have been desirable, that it was these lost Epistles which St. Jerome saw, and to which he makes allusion.

As the sixteenth century advanced, the matter was discussed both by Catholic and Protestant writers. Baronius and Bellarmine, Cardinal Duperron, and the learned Jesuit Raynaud, as well as Theodore Beza and Heinsius, all applied the tests of the new born criticism to the investigation of the tradition. The total result of the critical labours of this century may be summed up in these almost unanimous conclusions of the writers who discussed the subject—that the correspondence is spurious, the history of Linus an imposture; that there is no allusion to Seneca in the verse of the Epistle to the Philippians; that his philosophy is contrary to the spirit of the Church, and that his death was the death of a pagan.

These views prevailed during the seventeenth century, and hence it is not wonderful that the great ecclesiastical writers of this period should have preserved silence upon this subject. Neither Bossuet nor Bourdaloue, nor Flechier makes any mention of the tradition, though readers of their eloquent pages will remember many places where such a tradition could have been used with striking effect. Malebranche so far from considering Seneca a Christian, scarcely gives him credit for philosophic dignity, and in a religious point of view, deems his writings in no wise superior to the Koran of Mahomet. Hence, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tradition was almost entirely forgotten, or, if recalled from the obscurity into which it had fallen, was recalled only to be branded with fresh condemnation.

It was only in comparatively recent times that the tradition was revived and defended with an ingenuity sharpened by those critical habits of mind, and aided by those critical appliances, to which it had owed its overthrow. The Count de Maistre is, perhaps, the most notable of its recent defenders, and he has defended it with that vivacity

and enthusiasm which were part of his character. It is mainly owing to his energy and earnestness that the question has been re-opened, which the unanimous criticism of two centuries had declared closed for ever.

Recent criticism, however, has made no attempt to rehabilitate in the estimation of historians the Epistles of which there is question. With regard to these the utmost length to which it advances is that, spurious though they be, they are themselves a proof of an early authentic correspondence which St. Jerome saw, and to which his testimony makes allusion. Nor does any one attempt now to defend as genuine the Epistle of Linus, or the Chronicle of Dexter. The supporters of the tradition in recent times address themselves chiefly to the thesis of the intimate personal relations between Seneca and St. Paul, and draw their proofs principally from those considerations to which we have called attention in the paragraphs in which we discussed the possibility and the probability of these relations. In addition to this an attempt has been made by critical comparison of separate passages to establish as certain that the philosophic thinking of Seneca was largely shaped by the teaching of St. Paul, and by the influence of Christianity. Having now completed, so far as was desirable, the history of the tradition, we shall, in the next paper, proceed to examine and discuss what may be called the positive proofs that have been advanced in its favour.

J. F.

THE CHURCH'S INFALLIBLE MAGISTERIUM.¹

THE difference between the position which the question of the Church's Ordinarium Magisterium, and that of her Definitional Infallibility occupy in theology, is suggested by the different method in which Dr. Ward treats each of them in these Essays. While he can do no more for the former than gather various aspects of it from casual passages of theologians "who had not treated the theme of set purpose, methodically, scientifically," and present them himself in a rather fragmentary way: he finds the latter—the Church's Definitional Infallibility—so much

¹ Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority, by W. G. Ward, Ph. D. London: Burns & Oates.

more matured by discussion, and since the appearance of Dr. Murray's great work, "De Ecclesia," so formulated, that he can deal with it in a series of distinct, and, if I may say so, tangible theses.

This part of his work, able and interesting as it is, and especially so for those who are used to the study of these matters in the language of the Church, and according to the severe method of the scholastics, is open to one or two criticisms as to form.

One is, that the theses do not seem to be arranged either according to their importance or logical order, but bear on them the evidence of their controversial character. "The best foot foremost" seems to be the principle of arrangement, and accordingly the very first thesis is the particular proposition which Dr. Ward has no difficulty in proving, that the Infallibility of the Church reaches to "minor censures," following which comes the general proposition, that that Infallibility extends outside the *Depositum fidei*. I should think this is a reversal of the logical order as we find such things arranged in the *Scholastic Theologians*.

The other defect of form which I should wish to notice is of considerable practical importance, namely, the omission to state the precise degree of certainty which Dr. Ward claims for each thesis. In truth, this is the main point at issue. No one denies that Dr. Ward's opinions possess a high degree of probability, both intrinsic and extrinsic. The only question between him and his opponents is, are they certain? And what is the nature of that certainty? We know that it is something less than *de fide Catholica*, as the Church has not yet put them before us as revealed; but short of that, are they so certain, and so taught authoritatively by the Church, that the denial of them deserves any theological note of censure? Dr. Ward gives us no information on this head, and as far as anything in this treatise goes, we may regard all these theses simply as the expression of Dr. Ward's own opinion as a theologian. We know, however, *aliunde*, that he takes much higher ground, and maintains not only that these are opinions which may be defended, but that they are, at least in substance, truths taught as obligatory by the Church, and consequently from receiving which we may be excused only by invincible ignorance.

Assuming this view of Dr. Ward's attitude to those theses, I should think that in some parts they are wider than their proofs. Let us just consider the second, which

indeed embraces the whole question of the "object" of the Church's Infallibility, as put before us in this work.

"The Infallibility of the Church is not confined to things which are actually or virtually contained in the Deposit, but extends further. It extends, namely, to all those truths which the Church may judge to be so connected with the Deposit, that unless Catholics hold them firmly, the Deposit can either not at all, or at least not so well, be preserved and guarded in its entire fulness."

Now, note the words "*not so well.*" The limit of Infallibility thus described, is what the Church deems necessary for the better or more secure guarding of the Deposit. Compare with this the two authoritative documents from which Dr. Ward quotes in support of his thesis. One is the letter of Cardinal Antonelli written to Count Daru in which the Cardinal states, that had the Vatican Council been able to sit another year a canon would have been submitted for episcopal approbation defining under anathema "that the Church's Infallibility extends not only to the Deposit of Faith, but to every thing *necessary* for the preservation of such Deposit." Surely the Cardinal's account of the proposed canon falls very far short of Dr. Ward's thesis. What is necessary for the preservation of the Deposit, is not so much as that without which it cannot be *so well* guarded and preserved. And this unconscious enlargement of his authorities is still more remarkable in the argument which he takes, and which, so far as it goes, is most telling, from the Apostolic Letter, *Gravissimas inter*, of Pius IX., in which the Pope teaches that—

"The Church, by the power committed to her by her Divine founder, has not only the right but the duty to proscribe and condemn all errors, if the integrity of the Faith, and the salvation of souls shall have required it. 'And he condemns,' continues Dr. Ward, 'the contrary opinion as erroneous, injurious to the Faith, and to the Church's authority.' All errors therefore can be infallibly condemned by the Church of which the condemnation is required by the integrity of the Faith, and the salvation of souls."

Then, without the slightest apparent apprehension that his own thesis, "not so well guarded," is very much short of what "the integrity of the Faith, and the salvation of souls require," he adds, "this is the exact thesis we are defending." I should think there is a considerable difference between them. A definition may be useful in a thousand and one ways, and if you allow, that mere utility towards the preservation of the Depositum is sufficient to bring

a matter within the reach of the Church's Infallibility, you extend that reach almost indefinitely, whereas if you restrict it to what is necessary, necessity being a thing so definite and so appreciable, you circumscribe it very closely, and its limits can always be ascertained.

I am disposed to think also that Dr. Ward's opponents in this controversy would hesitate to admit the validity of his proof drawn from various truths which, as he assumes, are taught infallibly by the Church, yet are what he considers merely "protective" truths, that is neither actually nor virtually contained in the *Depositum fidei*, but deemed necessary or useful by the Church for its preservation.

He dwells with particular emphasis on two instances—the use of dogmatic language such as the word "*homoousios*" by the Council of Nice, and the dogmatic fact of the five propositions being contained in the book Augustinus. He contends that no process of reasoning from the known truths of revelation can lead necessarily to the conclusion, either that the word "*homoousios*" expresses correctly the Catholic doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, or that the five condemned propositions were a true expression of the book Augustinus, and were rightly condemned *in sensu auctoris*. He concludes, then, that the proposition is protective, and not virtually revealed.

To this, Fr. Ryder, whose strictures in the book "*Idealism in Theology*," drew forth this vindication of Dr. Ward's views which we are considering, and Dr. Newman, who has adopted Fr. Ryder's opinion, would answer, I should think, that they admit the premises; but so far from regarding the Church's Infallibility in these things as an extension outside the Deposit, they considered it a declaration of the Deposit itself *in concreto*. Dr. Newman puts this view with great clearness in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 188.

"As to the Pope's dogmatic condemnation of particular books which of course are foreign to the Depositum, I would say, that as to their false doctrine there can be no difficulty in condemning that by means of that Apostolic Deposit; nor surely in his condemning the very wording in which they convey it when the subject is carefully considered. For the Pope's condemning the language, for instance, of Jansenius, is a parallel act to the Church's receiving the word 'consubstantial;' and if a Council and the Pope were not infallible so far in their judgment of language, neither Pope nor Council could draw up a dogmatic definition at all, for the right exercise of words is involved in the right exercise of thought."

That is to say, the adoption of the word "*homooousios*" was simply teaching the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord in that particular form; and the condemnation of the book Augustinus meant condemning false doctrines in the language in which it was expressed by Jansenius. So that these instances, instead of carrying the Infallibility of the Church away from the Deposit, are those in which her action, next to the definition of the revealed truth itself, most intimately touches it, as closely as language is connected with the thought which it expresses.

Furthermore, allowing that there are such things as "protective" truths, and that the adoption of the word "*homooousios*," and the condemnation of the five propositions *in sensu auctoris* are instances of them, yet Dr. Ward offers no evidence that it was as "protective" truths they came within the Church's Infallibility. The Church defined them, for reasons best known to herself. How does it follow then from her action with regard to them, that she claims Infallibility in all truths in which we can recognise a similar protective character? There may be proofs of the general proposition that the Infallibility does reach all such truths; but Dr. Ward has not given them. He has given particular instances, but from them you cannot generalize. You cannot argue in theology by induction. No number of facts warrant you in framing a law wider than themselves. Consequently I presume to think that Dr. Ward's argument is bad;

"The Church is infallible in Dogmatic facts, &c., &c.

These are useful to the preservation of the Deposit.

Therefore the Church is infallible in 'all things,' useful for the preservation of the Deposit."

Another difficulty arises from the want of uniform use or authoritative explanation to fix the true sense of the word *depositum*. It holds something like the position of the phrase, *ex cathedra* in controversies on the "subject" of Infallibility before the Vatican Council finally determined its meaning. It is true that Dr. Ward very accurately explains his own sense of the word as containing "those and only those truths which were revealed immediately by God, and delivered immediately to the Church by the Apostles;" but after all, while other writers use the word in a far wider sense, this explanation can have only the force of a private definition.

In this sense, however, I should think that it cannot now be denied that the object of Infallibility is wider than

the Deposit. This must be admitted if the words which I have already quoted from the letter *Gravissimas inter*, are to have any meaning, and even so cautious a writer as Dr. Newman, lays down not only that the Infallibility goes beyond the Deposit, but that it must do so even for the declaration of the Deposit itself. His words, which occur in the "History of my Religious Opinions," are remarkable, and in many senses important.

"Now I will go on in fairness to say, what I think is the great trial to the reason when confronted with the august prerogative of the Catholic Church, of which I have been speaking. I enlarged just now upon the concrete shape, and circumstances under which infallible authority presents itself to the Catholic. That authority has the prerogative of an indirect jurisdiction on subject matters which lie beyond its own proper limits, and it most reasonably has such a jurisdiction; it could not act in its own province unless it had a right to act out of it. It could not properly defend religious truth without claiming for that truth what may be called its *pomæria*: or to take another illustration, without acting as we act as a nation as claiming as our own, not only the land on which we live, but what are called British waters, p. 257.

Incidentally I wish to remark, that this passage shows that Dr. Newman gives to the Deposit proper the same restricted meaning as Dr. Ward, and seems to admit that we must believe when proposed to us by the Church things that are foreign to it.

I do not think that even the English minimists will now call this assertion in question. Chrisman's opinion cannot now be held. It was to the effect that Infallibility and the Deposit were strictly co-extensive in the sense that the Church could only define things as of Faith, or condemn them as heretical. In presence of a controversy as to the Faith, the Church could only refer to the *Depositum fidei* in which, as in a kind of supernatural memory, she keeps stored up the truths revealed by our Blessed Lord, for the truth, the definition of which the circumstances of the particular emergency required; but with all the practical bearings of that definition upon the various facts of the case *in concreto*, she would have nothing whatsoever to do in her capacity of Infallible teacher; she might say that in defining sound doctrine she had discharged her office, and refer the faithful for practical guidance to their ordinary teachers. Accordingly Chrisman and his school have a ready answer to all such questions as the following:—"Is the Church infallible in philosophic

questions? in dogmatic facts? in the censure of books, in the beatification and canonization of saints? We answer in a few words. She is not, for these things have not been revealed by God." (*Klupfel apud Bulsanum*, quoted by Dr. Murray, vol. iii. p. 225.)

That opinion has now been virtually condemned. It never, indeed, received so much sanction from theologians as to be extrinsically even probable, and I cannot but think that Dr. Ward's opponents in this controversy deserved the rebuke which he administered in the following passage.

"The foundation of your whole theory or, to change my metaphor, the deadly *virus*, as I think it, poisoning your whole theological stream is your view on the authority of 'Indemnatorum Theologorum.' You hold, in fact, that whatever tenet any Catholic theologian may have advocated in any of his works without being actually censured, that tenet may be embraced by us without our violating any grave obligation imposed on all Catholics." (Summary of Controversy on Infallibility, p. 6.)

However, now that the very last shred of pretence for tolerating Chrisman's mischievous opinion has been swept away by the condemnation of his work, I am sure the English minimists must see that their own opinions, which are much higher than his, are the lowest ground which a *Cardatus Catholicus* can take. And if we put aside for a moment such generalizations as the relation between these opinions and the Depositum, or the scholastic question *qua fide*, they are held, and come in detail to determine what practical difference there is between Dr. Ward and his opponents, we are surprised, after all the controversies, to find how near they approach each other. Indeed, it is rather difficult to find a truth which one would include within the scope of the Church's Infallibility, and the other exclude from it. Fr. Ryder in his pamphlet "Idealism in Theology" professes his own belief in the Church's Infallibility in defining virtually revealed truths: in the canonization of Saints; in the recognition of the true Pope; in the approbation of religious orders; in the use of dogmatic language; in determining the sense of books. On this question as to the extent of the object of Infallibility, I know only one point which Fr. Ryder hesitates to accept, that is, the first thesis which Dr. Ward lays down in the series "The Infallibility of the Church in Minor Censures." And even here the difference is rather verbal: Fr. Ryder stops short at temerarious, and such censures as may imply a merely temporary unsound-

ness. Yet even this point is conceded by Dr. Newman, whose authority Fr. Ryder will not contravene. In his famous letter to the Duke of Norfolk, in which we have the most remarkable effort of minimizing, he writes :—

“ Nearly all that Pope or Church has done in this respect has been to condemn such propositions as in a moral point of view are false, or dangerous, or rash.”

Thus we see that after all the controversy, practically there is no real difference between them; and their disputes have arisen from an attempt to determine the conclusions of practical theology, by *a priori* discussion of scholastic principles. For this reason, I think that Dr. Murray's method is far more satisfactory and more fruitful. He determines the extent of the object of Infallibility in a series of theses in which he lays down one by one the truths in which the Church has claimed Infallibility. Her voice is his authority; her authoritative documents are his law; and such questions, as *qua fide* we are to believe these truths he treats simply as objections, the difficulty or obscurity of which does not affect his conclusions.

And in truth, that has been the method of all the great theologians. We read in them abstruse and sometimes puzzling discussions on questions of Faith and Infallibility, but they do not make the truths which they hold depend on those discussions. They take their facts from the action of the Church, and out of them form their general principles. Our English writers would reverse this process, and first prove *a priori* a theory as to the extent of the Church's Infallible Magisterium, and then make Bulls and Briefs conform to that. Suarez held that the preposition “*Hic est Papa,*” could be believed *de fide Catholica*, because it is included in the general proposition “*Omnis legitimus successor S. Petri est Papa;*” but does anyone think that Suarez was as certain of his theory as he was of his fact that the Church infallibly recognised the true Pope? And again, when Cardinal de Laurea held that everything necessary for the well-being of the Church was revealed, and accordingly, that the heresy of the particular book Augustinus was contained in that revelation, and could be defined as *de fide*, do we not see that he was driven to this view by his certainty of the Church's claim to Infallibility in teaching such a fact?

And if any one were now to ask an English minimalist, why he believes that the Augustinus contains the five propositions, will he not answer because the Popes have so

decided? And if he adds that the Pope cannot err in thus determining the concrete expression of revealed truth, we may ask again, whether is it more certain in theology that the Pope's Infallibility extends to such concrete matters, or, *in fact*, that he claimed Infallibility to condemn the Augustinus? In truth, as a rule, it is comparatively easy to ascertain from the Church what she teaches us, because she speaks plainly in things that concern our obligatory faith; but it is difficult and often dangerous to speculate and generalize on the Church's decision. She exercises her Infallibility not for the purpose of illustrating its extent, or offering materials for theological theory, but to meet the circumstances of particular emergencies. We see, as a fact, how far her teaching has gone; we know that she will always be equal to her mission, and will answer any call that the times make upon her. The reach of her teaching office may be far wider than we imagine; but, until she gives us the formula which expresses its extent, we cannot safely generalize, or at any rate dogmatize upon it. At some future time a canon, such as that indicated by Cardinal Antonelli, may be defined. The word *depositum* may be explained; then we can speak in general terms. Up to that our safest course in discussing these questions under their practical, as contradistinguished from their scholastic aspect, is to consider in detail the truths on which we think the Church infallible.

But it is only when we come to consider Dr. Ward's thesis on Papal Encyclicals and other such documents that we can appreciate the wide and far reaching, and startling view which he advocates. For instance, their practical outcome is embodied in an essay to prove that infallible utterances are not at all rare, and that on the contrary they have been so frequent during the reign of the late Pope Pius the IX., that that Pontiff may be said "never to have ceased from issuing one continuous infallible pronouncement." Unquestionably, such a statement made in down right earnest, and not in a sermon, or popular discourse of any kind, but in a formal treatise written in Latin, takes us aback, as being violently in contrast with the generally received opinion in the schools of theology, and in direct contradiction to the explicit teaching of the highest modern authorities. Dr. Fessler, Secretary-General to the Vatican Council, writes:—

"Dr. Schulte finds a great number of Papal *ex cathedra* utterances. I, in accordance with the theological faculty, find only a few." *True and False Infallibility*, p. 52.

The late Dr. O'Reilly, S.J., lays down:—"That Papal Infallibility is comparatively seldom brought into action." *Irish Monthly*, vol. ii., No. 10.

And Dr. Newman gives as his opinion:—"That Papal and Synodal definitions obligatory on our faith are of rare occurrence." *Letter to Duke of Norfolk*, p. 124.

And when we look to Dr. Ward for clear and strong proofs in support of so bold a statement, we are rather disappointed to find instead, what, *pace tanti viri*, I should call loose argument founded on vague and unscientific language. Take for instance the following:—

"My second testimony shall be taken from the Preface to the First Dogmatic Constitution of the Vatican Council. In that Preface Pius IX., having referred to the deplorable intellectual evils of the time, goes on to say that 'the Church's deepest compassion is stirred by these errors, and that at no time can she rest from testifying and proclaiming God's truth. We, therefore,' he continues, 'treading in the footsteps of our predecessors, have never ceased, in accordance with our supreme Apostolic Office, from teaching and defending Catholic truth, and reprobating perverse doctrines.' The Pontiff declares then that he has been speaking *ex cathedra* with such frequency that in a figurative sense he may be said 'never to have ceased' from one continuous *ex cathedra* pronouncement."

Now, the first remark I should wish to make on this passage is, that Dr. Ward is forced to invalidate his authority in order to get at his conclusion. As it stands, the document proves too much for him: it is inconveniently strong, consequently he must interpolate, and read that the Pontiff has never ceased in a "figurative sense." But by what right does he assume that the Pontiff's words are figurative? A dogmatic constitution is not the most likely place for such a style of composition. Yet, unless he is allowed to explain away the Pontiff's words, they are useless to prove anything for him. Is not the obvious course, then, to see if they could not be taken literally, and yet be strictly true? Again, what is asserted of the Pontiff in this document, in almost identical words, is said of the Church. If then we must conclude that the Pontiff is continually issuing infallible utterances because "he has never ceased" from teaching and defending Catholic truth, by a similar process of reasoning, we must maintain that the Church, which "can at no time rest from proclaiming God's truth" must also unceasingly promulgate new definitions, from which the further conclusion might plausibly be drawn, that she is ever

sitting in General Council. But when we find ourselves driven to such conclusions we are forced to ask is Dr. Ward's interpretation so obviously necessary? May not the Constitution embrace the whole teaching office of the Church and the Supreme Pontiff, the one through her Ordinarium Magisterium, the other in the exercise of his supreme office in its fallible as well as in its infallible pronouncements, and all under God's guidance directed to the teaching of truth and the repression of error?

And this style of argument, so unlike what we read in all the theologians, pervades these Essays: and from its untheological character is most difficult to criticize. For myself I find it hard to write my opinion freely on these matters and keep my words within that deep respect for Dr. Ward which his ability and learning demand. Yet, if I must say what I think, it is hard not to ascribe to him a tendency to strain the language of Papal documents to his own sense, and make arguments out of solemn words that were never meant to be more than imposing forms.

Now, his main contention is, that Encyclicals, Apostolic Letters, Allocutions, and other such documents are infallible; that they are infallible not only in particular propositions, but that Infallibility pervades them as doctrinal expositions in a manner somewhat similar to the inspiration which runs through the texts of Scripture. His first thesis towards this end is to show that, *a priori* or by Divine Institution, such documents may be infallible. It is the 10th.

"God has not obliged the Pope to any determinated form of speaking *ex cathedra*."

No one I presume can question the truth of this statement, nor, as far as I know, has any one done so. By Divine Institution there is no fixed form of infallible utterance; there is no reason why it should not be made in an Encyclical as well as a Bull; in a categorical proposition as well as in a flowing rhetorical style; in a Decree of a Council as well as a Canon. We all know as an elementary truth in theology that the precise form in which an infallible utterance is given, depends entirely on the will of the Church in Council or of the Pope. Yet, we know, on the other hand, that the usage of the Church has consecrated certain forms of words, and certain classes of documents, for the conveyance of infallible teaching; and, knowing how conservative the Church is, how on all solemn and important occasions she

looks to history and tradition for her precedents, we are disposed to throw the *onus probandi* on those who allege a departure from those venerable forms, and require a stricter proof in proportion to the extent of that departure.

Then Dr. Ward alleges in the 9th thesis the fact that —

“In many Encyclical Letters and Consistorial Allocutions, and other Apostolic Letters, Pius IX. spoke *ex cathedra*.”

Passing over the Hibernicism which gives, as he does, the dogmatic Bull “*Ineffabilis*” as an instance of an Encyclical, we find in proof of this thesis—this most important thesis, nothing more than an extract from the *preamble* of the “*Quanta Cura*,” and in the argument from the extract great stress is laid on the Pope’s use of the phrase, “*following in the illustrious footsteps of our predecessors*.” The italics are Dr. Ward’s. There is no attempt to enumerate these infallible utterances. If they are numerous, the simplest and most satisfactory course to take would be to name them, or some of them at least, and adduce all the evidence intrinsic and extrinsic for their Infallibility. At one time Dr. Ward thought that he could do this, as he was of opinion that all the original documents, from which the propositions of the Syllabus were extracted, were, *eo ipso*, infallible themselves. He abandons that opinion now, and, having nothing to substitute for it, leaves us in uncertainty as to which of the utterances of Pius IX. were infallible, and which not, except in so far as the assurance that his whole reign was a continuous infallible pronouncement.

He gives us, however, one instance of an Encyclical which bears out all his views—the “*Mirari Vos*” of Gregory XVI. In the 8th thesis he asserts that —

“It is beyond the possibility of doubt that Gregory XVI. promulgated the Encyclical ‘*Mirari Vos*’ *ex cathedra*.”

And I must allow that his reasons for the truth of this thesis seem to be simply unanswerable. To my own mind they are convincing, and I have no hesitation in yielding to their cogency. But what follows? First, his 11th thesis that—

“A pronouncement may be *ex cathedra* even though the obligation of giving assent be not expressly mentioned either, by the word anathema or in any other way whatsoever.”

The proof of which is—

“Not to mention any other examples, the truth of this thesis is shown by the Encyclical ‘*Mirari Vos*.’ For although, as we have seen, Gregory XVI. has made it extrinsically most manifest that all Catholics are under an obligation of accepting the doctrine therein set forth, nevertheless he did not explicitly affirm this in the Encyclical.”

With regard to this proof I have to say, that in the “*Mirari Vos*,” various false doctrines are explicitly stated and condemned as “errors,” “erroneous opinions,” “most fatal and pestilential errors.” Now Dr. Ward himself lays down in his 13th thesis that—

“If in any Pontifical Letter it is declared that some proposition is false, erroneous, rash &c., &c., such Letter is commonly to be accounted *ex cathedra*.”

Hence, on his own showing, the “*Mirari Vos*” does bear on the face of it the evidence of its *ex cathedra* character, and lends no support to the strange and startling proposition of the 11th thesis; namely, that a document which in no way whatsoever in itself commands our assent may be infallible.

Nor does it follow from the Infallibility of the “*Mirari Vos*,” that it is infallible as an exposition of doctrine. And this I think is the weakest point in all this treatise. Not a particle of evidence is offered to prove that Pontifical documents, or any one Pontifical document in particular, can claim such a pervasive Infallibility. It is insinuated in the case of the “*Mirari Vos*,” in which Dr. Ward asserts that the Pope uses “vehement and rhetorical language.”

On the other hand I am of opinion, that there is scarcely a Papal document which tells less for Dr. Ward’s contention. It deals most systematically with various false doctrines. It states each of them with much precision and stigmatizes it with its own censure; and then passes on to an exposition of Catholic doctrines, and the reasons from Scripture and tradition for the condemnation of their opposing error. So far from being forced to admit the Infallibility of such a document as a doctrinal exposition, we are forced by its very structure to select special propositions which as such are infallibly condemned.

And here I would interpose the remark, that the way in which categorical propositions have been gathered in the Syllabus, from so many of the Encyclicals, &c., &c., of the Popes, indicates that the authoritative, and, in some instances

infallible, teaching of such documents were to be found in these propositions, and not in their whole tenor.

It is not of much importance for the purposes of this inquiry to discuss whether or not there are any infallible pronouncements which bear out Dr. Ward's 5th thesis.

"The Church not unfrequently teaches infallibly not only when she affirms or condemns some definite proposition, but also when sometimes in a flowing and rhetorical way she publishes an exposition of Catholic doctrine."

I say that this thesis is not of much importance in the absence of any proof that it can be applied *as a fact* to Papal documents.

But taking it on its merits Dr. Ward's proofs are not satisfactory. His first illustration is the Letter of St. Leo to St. Flavian, and read at the Council of Chalcedon, "which is now an infallible rule of faith." Yet this is the letter of which Bellarmine writes—

"Sed epistolam suam miserat ad Concilium, *non ut continentem ultimam et definitivam sententiam, sed ut instructionem qua adjuti episcopi melius judicarent.*"

Another illustration is taken from the Capitula of Trent, "which are so many expositions of Catholic doctrine;" but Dr. Newman writes of these—

"Nor is a Council infallible, even in the prefaces and introductions to its definitions. There are theologians of name, as Tournely and Amort, who contend that even those most instructive Capitula passed in the Tridentine Council, from which the Canons with Anathemas are drawn up, are not portions of the Church's infallible teaching."

No doubt the argument quoted from Dr. Murray by Dr. Ward in support of his view is very cogent, and is very hard to answer. I know too that Pallavicini, who is a good authority on the exact value of it, writes, that—

"We may conclude that the Council wished to declare that what is contained in these Decrees is of faith, as well as what is in the Canons."

Yet, there is a difference between, "we may conclude," and *certainty*. And the same historian in another part of his history tells us, that a discussion arose by chance amongst the bishops as to the sanction to be given to the Decrees, and that it was left undecided whether or not their denial was to be considered heresy.

Moreover, Dr. Ward does not observe the terms in which so safe a writer as Dr. Murray affirms the Infallibility of

these Capitula. He goes no farther than—"Censeo esse *sententiam* certam et veram."

He *thinks* that it is a true and certain *opinion*, but he does not say that its denial deserves the least note of censure, such as one would incur for denying the Infallibility of the Church in dogmatic facts, or minor censures or the canonization of saints. Plainly, it is an open question in the schools, with the great weight of argument on one side.

And let me ask Dr. Ward on what principle he holds—

"That it does not follow that any one would be a *heretic* who should deliberately dissent from the doctrine put forth in the Tridentine Capitula: but only that he would sin mortally against the virtue of Faith."

On the contrary, I venture to affirm that, as regards the greater part of their doctrine, either it is heresy to dissent from these Capitula, or that they are not infallible. It is heresy to deny anything proposed to us infallibly by the Church as revealed by God, and transmitted to the Church by the Apostles. But the doctrine of justification is so proposed to us in the Capitula of Trent. Here are the very words.

"The Tridentine Synod intends to expound to all the faithful of Christ the true and sound doctrine of justification which the Son of Justice, Christ Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, taught, the Apostles delivered, and the Catholic Church, under the impulse of the Holy Ghost, has ever retained."

Supposing the Council, in proposing that statement, meant to teach infallibly, I cannot see how its teaching, is not *de fide Catholica*, and its denial heresy, and this opinion is borne out by Dr. Murray who writes:—

"I do not say that *everything* defined in the Chapters of the Decrees is defined as revealed and *de fide Catholica*."

The very admission, then, that Dr. Ward makes is fatal to his whole argument. He bears witness to the fact that it is not heresy to deny a doctrine that is proposed to us as revealed; and the only reason why it is not heresy is that the authority which proposes it to us is not for certain infallible. I would add in reference to these Capitula that they are not a fair instance of what Dr. Ward calls doctrinal exposition. Those *de justificatione* are a series of categorical propositions as definite and as distinct, and laying down what is to be believed with as much precision as the contradictory is laid down in negative form in the Canons under anathema.

In conclusion, I cannot make out what Dr. Ward has established in this part of his work, except that some propositions contained in Papal Encyclicals have been condemned infallibly, but I do not find a satisfactory proof that any doctrinal exposition has certainly—beyond yea or nay,—been proposed to us by the Church as infallible, much less that such an exposition has been issued as a Papal document.

E. T. O'D.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, LIMERICK.¹

BY THE REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR Committee have asked me to address you this evening on a subject that might interest you. They left to me the choice of the subject; and after a little reflection it occurred to me, that I could hardly do better than put together a few notes on St. Mary's Cathedral and its antiquities, and read them to you. There is no need of any apology, I am sure, for the choice. If such were needed, I should find it in the very position of this grand old building, in its truly imposing appearance. From whatever side the stranger approaches your ancient city, whether on the broad waters of the Shannon or by any one of the many highways, the first object that strikes his eye, that fixes his attention, is the massive tower of St. Mary's; and as he draws nearer, one by one its fair outlines reveal themselves to his view—its lofty pinnacles, its high pitched gables, its graceful windows. To those who have been born and bred beneath its shadow, to the Limerick man at home or abroad, it always recalls the dear, fond thought of home. To us Catholics it brings to mind even holier, nobler memories than these; for, though the sanctuary has been destroyed, and the abomination of desolation stands in the holy place, a very waste of woe, yet, without effort we can imagine what it once was when, in its full splendour, in the place where now the plain table is—plain and poor

¹ An Address to the Catholic Literary Institute of Limerick.

enough to suit the tastes of the fiercest disciple of John Knox—the high altar stood.

“O but it made a glorious show!

On its table still behold

The cup of consecrated gold,

Massy and deep,

That held the holy wine,

Converted by Christ to His blood divine;

And round the sacred table glow

The lofty lamps in splendid row,

From the purest metal cast.”

And some there are amongst you whose ancestors lie there, sleeping the calm sleep of the just and awaiting a blessed resurrection. Yet we are not without a hope—for stranger things have happened even in our own days, nor is the hand of the Lord shortened—that a time may yet come when St. Mary's bells will peal out once more, calling the faithful to assemble under its ancient roof, when the hymn of praise will rise again within its walls, a sweet incense to God, when the altar shall stand where it stood seven hundred years ago in pride of place, when the everlasting lamp shall guide the weary wanderer to the haven of repentance and peace, when the Lord will come in bodily presence and once more make it His dwelling-place among men. *Fiat, fiat!*

As you know, our Cathedral was dedicated long ago to the B. V. Mary, under the title of her Assumption; this feast was formerly celebrated in Limerick with an octave, in consequence. Seven hundred years surely is a good title in law. But even seven hundred years ago it was no new thing to dedicate a church to the Blessed Virgin. It has been well remarked that it was not without a special providence of God, that the very church in which the Fathers assembled in solemn council at Ephesus in 431 to proclaim Mary God's Mother, should have been dedicated to Mary and should have borne her name. Nor is it necessary for me to go into lengthened proofs to show the devotion of our own country to the Mother of God in ancient times. In the *Leabhar Breac* or *Speckled Book*, declared by Dr. Petrie to be the oldest and best manuscript, relating to church history, now preserved in Ireland, and pronounced by that eminent Irish scholar O'Curry to be as old at least as the middle of the eighth century, there is a prayer, or litany as we should now call it, in which we find such

titles as these:—"O Great Mary, O Mistress of the Heavens, O Blessed and Most Blessed, O Mother of the Heavenly and Earthly Church, O Mother of Love and Indulgence, O Honour of the Sky, O Cleanser of Sins, O Purifier of Souls, O Mother of the Orphan, O Solace of the Wretched, O Beauty of the World, O Noblest Born of the Christian Flock, O Ladder of Heaven—hear the petition of the poor, spurn not the wounds and groans of the miserable. Let our devotions and our sighs be carried through thee to the presence of the Creator, for we are not worthy ourselves of being heard because of our evil deserts."

Dr. Moran, in his very valuable "Essays on the Early Irish Church," very appositely shows how exalted the ideas were which our ancestors had of Mary's holiness, from the passages in the ancient Irish writers in which St. Brigid is compared to her. "In all the vividness of Irish poetry," he says, "St. Brigid is styled the wonder of womankind, the most holy and exalted of mortals; but always the highest point of praise, the climax of their eulogy, is, that she is like unto the Mother of God. The privileges and dignity of Mary are supposed in a manner to have been shared by Brigid. What Mary is for the whole Church, that Brigid is for Ireland, whence her usual title of "Mary of the Irish." In the hymn of St. Brogan Cloen to St. Brigid it is said:

"The veiled virgin that drives over the Curragh
Is a shield against sharp weapons.
No one was found her equal except Mary;
Let us put our trust in her strength."

And again:—

"There are two virgins in heaven
Who will not give me a forgetful protection—
Mary and St. Brigid.
Under the protection of both may we remain."

A cathedral church is defined to be a church in which the bishop's cathedra or chair, or, as it is called in old English, his see, is. From it, the central point of his diocese, he exercises his jurisdiction over his flock. For its support and in recognition of its dignity a tax is established, to be levied on each church of the diocese, called the cathedra^ticum. Here too, when he is called to his rest, the bishop is to be buried, to typify the close and lasting union between him and the church which he is called by God to govern. To it is attached a chapter; *i.e.*, a certain number of the clergy who form the bishop's

council, who will aid him by their prudent advice in the onerous duties of his office—a dean, a penitentiary, a theologian, a chancellor, a treasurer, canons, and vicars choral. It is their duty each day to assist at the conventual Mass offered by one of their body for the living and deceased benefactors of the church, and to recite the office together at the canonical hours. Here too is the cathedral school for the choristers, who, brought up with pious care, will later recruit the ranks of the clergy, if God calls them to that manner of life. This is, in brief, the notion of a cathedral such as we find it laid down in the legislation of the Church, and put in practice when circumstances will allow the offices of the Church to be carried out in all their fulness.

Our historians are not agreed about the time when, or the person by whom, the Christian faith was first preached in Ireland, whether the cross was first planted at Cape Clear by St. Kieran, or whether any adhered to Palladius. From the coming of St. Patrick all agree in reckoning any considerable spread of the Faith in the country. Landing on the north-east coast, he travelled throughout the whole island; and though we may allow that a certain amount of legend surrounds a name so glorious, yet it must be confessed that few of the saints, in ancient or modern times, commissioned to preach the Gospel, showed such active zeal as our national Apostle. In the course of his wanderings he came to Munster. After baptizing King Aengus at Cashel, he directed his steps through the present barony of Clanwilliam by Kilfeacle, Ardpatrick, Cullen, and Kiltely, towards the western part of the county Limerick. On his way he met a youth named Nesson, with his mother, carrying some cooked meats for the banquet preparing by the chieftain Lonan for the illustrious stranger. The Druids, hearing of the preparations, came and demanded the meats, but did not get them. Patrick besought the boy to give him the meats; this he did cheerfully, much against his mother's will, for she feared the chief's anger. He then gave the food to the Druids; and as soon as they had eaten of it, they dropped down dead. To Nesson, Patrick promised that he should be "honoured among nations;" he baptized him, ordained him deacon, and founded for him a monastery and church at Mungret.

Having been told of the Saint's approach, the men of Munster came in fleets of boats over the Shannon to meet him, as far as Donoghmore of Magh Aine. He preached to them the word of God; at Singland, now a suburb of this

city, he baptized Carthen, the son of Blod, the chief of the Dalcassians. Here, too, he is said to have seen the vision of the angel, not of Victor who usually attended him; and here is still a holy well bearing his name. From the top of Ardpatrik he gave a blessing to the sea, and to the men of North Munster, in return for the readiness they showed in receiving the Gospel. As was his custom, he left one of his disciples to govern the newly founded church, Munchin, the son of Sedna, of the Dalcassian tribe; he was the first Bishop of Limerick. He is said to have erected a church, possibly on the site now occupied by the protestant church of St. Munchin's. It was destroyed by the Danes in 863, and remained in ruins until their conversion to Christianity, when it was rebuilt.

The wonder is, that any of our ancient churches survived the terrible sea-rovers. From their northern home they sallied forth in tens of thousands. "They marched," say the Four Masters, "escorted by fire." At first they attacked the islands in which were monasteries possessing some wealth; rendered bold by success, they returned in greater numbers and invaded the mainland. For two hundred years Ireland was their prey. No corner of it so remote, no part of it so sacred as to escape their fury. Above all, they loved the blood of priests and the gold of the churches. Their first appearance on the north coast in 794 is thus spoken of by the Four Masters:—"The burning of Rechru by the Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered;" or, as the Annals of Ulster have it, "who spoiled and impoverished the shrines." Limerick too and its churches were plundered by them. Of Imar it is said, that he and his three sons landed at Innishisbhton, now King's Island, on which a great part of the city of Limerick is built, "with an immense great fleet" and, issuing forth from this stronghold, plundered the chief part of Munster, both "churches and chieftainries." We read again in 865, that a fleet arrived and plundered Limerick, and Cill Ita, and Emly, and Cashel of the Kings.

But more peaceful times came round. When the power of the Danes was checked, new churches sprang up on every side, not indeed as grand as those which the Normans built a century or two later in every part of Europe where their conquering hosts set foot, but far surpassing in extent any erected up to that time, and many of such marvellous beauty that even now they are the wonder and delight of the architect and antiquarian. Such are Monahincha near

Roscrea, Desert O'Dea near Ennis, and Rahan near Tullamore. Of Brian Boru, the great Dalcassian king, it is said that he employed the intervals of peace in the building of churches. His posterity, imitating his example, erected noble temples in God's honour everywhere throughout the territory that acknowledged their rule. The vast piles of Cashel, Holy Cross, Killaloe, Corcomroe, and Ennis, grand even after centuries of decay, proclaim down to our own times the depth of the religious feeling and generosity of the O'Briens, and prove how appropriate is the title given them, by an ancient Irish poet, of "Dalcassians of the Churches." At the Synod of Cashel in 1100, Mortogh More O'Brien made a grant of Cashel, then the residence of the Munster kings, to the clergy in general, "being such as no king had ever made before;" it was a grant of his palace, "without any claim of layman or clergyman upon it, but the religious of Ireland in general." Thenceforth Killaloe became the residence of the descendants of Brian. But soon both Killaloe and Kincora were destroyed by the O'Connors and the O'Loughlins, "who threw the wood and stone into the Shannon." A great army, as the Four Masters tell us under date 1101, was led by Muircearthagh O'Brien, King of Munster, across Assaroe into Innisheoghan, and he demolished the grianan (or palace) of Aileach in revenge of Ceancora, which had been ravaged and demolished by Donald O'Loughlin thirteen years before, and he commanded his army to carry with them from Aileach to Luimeneach a stone for every sack of provisions they had, and these stones he used afterwards to build one of the battlements of his palace at Limerick, where he came to reside and kept princely state.

Like his ancestor Mortogh, Donald More O'Brien, who succeeded to the principality of Thomond in 1168, wished to give to God the choicest of his substance. Having deprived his brother Brien of Ormond, he became sovereign of the whole of North Munster, a territory co-extensive with the present diocese of Killaloe. By Hugh McCurtin, he is said to have built and endowed eighteen monasteries, among them Holy Cross, Innisnag on the Suir, the Cathedral of Cashel, the Augustinian Convent called Peter's Cell in Limerick, Corcomroe, and Kilcoolcy. Being married to the daughter of Dermot M'Morrogh, "who brought the Norman o'er," he was induced to lend him his support, and we find, that later he was among the first of the Irish princes who, confiding in the promises of Henry II., tendered his

homage, and to whom Henry gave in return the privilege of English law. But he soon found reason to regret his ready submission; his territory was portioned out among the strangers. Thenceforth he offered them a vigorous resistance, defeating their forces at Thurles; and when they had effected a settlement in Limerick, he burnt the city over their heads, "that it might not become a nest of foreigners." About the time of the arrival of the English he is said to have given his palace to the Church, and made of it a cathedral. Clonroad, where the town of Ennis now stands, was soon after chosen as their residence by his family. The record of his death in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the date 1194, is as follows.—"Donald, son of Torlogh O'Brien, King of Munster, a beaming lamp in peace and war, and the brilliant star of the hospitality and valour of the Momonians and of all Lethmogha died; Mortogh, his son, assumed his place." The charter, in which other grants of his for the support of the Church are recorded as made to Brictius, Bishop of Limerick, is given in the Black Book of Limerick. This Brictius, Ware thinks, was an Ostman or Dane; he assisted at the Council of Lateran in 1179. It runs as follows:—

"Donald, King of Luimeneach, to all the faithful of God, as well present as to come, greeting—Know ye all that I have granted to Brictius, Bishop of Limerick, and to his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of Luimeneach, in free and perpetual alms, the lands of Imungram (Mungret), and the lands of Ivamnach, *i.e.*, from the Arch of Mungret to the lands of Imalin, and from the ford of Cencu to the river Sinan, with all their appurtenances; and in confirmation and ratification of this my grant in frank almoigne, I confirm it with the impress of my seal. Witness Matthew, Archbishop of Cashel, Ruadri ua Gradei."

The present building is, of course, a good deal different from that of Donald O'Brien's time. Yet from the various styles of architecture, we can form a pretty accurate conjecture of what it was originally. The form of the building is that of a Latin cross; as it now stands, it is 170 feet in length, the transept 93 feet by 30; the height of the tower is 120 feet. It consists of a nave, a chancel, a north and south transept, two aisles on each side, and a tower. On the north side we have three chapels, one higher and longer than the north transept, and two smaller; through one of these there was till lately an entrance from Bow-lane, the other is now used as a baptistery. The material is black Ballysimon limestone, singularly durable, seeing

that, after centuries of exposure to the elements, the cants are as sharp and the chisel marks as fresh as if made but yesterday. I may add, in passing, that there was question of using this stone for the new Houses of Parliament ; stone was taken from Lundy Island instead, which is already mouldering away rapidly. The roof was originally of oak from Cratloe woods ; from which it is said William Rufus got oak to roof Westminster Hall. A few years ago, when repairs were carried on, the old roof was taken down ; though it had stood for six hundred years, it was found still sound and firm. In the older windows and in the doorways grit was used, as was the fashion in all our ancient churches ; it is a stone easily wrought and fairly durable. Like all churches in former times, when the site allowed of it, it lies due east and west, the chancel or altar end being at the east. The style of the original church was what is now called Irish Romanesque, a style imported by our first missionaries, no doubt, from Rome, but modified and beautified by the kind of ornament exclusively belonging to the Irish. Of this style we have considerable traces in the Cathedral still, viz., the capitals of the west doorway—supposed by many to be the identical doorway of the palace of Donald More O'Brien—and of the pillars along the nave, the corbels to support the beams of the roof of the inner aisles, the round-headed windows of the clerestory, and the doorway on the south side of the chancel now stopped up. All these details will tell us pretty clearly what the extent of the original church was. Take away the outer aisles on both sides with their chapels, the tower, and the western and southern porch, with perhaps a part of the chancel, and we have the church as it was in Donald O'Brien's time. This will seem, no doubt, something small and trifling, accustomed as we are to the vast edifices of later times. But we must call to mind what the Irish churches then were. According to Dr. Petrie, they were invariably of small size—the largest not more than sixty feet in length—oblong and square at the altar end. The larger churches had added to them a second oblong of smaller dimensions, constituting a chancel and sanctuary, in which the altar stood, and connected with the nave by a triumphal arch, on which the builders expended all their skill. There was only a single entrance in the middle of the west end. The light was admitted by narrow slits, widely splayed on the inside ; there is no proof that glass was used. The chancel had two windows, one over

the altar, the other in the south wall. The windows of the nave were usually in the south wall, and rarely exceeded two in number. The doorway was a horizontal lintel of one stone, growing broader at the base. The roof was of stone; sometimes, especially in the larger churches, of oak shingles. Compared with such a church as I have described--and such we have still standing in the neighbourhood of this city, at Mungret and at Donoghmore—it is easy to see that the Cathedral of St. Mary's must have been a great advance on the past.

Briccius' successor in the see of Limerick was Donogh O'Brien, one of the regal family of Thomond. He obtained possession of the see in 1207. It is said that King John was much attached to him, and sought to conciliate him by grants to his church. Thus we find that on the 13th of July in the eighteenth year of that king's reign, he granted to him ten ploughlands "in terris de Omayle prope Mungaret." To him we owe the chancel of St. Mary's. His arms, a chevron between three lions passant, on a mural slab of grit, are fixed in the wall over the pulpit; on the upper border of this slab is his name in Gothic lettering "**Donogh.**" One of the first acts of his episcopate was to call his clergy together, in order to establish a community of secular canons in his cathedral, such as had been shortly before introduced into Ireland by St. Laurence O'Toole, and established in Christ Church, Dublin; and he gave as his reason for establishing the canonries, that the Mass of the Blessed Virgin should be celebrated each day by the canons in the cathedral. He assigned them prebends in and about Limerick, the names of which are familiar to us all. The witnesses to the deed of institution were the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Emly, Kilfenora, Waterford, Killaloe, the Prior of the Monastery of Athassel, and the Dean of Cashel. Besides, he gave to the Church of the Virgin Mary of Limerick and the sanctuary of the same church, the fruits to be obtained in oblation, and half the tithes of all kinds of fish of Limerick, the tithe of St. Laurence, and the church of St. Mary Magdalen. Before 1201 we find Singland granted to the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the canons there serving God. Of him we are told, too, that he proceeded according to the "English custom;" that is, he introduced the rite such as it was practised in England. The Synod of Cashel, held in 1172, ordered by its eighth canon, "that the Church of Ireland should be in conformity with the Church of England, according to

the use, manner, rite, and ceremony of the Church of Salisbury." Now we have in St. Mary's distinct traces of the Salisbury or Sarum Rite. There are still in various parts of the church small niches cut in the wall, not unlike holy-water fountains. Of course there are water-fountains too at the entrances of the south and west doorways. But besides these, we find in each of the chapels, on the epistle side of the altar, what is called a sacarium or piscina, which at present is erected only in our sacristies. Now according to the Salisbury, or, as it is called, the Sarum Rite, the priest at the end of the Mass did not consume the ablution; it was thrown into the sacarium; hence we find a prayer in the Sarum Missal to be said by the priest when going from the altar to the sacarium, and returning from it again to the altar to finish the Mass. To this time belongs, very probably, the altar-stone now in one of the north chapels. By a law made by Archbishop Comyn in 1186, altars should be of stone; if one of sufficient size was not to be had, then "a square, entire, and polished one should be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body was to be consecrated, of a compass broad enough to hold five crosses and to bear the foot of the largest chalice." On the altar-stone in St. Mary's are still visible the five crosses incised, one at each corner, and one in the middle.

Hubert De Burgh occupied the see from 1222 to 1250; he instituted the College of Minor Canons, and increased the number of the prebends. He is said to have been a great benefactor to the cathedral and to the canons and vicars choral. In virtue of the grant made by him, the first take of salmon and oysters, up to sixty years ago, belonged to the minor canons of the cathedral; and the mayor, sheriffs, and their officers, with the city regalia, were obliged to wait on the representative of the Sexton family, to whom the church property had been given by Henry VIII., with the first salmon taken at their weir at Parteen.

In the twenty-second year of Henry III., Edward, his son, wishing to do a special favour to Master Thomas, treasurer of Limerick, and the other canons, ordered the sheriffs and bailiffs to incline benevolent ears especially to his just petitions when they appertained to the promotion and honour of the Church: and whereas they wished to build the same house towards the sea and to enlarge their courts, that they be freely permitted to do so.

Robert, Bishop of Limerick from 1250 to 1275, by the advice and consent of his chapter, granted the town and burgage of Mungret under a yearly rent sum of twelve marks of silver and five lbs. of wax to the Church of St. Mary, Limerick. He also gave to the Dean of Limerick and his successors the benefices of Cahernarry and Rathsward, also the churches of St. Nicholas, Limerick, and of St. Munchin, Bruree.

At the death of Bishop Robert, the chapter of the cathedral assembled, and, besides other things, decided that "ten chaplains, at least, be maintained in the cathedral church henceforth, who, besides discharging the due service of the said church, should be bound to say Mass daily for the living and deceased benefactors of said church, for whom a competent provision was to be given out of the commons due to the chapter and canons."

Eustace De l'Eau, Bishop from 1311 to 1335, is said to have laid out large sums of money in adorning and repairing the church; it was dedicated in 1327.

About 1400 the four large brass bells were erected by John Budstone, an ancestor of the Arthur family. I find he was bailiff in 1401. The gift is commemorated in lines written by his granddaughter in the Arthur MSS. :—

"Without morality all faith is vain,
John Budstone teaches in the warning strain,
Who to the church these powerful bells has given.
Do thou departing wish him rest in heaven."

Every Limerick man is well acquainted with the beautiful and touching legend of the Limerick bells. It tells how they were brought from Italy, where they had been manufactured by a young native, whose name tradition has not preserved, and finished after the toil of many years. He prided himself much upon his work. They were subsequently purchased by the prior of a neighbouring convent, and with the profits of this sale the young Italian procured a little villa where he had the pleasure of hearing the tolling of his bells from the convent tower. This happy state did not last long. In some of the many broils, civil or foreign, which are the curse of that beautiful land, the good Italian was a sufferer. He lost his all, and after the passing of the storm found himself alone amid the wreck of fortune, friends, family, and home. The convent too was razed to the ground, and the bells were carried away to a foreign land. The owner, haunted by the memory of happy

days, became a wanderer over Europe. In his desolation of spirit, he formed the purpose of going in search of his sweet bells. He sailed for Ireland and entered the Shannon. As he approached the city, the still calm of the evening reminded him of his own loved home in the sunny south. On a sudden, amid the general stillness, the bells of the cathedral tolled out :—

One note is enough ; his eye moistens ; his heart so long withered
outswells ;

He has found them—the sons of his labours—his musical, magical
bells.

At each stroke all the bright past returneth ; around him the
sweet Arno shines ;

His children, his darling Francesca, his purple-clad trellis of vines.
Leaning forward he listens, he gazes, he hears in that wonderful
strain

The long silent voices that murmur, “ Oh ! leave us not, father,
again.”

'Tis granted ; he smiles ; his eye closes ; the breath from his
white lips is fled ;

The father has gone to his children—the old Campanaro is dead !

The popular belief is, that at the reformation these bells were thrown into the Shannon, and that the spot is known only to the superior of the Augustinians for the time being, who confides it to his successor in office.

The east window and front were erected by Thomas Arthur, who was mayor in 1421 and again in 1426, and his wife, Joanna Morrogh, daughter of David Morrogh, citizen of Cork and Youghal, the western door of which he caused to be sculptured with the armorial bearings of the Arthurs, a chevron between three clarions, the southern with those of his wife's family, three escallops, “ not through a spirit of vain glory, but in order that others hereafter should imitate the memorials of their piety.” Their arms are still to be seen on the buttresses on the north and south sides of the chancel.

During the episcopate of John Folan, from 1489 to 1521, the nave of the church, which had then fallen into decay, was repaired and enlarged by the citizens. Several additions were made at the same time, the large chapel on the north side that runs parallel to the transept, and the smaller chapel beside it ; on the south side, two side chapels. At this time too it was usual to apply the fines enforced by the mayor towards the repairs of the cathedral. In 1501 collections were made by the mayor to put the cathedral in

order; and again in 1505 William Harold, the mayor, imposed several taxes on the people for the repairs.

Of the erection of the tower we have no exact record; certain it is that it was not part of the original building: it is equally certain that it was erected before 1500, as is evident from the style of its architecture, especially in the windows. Some important work must have been done in 1526. There is an old stone at present set in the wall of the north transept recording something done by the Harold family. The inscription is incomplete; it has only the words:—"Harold qui hoc opus fieri fecerunt anno Dni. 1526." In 1680 the south door and porch were added; judging from the plate in Ware's "Bishops," which was published in 1764, the present porch was built since that time.

Round the cathedral stood the residences of the clergy who served the church. The dean's close extended from the western door of the cathedral down to the site of the present county-court; his house stood near the site of the gaol in Crosbie's-row. The college of the vicars choral was opposite the north transept, on the other side of Bow-lane; its pointed doorway and perpendicular windows are still in perfect preservation; an underground passage leading to it from the cathedral was discovered a few years ago. The rest of the ecclesiastical property extended further on towards the castle, along the site of Fitts' brewery. The whole formed "the Sanctuary," and had certain rights and privileges, one of which was to afford protection to those accused till they should have a fair hearing from their judges in doubtful cases, and to give the clergy an opportunity to intercede for delinquents, but not to shield public criminals from the punishment they deserved. Hence, probably, the notion abroad that no one can be hanged in the city gaol, as it stands on consecrated ground, an idea which has received strange confirmation in the hair-breadth escape of Mary M'Mahon.

(To be continued.)

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

We have received from different subscribers the following questions :

I.

The name of the patron of the church or chapel to be inserted in the prayer "A cunctis."

I insert in the prayer "A cunctis" at the letter N. the name of St. Patrick, the patron of the country. I know that others insert the name of the patron of the diocese. Am I right or are they? What is the rule to be followed?

Neither practice is correct. The name to be inserted is not that of the patron of the country, or diocese, or parish, or Order to which one belongs, but the name of the titular or patron¹ of the church in which the Mass is celebrated. "An Patronus nominandus in Oratione 'A cunctis' intelligi debeat Patronus principalis loci, et quid si plures principales Patroni?" S. R. C. resp. "*Nominandus Titularis Ecclesiae.*" 12 Nov., 1831.²

There are however two cases in which the patron of the place or parish is to be mentioned—1° when the church or chapel has no patron; and 2° when it is dedicated to the honour of some mystery.³ "Sacerdos celebrans in Oratorio publico vel privato quod non habet Sanctum Patronum vel Titularem, an debeat in Oratione 'A cunctis' ad litteram N. nominare Sanctum Patronum vel Titularem ecclesiae Parochialis intra cujus limites sita sunt Oratoria, vel Sanctum Patronum ecclesiae cui adscriptus est vel potius omnem ulteriorem nominationem omittere." S. R. C. resp. "*Patronus civitatis vel loci nominandus est.*" 12 Sept., 1840. n. 2.

If a church be under the protection of two or more saints who are honoured equally as its patrons (*patroni aeque principales*), all of them must be mentioned in the "A cunctis;" but if one is regarded as *principal* patron and the others only associated with him as saints to be specially honoured in this church, it is only the principal patron who is to be commemorated.

¹ The "Titular" is a more comprehensive term than "Patron." The Patron is a created being, angel or saint, under whose patronage the church is placed; while the Titular, in addition to the created beings, applies also to the Divine Persons—as, the Church of the Holy Trinity; and to Mysteries in honour of which the church is dedicated, for instance, the Church of the Holy Cross. (De Herdt, Tom. iii. n. 118.)

² See also S. R. C., 23 Sept. 1837, n. 10.

³ Ibid. n. 10. 4.

When the patron of the church is one of those saints whose name is already in the prayer "*A cunctis*," for instance, the Blessed Virgin, or St. Joseph, or SS. Peter and Paul, no name is to be inserted at the letter N. This also holds when the Mass of the day is that of the patron of the church. "*Qui nominandus est ad litteram N. si Patronus vel Titularis jam nominatus sit in illa Oratione, aut de eo celebrata sit Missa.*" S. R. C. resp. "*Si jam fuerit nominatus, omittenda nova nominatio.*" 12 Nov., 1831.

As to the place in the prayer "*A cunctis*" which the name of the patron of the church is to hold, it should be remarked that it is not always that indicated by the letter N. In this as in the "*Litaniae Majores*" the relative dignity of the saints, as sanctioned by the Church, must be attended to. Accordingly St. Joseph always comes next to the Blessed Virgin, and the names of the angels, or of St. John the Baptist, should precede the names of SS. Peter and Paul. For example, in a church dedicated to the Archangel Michael, the prayer would run thus:—"Intercedente B. Maria cum B. Josepho, B. Michael, atque beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo et omnibus sanctis," &c.

We beg to remind our readers that, as a consequence of the legislation on this point, there ought to be in every sacristy a card plainly printed with the name of the titular of the church or chapel, and placed in a prominent position where every priest who is preparing to say Mass might see it. For a like reason, this or a similar card should have the Christian name of the Bishop of the diocese, and the names of the "*Orationes Imperatae*," if there are any in the diocese.

II.

The "causa rationabilis" for a Votive Mass.

We are told that the Office and Mass should correspond as much as possible, and that therefore, although we are free to say a Votive or Requiem Mass, on an ordinary semi-double, we should not do this "*sine rationabili causa.*" Now, what would you consider a reasonable cause for this inversion? Is it not enough that one's devotion prompts him to do so?

There can be no doubt that the cause alleged by our correspondent is quite sufficient. Another "*causa rationabilis*" would be the devotion that prompts one of the faithful to ask for a Votive Mass on a day on which it is permitted by the Rubrics. "*Missa votiva*," writes Bouvry, "*ita dicitur, quia celebratur extra ordinem officii et ex voto seu peculiari devotione vel stipendium dantis vel celebrantis vel ipsius Ecclesiae.*"

III.

The colour of the Vestments for a Requiem Mass.

On Page XVIII. of the Ordo it is said that the Vestments for Masses pro Defunctis are "niger vel violaceus." Is this correct? I thought they should be always black.

The Vestments used in Requiem Masses should be black.¹ It is only in the absence of black Vestments that violet Vestments are allowed—(S. R. C., 21 June, 1670). "Semper nigro, vel, deficiente nigro, saltem violaceo colore utendum est in officiis et missis defunctorum."—DE HERDT, Tom. I., p. 1, n. 149.

IV.

The obligation of Parish Priest to say Mass "pro populo."

On page 171 of your April number of the RECORD you say rightly that when a Holiday of Obligation falls on a Sunday, the Parish Priest satisfies his twofold obligation by one Mass; but suppose the case where he is to "duplicate" on such a day, may he offer up his second Mass for any intention he likes, or must he say both "pro populo?"

Even in this case the Parish Priest complies with his twofold obligation by offering his first Mass "pro populo." Because, though the obligation comes from two sources, the thing commanded is only one and the same. Hence he is free to say the second Mass for any other intention he likes.

V.

The Stole is to be worn on the neck and not on the back.

When a Priest is vesting for Mass, should the Stole be worn on the neck or on the back?

The Stole is to be worn on the neck and not on the back. The Rubrics of the Missal expressly order the Priest, when vesting for Mass, to place the middle of the Stole on the neck—"ambabus manibus accipiens (celebrans) stolam, simili modo deosculatur et imponit medium ejus collo." (RUB. MISSAE, tit I., n. 3.) This Rubric is obligatory. The only doubt that can arise is one relating to the manner of placing it on the neck—is the Stole to be so arranged that the middle of it is to be covered by the chasuble or not? In France, Belgium, and, to a great extent, in our own country, the custom prevails of putting it close round the neck, so that the cross which is at the middle is visible above the chasuble. This practice is supported by good authority, and obviously seems to be the more exact fulfilment of the Missal Rubric. On the other hand, Rubricists of

¹ Rub. Missae, tit. xviii. n. 6. Caer. Epis. lib. ii., cap. ix.

the highest character, both ancient and modern, such as Gavantus, Meratus, Bauldry, Baldeschi, Martinucci, and many others, say that it is to be covered by the chasuble. For this purpose the middle part of the Stole is bent back, and placed high up between the shoulders, and so close to the neck as to be practically on it. This is the custom at Rome. When the Stole is very wide,—and this is commonly the case with the Stole in use at Rome,—it is obviously necessary to have recourse to the second or Roman method of wearing it. For if a wide Stole be worn close to the neck, it will extend inconveniently high on the priest's neck, be easily soiled by his hair, and crumpled and broken by the motion of his head during Mass. Either way of wearing the Stole *on the neck* may be selected, but all authors, and notably Martinucci, condemn the practice of letting it fall so deep down on the back that it cannot be said to be “*collo imposita*.”

It is the custom in many places to cover the middle of the Stole with muslin or silk for the purpose of keeping it clean. If this be done, care should be taken not to cover the cross which the Priest is ordered by the Rubrics to kiss.¹

VI.

A Preacher may wear a Stole.

Should a Preacher wear a Stole?

The Stole is not a part of the Preacher's dress. The Sacred Congregation has, however, decided (12 Nov., 1831) that it may be worn where the custom of wearing it exists.

VII.

Funeral panegyric preached after Mass. Preacher's dress.

At what part of the Requiem Mass is the sermon to be preached? How is the preacher to be vested?

The time for a funeral oration is at the termination of the Requiem Mass, and immediately before the Absolution.² The Preacher should not wear either Stole or Surplice. He is to be dressed in black,³ *i.e.*, in the Soutane and Cap.⁴

VIII.

Family arms on sacred vessels and vestments tolerated.

I have received for my church presents of sacred vessels and vestments on which the family arms are engraved or worked. Please inform me, do I violate the Rubrics in allowing these secular emblems to remain.

You may allow them to remain. Your case is met by the

¹ Bouvry, Tom. ii., p. 3, sec. iii. Rub. iii., 7.

² Caer Epis. lib. i., cap. xxii., n. 5, 6.

³ Ibid. lib. cap. xi. n. 10.

⁴ De Conny, Bourbon.

following decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites:—
 “Sacerdos Leb. Ricci a S. R. C. exquiri.” “An removere
 debeat stemma gentilitium familiae suae impressum tam
 Ostensorio quam nobilibus aliis suppellectilibus a se donatis
 Cathedrali ipsi ecclesiae, at expositio Sanctissimi Sacra-
 menti in Cathedrali ipsa solemniori apparatu fiat, quam
 quidem remotionem indixit R. R. Episcopus?” Resp. S. R.
 Cong. “*Quum non obstant decreta, nihil esse innovandum*”

IX.

Bishop's chaplain holds paten at the Communion, but need not wear the Stole.

Should the priest who acts as a chaplain to a bishop at a low Mass hold the paten under the chin of those whom the bishop communicates? If he is to hold the paten, should he wear the Stole?

The chaplain should hold the paten.¹ He need not wear the Stole. The Sacred Congregation (3 Sep., 1661) describes the dress of the chaplain in these circumstances, as “*sacerdotem colla inclutum*,” without any reference to the Stole. Besides, it is a general principle that the Stole is to be worn when a priest touches one of the sacred vessels containing the Blessed Sacrament, but it is not to be worn when he touches or carries a chalice or ciborium, or other sacred vessel, even though unpurified, which does not contain the Blessed Sacrament, (BOURBON, page 143).

X.

No difference in the action of the hands at the “Gloria” and the “Credo.”

Is there any difference to be observed in the action of the hands at the “Gloria in excelsis” and at the “Credo?” The Rubrics of the Missal say in regard to the first: “*et manus extendens elevansque*,” whilst in reference to the second it puts it thus: “*elevans et extendens manus?*”

There is no difference to be observed, we think, in the action of the hands at the “Gloria,” &c., and the “Credo.” The extending and raising of the hands are in both instances simultaneous actions. At the “Gloria” the extending is not to be completed before the raising of the hands, nor the raising before the extending at the “Credo.” This is plainly indicated by the use of the present participles, “*elevans et extendens*,”—“*extendens et elevans*.” The Rubric in the first instance directs the priest to extend the

Caer. Epis. lib. ii., cap. 29, n. 3. De Molin, n. i, 28. Man. des cer. Rom. I. i., page 313.

hands whilst elevating them, and in the other to raise whilst extending them—a description which leads up to the same manner of performing the action. Besides, our correspondent quotes a sentence from the Rubrics of the Missal (Tit. iv. n. 3), which contains a general direction to be observed whenever the hands are to be raised. The sentence is printed within brackets, and refers to the Rubric of the “Gloria in excelsis,” which it follows immediately. “Quod in omni manuum elevatione observetur.” This, I think, proves that no difference is intended between the manner of raising the hands at the “Gloria” and at the “Credo.”

XI.

The “De Profundis” after Mass.

Is the celebrant, having descended from the altar at the end of the Mass, to genuflect before commencing the psalm “De Profundis,” or is he to commence the psalm without making a genuflection?

Our correspondent refers, of course, only to a Mass celebrated at an altar on which is a tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament.

We think it would be more in conformity with the Rubrics to genuflect before commencing the “De Profundis.” And this is our reason:—The “De Profundis” is no part of the Mass, and the Rubric of the Missal expressly orders the priest to genuflect when, having finished the Mass, he comes down to the foot of the altar—“descendit ante infimum gradum altaris; et ibi in medio vertens se ad illud genuflectit, si in eo est Tabernaculum S.S. Sacramenti” (Tit. xii. n. 6). The practice, however, in our country of genuflecting only after the psalm when the priest is leaving the altar for the sacristy, is so common as, in our opinion, to justify us in adhering to it.

Besides, the meaning of the Rubric already quoted is at best doubtful, for it supposes the priest to leave for the sacristy directly after his genuflection. This last genuflection should not in either case be omitted.

R. B.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.—RESERVED CASES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DEAR SIR—May I ask you to state, in an early number of the RECORD, whether ignorance of the penalty will excuse from *reservation*. Thus if a sin be, in a particular diocese, reserved, can the persons who are guilty of it, be absolved by any ordinary confessor, if they did not happen to know, at the time of its commission, that it was a reserved sin? M. K.

[In reply to this question, it appears to us that like many other questions, it may be answered in either of two ways, *i.e.*, either *practically* or *speculatively*. To begin with the practical view, which we fancy our correspondent will prefer, the solution of the question really depends on the intention of the Bishop or other superior by whom the case was reserved. No one, we imagine, will question the authority of a Bishop to reserve a sin, that is to limit the jurisdiction of his priests with regard to a particular sin, even though that sin was committed without a knowledge of the reservation. Hence the practical method of solving the proposed case would be by consulting the Bishop regarding the circumstances in which he wished the particular sin to be reserved. This is the reason why, in the Statutes of the Maynooth Synod (p. 84, n. 86), the Irish Bishops express their desire that care should in future be taken so to word the reservation as to remove all doubt about its extent and its operation. “*Perutile esset quoque,*” they say, “*ad sedanda dubia atque anxietates quorundam confessoriorum, ut non solum natura peccati reservati distincte exhibeatur, sed etiam circumstantiæ sub quibus ex intentione superioris non reservatur—v.g., si in prima confessione, si in confessione generali, si occasione itineris aut navigationis longæ, si cum adsit in peccante ignorantia reservationis.*”

But if the limits of the reservation are not thus clearly defined, and if there is no means of directly ascertaining the intention of the superior, the confessor must be guided by the teaching of theologians on this case. Now the teaching of theologians may be reduced under three heads. 1^o Some theologians—and they are comparatively few in numbers—distinguish between *penal* and *medicinal* reservations, and maintain that ignorance

excuses from the former but not from the latter kind of reservation. 2° Others, whose opinion is described by St. Alphonsus (De Poenitentia n. 58, Dub. II.) as "*communior*," and by La Croix (De Poenit. n. 1607) as "*communissima*," deny that ignorance excuses from the reservation, principally on the ground that the reservation primarily and immediately affects the jurisdiction of the confessor rather than the privilege of the penitent. 3° Finally, many theologians with Fr. Ballerini (De Poenit. n. 571, n. a.) maintain that ignorance does excuse from the reservation, or, in other words, that the sin is not reserved if the penitent, when committing it, was ignorant of the reservation. Considering the array of theologians quoted in its support, and the arguments advanced in its defence, it may safely be maintained, we think, that this opinion is solidly probable. But if this opinion is probable, then any ordinary confessor has probable jurisdiction in such a case; and theologians say that it is lawful to use probable jurisdiction, at least when there is a reasonable cause for its exercise. Hence we believe that any confessor to whom the opinion, defended by Fr. Ballerini with much force and ingenuity, seems probable, might, especially where the good of the penitent called for immediate action, regard ignorance as excusing from the reservation, and might therefore make up his mind that absolution need not be deferred. In such circumstances, however, it would be the duty of the confessor, as Sporer remarks (De Poenit. n. 735), to admonish the penitent that the sin is reserved, so that if he relapses he must be absolved by a confessor having special faculties.—ED. I. E. R.]

II.—FAST REQUIRED FOR COMMUNION.

"A priest is morally certain, in certain circumstances, that he has violated the natural fast required for the celebration of Mass, by having taken some water after 12 o'clock at night, but he has no recollection of having done so. May he say Mass next day? In other words, is the *actus hominis* mentioned sufficient to violate the required fast, and prevent him from saying Mass?"—M. K.

[We are clearly of opinion that it is, and therefore that it would be unlawful to say Mass in these circumstances. The reason is, that if the three conditions are present, namely, if what has been taken, be taken *ab extrinseco*, secondly, if it be taken *per modum comestionis aut potationis*, and thirdly, if it has the *ratio cibi aut potus*, even though it has been taken neither culpably, nor even voluntarily,

the fast required by the Church has been violated. "Si quis," says La Croix (*De Eucharistia*, n. 568), "in flumen lapsus, invitus sumat aquam, aut si alicui *in somno* vel violenter ingeritur cibus in fauces, Bosco dicit non frangi jejunium, sed probabilius contradicunt Lugo, Pasq., Tamb., Dian., &c., quia vitaliter sumitur per potationem aut cibationem." Many theologians add that when there is question of availing oneself of a privilege, such as the reception of the Eucharist undoubtedly is, the recipient is bound to be certain that he has the required qualifications.—ED. I. E. R.]

[In addition to the foregoing we have received some other practical questions on the conditional administration of Extreme Unction—the reading of heretical books—the validity of informal Matrimonial Dispensations—Indulgences—Usury—to which we hope to be able to devote some space in our next, or at least in an early future number of the RECORD—ED. I. E. R.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Church History of Ireland, from the Anglo-Norman Invasion to the Reformation, with succession of Bishops down to the present day. By SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 50, Upper Sackville-street. Duffy, 17, Wellington-quay. London: Burns, Oates & Co., 17, Portman-street, 1880.

IN some paintings of the modern school, masses of faint lines, rather than definite figures, occupy the central ground of landscapes brilliantly lit up at either end. To one who takes a general view of Irish History the same incongruity is presented. The earlier ages of Ireland, Pagan and Christian, are traced out in clear lines of intellectual and heroic light.

Again, our later history, chequered as it is, is not only rich in all the elements of tragic suffering, but is connected by many links with the great incidents of European life. But the period lying between both, especially the period between the close of the English Invasion and the accession of Henry VIII., has been very imperfectly delineated, and is undoubtedly less generally known than any corresponding epoch in our annals. Yet it is scarcely wanting in any species of historic interest. The rude Norman soldiers—the great chiefs who tried to rally the native race—the revolution which gradually moulded conquerors and conquered into an unprecedented alliance—the fidelity of both to ancient laws and customs—the noble institutions of religion and piety raised in the midst of continuous wars, cannot fail to arrest and repay the attention of any one who loves to see great forces in action, and

to trace the causes which sustain or extinguish the life of a nation. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the events which give an absorbing interest to civil or ecclesiastical history, not only lie far apart during this lengthened period, but are separated by minute and disjointed details, which have little power to rival the ceaseless movement of our earlier or later annals.

The "Church History" of the Rev. Sylvester Malone, therefore, suffers from a double contrast. At the outset he had to face the difficulty of trying to arouse curiosity, instead of the easier and more commonplace task of attempting to satisfy it. He had, furthermore, the laborious duty thrown upon him of examining vast masses of materials, many of them very imperfectly known, without the guidance and direction of the great scholars and antiquarians, who have explored the more trodden paths of Irish History. That the Rev. Mr. Malone, living away from ready access to books of reference, should have been able to execute such a work at all, does great credit to his scholarship and research. But that he should have shown such a masterly power of grouping and arranging his materials as to satisfy minds so differently constituted as those of Cardinal Newman and the late Dr. Todd, shows that F. Malone has taken no ordinary place amongst Irish historians. His special purpose is to present the ecclesiastical side of Irish History during and after the Norman Invasion. The first part of this subject brought him face to face with the constitution of the Irish Church, the Bull of Adrian, and the relations between Henry II. and the Irish bishops. These primary questions, unlike those which follow in historical sequence, have been dealt with by a host of Catholic writers, who have felt it necessary to refute the absurd position assumed by so many Protestant authorities, and to replace the graphic sketches of Gerald Barry by a truer and brighter picture of Ireland as it was found by Strongbow.

Nowhere is the Catholic view better presented than in the pages of F. Malone. He subjects the statements which pass current at May meetings, to a searching and exhaustive criticism. To our mind his strictures have the more force, because he is ready to give due weight to the evidence he finds of disciplinary and moral abuses. F. Malone is too candid not to see that statements like those of St. Bernard, though based upon imperfect information, are partially confirmed by the Canons of Irish Councils. Nor does he, like some writers whose zeal outruns their discretion, suppose that Ireland could have escaped all the fatal moral consequences that elsewhere followed the establishment of Danish power.

What he does in his treatment of these questions, as well as in the succeeding records, is to give a clear narrative of events, supported by the best attainable evidence, on the sound principle that "deductions drawn by the unprejudiced reader from facts, simply told, were far more safe than the foregone conclusions of an author

who only twisted facts in support of those conclusions." He is, therefore, ready, whenever the evidence seems to him unanswerable, as in the case of Adrian's Bull, to adopt the less popular view, and to sacrifice an instinctive preference to historic truth. This is not only the course dictated by conscience, but is the very course most calculated to subserve the interest of the Church. For the result of F. Malone's application of this strictly critical method is to present the Irish Church during almost four eventful centuries, not free from scandals and abuses, not unaffected by the general decay of moral purity which elsewhere led to such fatal results, but strong in the faith derived from a long succession of saints, clinging then, as now, with unswerving loyalty to the centre of Catholic unity, and treasuring up the beautiful rites and devotions, admirably described in these volumes in which the genius of early Christian Ireland had consecrated its love for God and the Blessed Virgin.

There is no stronger evidence of the thoroughness with which F. Malone has done his work than his accurate explanations of laws and institutions, commonly misunderstood not alone by Protestant writers, but by many Catholics as well. The mortmain laws, for instance, are so generally ascribed to hostile feeling against the Church, without reference to any other cause, that we have no doubt many well-informed readers will be surprised at the real motives assigned for them by F. Malone in the following passage:—"The law was not called mortmain, nor that mortmain law passed, in reference to sick-bed charity. There was no need of guarding against undue influence, in order to secure the rights of the surviving friends and children—for the common law provided for their rights. The law of mortmain was passed to prevent lands to which knights' service was attached being given during life, or at death, to religious bodies; because in such a contingency the state or superior lords would suffer. They were deprived of those 'incidents' peculiar to the feudal tenure—the 'aid,' which was given in difficulties; 'reliefs,' which were fines on the death of the feudal tenant; 'premier seizin,' a fine on the descent to the heir of full age; 'wardship,' which was the right of receiving the rents and profits of a fee during the minority of the heir; 'marriage,' which was a fine on the marriage of a feudal tenant; 'fines on alienation;' fines for the lord's consent to the transfer of a fee, and 'escheat,' which was equivalent to a forfeiture of the fee—all these seven incidents were lost to the lord in all those properties which fell into the hands of monastic bodies."

The present edition of F. Malone's work is brought out in a convenient form, and contains, in addition to a carefully prepared list of the succession of Irish Bishops, a singularly full and interesting Appendix. We heartily hope it will meet with the encouragement due to a work of great research, written in a style always clear and precise, and not unfrequently rising into grave and subdued eloquence.

- I.—*Prescott's Conquest of Peru*. Book IV., Chapters i. to v. inclusive. With Introduction and Notes. By J. O'BYRNE CROKE, M.A. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.
- II.—*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. With Introduction and Notes. By ARTHUR PATTON, B.A. Cantos I. and II. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.
- III.—*Twenty of Bacon's Essays*; selected in accordance with the Intermediate Education Syllabus. Edited with Introduction and Notes. By J. O'BYRNE CROKE, M.A. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

It was, we believe, urged upon the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, by at least one of the Standing Committees representing the interests of our Catholic schools, that if the Programme of Examinations were issued each year at a reasonably early date before the summer vacation, publishers would probably avail themselves of the opportunity to bring out, at moderate cost, for the use of intending candidates, suitably annotated editions of the requisite text books. The publication of the three works now before us is sufficient to place beyond question the wisdom of the suggestion thus tendered, and of the action of the Board in complying with it.

Useful as those editions of the prescribed authors cannot fail to be to the schoolboys and students for whose benefit the lucid and exhaustive Introductions, and the copious annotations—critical, etymological, metrical, historical, and topographical—have been so judiciously supplied, it would be a mistake to regard them merely as schoolbooks. Thus, for instance, there are few readers, to whom the able Introduction prefixed by Mr. Croke to the selected chapters of *Prescott's Conquest of Peru*, can fail to prove an interesting as well as an instructive essay.

And, especially in these pages, it is not out of place to make special mention of one of the Notes in the same work, as a further and most satisfactory illustration of the conscientious care with which the Editor has executed his responsible task. In the narrative of the events preceding the assassination of Pizarro, the author—it may be without any idea of the grievousness of the charge implied in his words—relates that when “one of the conspirators relieved his bosom by revealing the plot to his confessor, *the latter lost no time in reporting it*” to Pizarro's secretary. As his authority for this statement, the historian sets forth in a footnote, in the original Spanish, the words of the chronicler whose narrative he thus professes to follow. It was surely worth noting, as Mr. Croke has taken pains to do, that the authority thus quoted—in a form, no doubt, which rendered a verification of the reference impossible to the vast majority of English readers—far from justifying the inference that any violation of the seal of confession occurred on the occasion referred to, distinctly sets forth the

incident in a very different light, and with a clearness which makes it altogether impossible to misconceive what really took place.

The note is as follows :—

“ From the text it might appear that the seal of confession had been violated in this communication. That such was not the case, however, is clear from the language of the old Spanish chronicler, Pedro Pizarro, whom Prescott quotes as his authority, and whose words, literally translated, are as follows :— ‘ On the evening of the preceding day, a clergyman named Benao, who had been advised of the matter, communicated it to Picado, the secretary, saying, ‘ On Sunday morning, when the Marquess is returning from Mass, the Chili party have entered into a conspiracy to murder the Marquess and his friends, yourself included. A person has told me this in confession, *in order that I might come to warn you.*’ Picado, on hearing this, went instantly and related it to the Marquess, who merely observed, ‘ This clergyman wants a bishopric.’ ”

It cannot fail to be productive of good, that so satisfactory a refutation of the charge implied in Mr. Prescott’s narrative,—and we may add, so typical an illustration of the looseness, to use no stronger term, with which even well-informed and impartial Protestant authors write in regard to the acts of Catholic ecclesiastics, or the practices of the Catholic Church,—should thus be furnished in a work, destined, we have no doubt, to find within the next twelve months, many thousands of readers, whether Catholic or Protestant, more especially among the pupils of our Intermediate Colleges and Schools.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers :—

From MESSRS. DUFFY & SONS, Dublin—

The Superiority of the Catholic Church. By CHARLES WALKER.

Ora pro Nobis. By L. D. BROWN.

Bernadette Soubirous, Last Illness, Death, and Obsequies of. By J. J. DENNEHY.

Life of Ven. Mother Mary of the Incarnation. By a Religious of the Ursuline Community.

From MESSRS. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Union unto Perfection. An Address to Philosophy Students, by T. J. O’MAHONY, D.D., D.C.L.

Church History of Ireland. Two Vols. Third Edition. By Rev. SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A.

Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern. Vol. Second. By Rev. JAMES O’LAVERY, M.R.I.A., P.P., of Holywood.

Poems. By A. W. BIRMINGHAM.

Life of St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori. Translated by R. A. C., C.S.S.R.

Lessons in Gaelic—Gaelic Union Publications. Books I. Part I. & II By J. E. N.

From MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

The Growing Unbelief of the Educated Classes. By Rev. H. FORMBY.

St. Ignatius and the Jesuits. A Sermon preached at Farm-street Church, London, by the Rev. THOMAS BURKE, O.P.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1880.

ANCIENT IRISH MISSALS.—I.

THERE is not, perhaps, a more striking illustration of the thoroughness with which the destruction of our religious houses was carried out in 1537, than the fact that of the numberless books which must have been in use at that time for the celebration of Mass, and the administration of the Sacraments, only four Missals are known to be in existence at the present day.

These are the Stowe Missal, formerly the property of the Duke of Buckingham, and now in possession of Lord Ashburnham; the Drummond, so called from having been preserved at the castle of that name in Perthshire; the Rosslyn, for some time in the family of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn, in Scotland, now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and, lastly, one in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The Corpus Missal has been lately edited with Introduction and Notes, by Mr. Warren, Fellow of St. John's, College, Oxford, (London: Pickering & Co.). All who take an interest—and what Irish ecclesiastic does not?—in the study of our ancient liturgy have thus brought within their reach one of its few remaining monuments. The Editor has performed his work with much diligence, and whilst we think a more intimate acquaintance with Irish history would have saved him from some errors, we feel great pleasure in recording our appreciation of his labours in a field of research too long neglected by Irish archaeologists.

The custom which prevailed in the early Irish Church, in common with the East, of carrying books and relics in

leather covers was introduced by our great Apostle himself. Thenceforward we find reference made to it in the Lives of the Saints, and in Celtic tales, down to the period of the English invasion. In the Tripartite Life, for instance, we read that, on one occasion, the Gentiles who lay in ambush for St. Patrick, on his way to Tara, saw eight wild deer and a young fawn going past them, that is, Patrick with his seven companions, and Benignus with a book-satchel on his shoulders. Again, Bishop Assicus, it is stated, made four-cornered book-cases for the Saint.

Mention is also made of these receptacles in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; in the Lives of St. Ciaran, St. Canice, and St. Carthage; and in a characteristically Irish story in the Book of Leinster. Giraldus Cambrensis, too, incidentally describes the national custom, when he speaks of a *perula*, which contained a manual, and some consecrated Hosts, and which, according to the manner of the country, a priest used to carry hung from his neck, when travelling.

One of these *tiagha*, *perulae*, or satchels, encloses the Corpus Missal. The back is ornamented with impressed diagonal lines and circles, which are now almost worn away by long use. At the upper angles strong leather straps are fastened to a broad central strap. These were passed over the shoulders, and thus the contents were carried conveniently and with safety.

The Book itself was originally bound in strong wooden covers, parts of which are still preserved, polished by constant wear. It is a small volume, about six and a-half inches long, by five in width, but of great thickness, owing to the large handwriting, and the solidity of the parchment. At present there remain 212 leaves, but eleven, or perhaps sixteen, have been lost. Each page contains, with few exceptions, eighteen lines, written in heavy angular Irish characters. On nearly every page are large initial letters, coloured in yellow, red, purple, or dark blue. Representations occur throughout of grotesque animals, much attenuated, and ornamented, as a rule, with purple patches on a red ground, with elongated yellow tongues and tails. Moreover, many coloured initial letters extend from the top to the foot of the page. Though ruder in execution, the ornamentation, it will thus be seen, is similar in design to that displayed in many of our celebrated national manuscripts.

Of the history of the Missal no record remains. It may perhaps have been given by the Thomas O'Sinnachan,

(Fox), whose name appears on the second folio, to the family of Richard Fox, the founder of the College in which it is now preserved. The tradition in Oxford is that it was found in an Irish bog,—a tradition, the Editor observes, supported by the blackened and stained appearance of the leaves. Almost all of them, but especially the first twenty and last sixty, exhibit more or less of a water mark. Perchance, when returning from celebrating Mass, or visiting the sick, the monk—for some of the contents prove that the volume belonged to a religious community—may have been pursued by the plunderers of his monastery, and to save the satchel and its contents from a worse fate, cast them where the story goes they were discovered.

The contents, at present, are the following:—

I.

- [Praefatio communis.]
 [Canon Missae.]
 Missa de Sca Trinitate.
 Missa Spiritus Sancti.
 Feria iii. de Sca Cruce.
 Missa de Sca Maria.
 5 De Sca Maria, ab adventu
 Dni.
 De Sca Maria, a Nat. usque
 ad Pur.
 De Resurrectione.
 De Petro et Paulo.
 De Scis presentis aeclesiae.
 10 Pro episcopo.
 Pro rege.
 Pro pace.
 In xl. pro pace in loco.
 Pro iter agentibus.
 15 Pro familiaribus.
 Contra temptationem carnis.
 Pro serenitate aeris.
 Pro petitione lacrimarum.
 Pro custodia monasterii, et
 habitorum eius.
 20 Missa communis.
 Missa communis.
 Missa communis.
 Pro facientibus elemosinas.

II.

- Pro fidelibus defunctis in die
 obitus.

- 25 Missa in die sepulturae.
 A i. die obitus usque ad xxx.
 diem.
 Pro fidelibus defunctis com-
 mune.
 Pro episcopo defuncto.
 Pro abbate.
 30 Pro sacerdotibus.
 Pro diaconibus.
 Pro fratribus nrae congrega-
 tionis.
 Pro parentibus defunctis.
 Pro benefactoribus defunctis.
 35 Pro carnalibus defunctis.
 Pro feminis defunctis.
 Pro his qui in cimiterio
 requiescunt.
 Pro amico defuncto.
 Pro femina defuncta.
 40 Missa in anniversario.
 Pro eo qui sine penitentiae
 remedio defungitur.
 Pro fidelibus defunctis.
 Missa communis.

III.

- [Ordo nuptiarum.]
 Missa [pro sponso et sponsa.]
 Benedictio sponsae.
 Benedictio cibi et potus nup-
 tiarum.
 Benedictio talami.
 Benedictio corporum.

IV.

45 Dominica i. de adventu Dni.
 Vigilia natalis Dni.
 Missa in gallicantu.
 De luce ad lucem.
 [Ad iii. Missam.]

50 Natale Sancti Zephani proto-
 martyris.

In Nat. Sci Johannis evan-
 gelistae.

Missa scorum innocentum.

Epiphania Domini.

Dominica in lxx.

Absolutiones in capite ieiunii

Benedictio cineris in capite
 ieiunii.

55 Ad Missam.

Dominica in xl.

Ordo in Dominica Palmarum

Feria quarta.

Feria quinta in cena Dni.,
 absolutio episcopalis vel
 sacerdotalis.

Feria quinta in cena Domini.

60 Feria sexta in parascive.

Benedictio ignis novi de
 silice excussi in Sabbato.

Benedictio cerei in Sabbato
 sco.

[Litaniae in Sabbato sco.]

[Missa in Sabbato sco.]

[Missa in Dea resurrectionis.]

Dominica in albis.

Vigilia pentecostes.

65 Dominica pentecostes.

v.

Conversio Sci Pauli.

Sanctae Brigidae Virginis.

Ordo in Purif. Scae Mariae.

Purificatio Scae Mariae.

Natale Sci Patricii, Ep.

70 Annuntiatio Scae Mariae.

Inventio Sanctae Crucis.

Vigilia Johannis Baptizae.

In die Sancti Johannis.

Vig. SS. Ap. Petri et Pauli.

75 Nat. SS. Ap. Petri et Pauli.

Nat. Mariae Magdalene.

Vigilia Sci Laurenti.

In die Sci Laurenti.

Vig. Assumpt. Scae Mariae.

80 In die ad Missam.

Decollatio Sci Johannis Bapt.

Nativitas Scae Mariae.

Exaltatio Scae Crucis.

Festivitas Sci Michaelis.

85 Vigilia oium Sanctorum.

In die ad Missam.

VI.

Vigilia unius Apostoli.

In die ad Missam.

Plurimorum Apostolorum.

Vigilia unius Martiris.

90 In nat. unius Martiris.

[Id.] in tempore pascale.

In natale plur. Martirum.

Unius Conf. non Pont.

95 Unius Conf. et Pont.

Plurimor. Confessorum.

Unius Virg. et Martiris.

Unius Virg. non Martiris

Plurimarum Virginum.

VII.

[Ordo Baptismi.]

[Ordo ad fac. aquam bened.]

[Benedictio domus.]

B. domus ubi infirmus iacet.

[Visitatio infirmi.]

[Ordo Extremae Unctionis.]

Ad communicandum in-
 firmum.

Ordo commendationis
 animae.

It thus appears that, owing probably to the loss of the leaves, there is neither Calendar, nor Ordinary of the Mass; whilst, instead of being inserted, as in the Roman Missal,

after the Office of Holy Saturday, the Canon occupies the second place. The proper Prefaces, instead of being grouped before the Canon, are assigned to the various places to which they belong. The volume, it is evident, served at once as a Missal and a Ritual. This accounts for the meagreness of the *Proprium de Tempore*, and of the *Proprium de Sanctis*, as well as for the very ample *Commune Sanctorum*, and the long list of votive Masses. Many saints' festivals were, of course, not instituted at the date of compilation, and on the Sundays for which a Mass is not assigned, that for the opening Sunday of the season must have been repeated. In this way, and by the use of contractions, a list of which is somewhat needlessly given, the manuscript, which was intended to be portable, was prevented from assuming too large a size.

In order to classify them, it will be convenient to divide the contents into Masses and Commemorations. When the component parts—Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel, Offertory, Secret, Preface, Communion, and Post-Communion—are given under one heading, we may call them a Mass; a Collect, Secret, and Post-Communion make up a Commemoration. We find, then, fifty nine Masses in the six sections. In the first section there are Masses of the Trinity, Holy Ghost, Holy Cross, and Blessed Virgin; in the second, *pro fidelibus defunctis commune*; the *Missa pro sponso et sponsa*; together with all the items in the fourth, the sixth, and, with two exceptions, the fifth sections. There are forty Commemorations,—nineteen in the first section, an equal number in the second, with those of St. Patrick and St. Brigid in the *Proprium de Sanctis*.

The Canon, with two variations to be quoted later on, is altogether Roman. The following diagrams will show at a glance the comparison with the Roman and Sarum Missals.

Masses.

C.R.S.	C.R.	C.S.	C.	TOTAL
56	0	1	2	59

In addition, the Prefaces of Nos. 27 and 53, which are not found in the Roman and Sarum, are contained, one in the Alemannic, the other in the Gothic and Gallican Missals. Moreover, a Homily to the people and Adoration

of the Cross, in No. 60, are similar to those in the Gallican Liturgy. Finally, five Collects and Post-Communions, with six Secrets, are found only in the Corpus Missal.

Commemorations.

		C.R.S.	C.R.	C.S.	C.	TOTAL
Collects	...	20	1	12	7	40
Secrets	...	6	0	24	10	40
Post-Communions		7	0	22	11	40

In the fourth column, five Collects, three Secrets, and four Post-Communions are also given in the Alemannic Missal.

Two conclusions result from the foregoing analysis :— Firstly, that the structure and principal contents of the Missal are Roman ; or, in the jargon which we are sorry to see the Editor adopt, Petrine, not Ephesine, throughout.

Secondly, that, as our Apostle received most of his training in Gaul, every accession to our knowledge of the early Celtic Church shows more and more clearly that, whilst the national liturgy was Roman in its leading features, traces of continental and local influences appeared in the minor and fluctuating elements.

When, therefore, Mr. Warren tells us that the last vestiges of the old national rite, and of liturgical and ritual independence were swept away under St. Malachi, the great Romanizer of the Irish Church, we feel pretty much like the client who never knew how cruelly he had been wronged till he had heard the speech of his counsel. We are not ashamed to confess we had been ignorant of this great wrong. But, if the Editor, or anybody else, brings forward the proofs, we shall not be remiss in contributing our quota of indignation and sorrow. Meanwhile, we may observe that Mr. Warren himself has been fortunately allowed to copy the Canon of the Stowe Missal—admittedly the oldest monument of our national rite—and from his point of view, it is not a very encouraging document. For the opening words are none other than the following—“Canon dominicus Papae Gilasi”—The dominical canon—would you believe it?—of Pope Gelasius!

The truth is, to anyone whose vision is not dimmed by the Petrine and Ephesine theory, this talk about ritual nationality and Roman encroachment must appear the

veriest twaddle. Instead, then, of concluding that the ancient Irish Missals borrowed from the Sarum, we have no hesitation in concluding that, looking to the early and continuous migrations of our countrymen to England and the Continent, the Sarum received contributions from Celtic sources.

The volume itself does not contain any direct statement as to age or authorship. Hence, the question has to be decided upon the character of the writing; on liturgical evidence; and upon incidental historical allusions. The Editor does not attach much importance to the assistance to be derived from the writing. The difficulty is caused, he says, by the habit of Hibernian scribes to perpetuate by exact imitation the smallest peculiarities in the manuscripts they copied. But, without stopping to examine the accuracy of this novel theory, it will suffice for our purpose that the writing is allowed to be similar in character to that of the Book of Hymns, formerly in the Library of St. Isidore, in Rome, and at present in Dublin. Palaeographically, then, the Missal can date from the first half of the eleventh century.

On liturgical grounds the one great evidence of antiquity is the omission of the clause, "*pro quibus tibi offerimus vel,*" which was not generally inserted in the Canon until the eleventh century.

The following historical allusions occur. (1) In the Commemoration "*pro rege,*" No. 11., the Collect has the words "*hostes superare*" inserted, and the Secret runs thus (2):—"Suscipe Domine preces et hostias Ecclesiae tuae pro salute famuli tui, regis nostri, te supplicantis, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut, superatis pacis inimicis, secura tibi serviat libertas Christiana."

On Good Friday the seventh Collect begins (3) with: "*Oremus et pro Christianissimo nostro Imperatore,*" and has the following clause put in (4): "*et faciat sapere ea quae recta sunt, atque contra inimicos Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae triumphum largiatur victoriae.*"

On Holy Saturday, at the Blessing of the Paschal Candle, we have (5): "*Gloriosissimo rege nostro N., eiusque nobilissima prole*."

And in the Litany are the following petitions:—(6) "*Ut regem Hibernensium et exercitum eius conservare digneris;* (7) "*Ut eis vitam et sanitatem, atque victoriam dones, te rogamus.*"

Lastly, in the Litany for the Blessing of the Font at Baptism, a similar petition occurs (8): "Ut dominum illum regem, et exercitum Christianorum, in perpetua pace et prosperitate [conservare] digneris, te rogamus."

Having assigned 1150-1250 as the limits within which the volume was compiled, the Editor, following Mr. Gilbert in the "Account of Fac-similes of National Manuscripts," looks up two kings, father and son, who lived at that period, and luckily finding them, straightway concludes there can be little doubt that the "*Rex Hibernensium*" is Torlogh O'Connor, and the "*nobilissima proles*" his son Roderic. He then fixes the date between 1152 and 1157, the year of Torlogh's death.

The question cannot, however, be decided in this haphazard fashion. The clauses, it is admitted, must have a special historical significance, and yield a clue to the date, unless we are to believe, without any show of reason, that a later scribe slavishly copied words which, under altered circumstances, could have no meaning at all. Assuming then that they have a meaning, they must, obviously, be considered as a whole, and no conclusion of any historical value can be drawn from one or two detached from the rest. But what does the Editor do? Of the eight petitions he copies four, and bases his decision upon one. He ignores the Enemy, as well as the Army, and suggests no explanation of so strange a title as *Imperator*. And yet, taken together, the clauses tell of a foe formidable enough to cause the insertion of unusual prayers in unusual places of the public liturgy; of an army on whose success vital issues depended; and of a royal leader who had done great things for Faith and Fatherland. Now, we know that for more than one hundred and forty years before the death of Torlogh O'Connor, the Irish had no declared national enemy who created the smallest alarm; we know, too, that Torlogh never commanded troops for other than his own ambitious designs; and, finally, it passes all belief that he could have been called most glorious and most Christian by anyone, native or alien, cleric or lay, familiar with the story of his life.

This hypothesis being thus disposed of, there can be little difficulty in verifying the allusions from our native Annals. The great enemy of Ireland; the enemy who gained a firm foothold upon her soil; who burned her monasteries, and put their inmates to the sword; and who, finally, went down in irreparable disaster in attempting to

destroy her independence; every schoolboy knows was the Dane. At the mention of that name, who does not recall the Rex and Imperator of our text, the hero—victor of Clontarf?

Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod profuit urbi.

That illustrious, all-victorious king, says an eye-witness of the battle, fell by the foreigners, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign in Munster, and in the twelfth in the chief sovereignty of Erin. In short, Erin fell by the death of Brian, for it was he that released the men of Erin and its women from the bondage and iniquity of the foreigners and pirates. It was he that gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners, and who killed and banished them. He was the beautiful, ever-victorious Octavianus, for the prosperity and freedom of his country and race. He was the strong, irresistible, second Alexander, for energy and for dignity, and for attacks, and for battles, and for triumphs. And he was the happy, wealthy, peaceable Solomon of the Gaels. He was the faithful, fervent, honourable, gallant David of Erin, for truthfulness and for worthiness, and for the maintenance of sovereignty. He was the magnificent, brilliant Moses, for chastity, and unostentatious devotion.

The identity of the “nobilissima proles” is established by the same authority. Having heard that the standard of his son, Murragh, had fallen, “that is sad news,” said Brian, “on my word, the honour and valour of Erin fell when that standard fell; and Erin has fallen now indeed; and never shall there appear henceforth a champion comparable to or like that champion.”—*The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*.

It remains to give an explanation of the title Imperator. Turning to the *facsimiles* appended to the first volume of *O'Curry's Lectures*, we find the following, taken from the *Book of Armagh*:—“Sanctus Patricius, iens ad coelum, mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam babtismi, tam causarum, quam elemosinarum, deferendum esse Apostolicae urbi, quae Scotice nominatur Ardd macha. Sic reperi in beblibliothica Scotorum. Ego scripsi, id est, Calvus¹

¹ Il nome Calvus è la traduzione latina di Mael (Servus), e Calvus corrisponde a Servus, essendo la tonsura segno di schiavitù. E noto il verso di Properzio (4, 11, 38): Sub quorum titulis Africa tonsa jaces, hoc est, captiva. Nigra, Reliquie Celtiche, p. 19.

Perennis, in conspectu Briain,¹ Imperatoris Scotorum; et quod scripsi finivit pro omnibus regibus Maceriae.”

This entry was made in the year 1002, when Brian, after the subjection of Ulster, made an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the altar of the great Church of Armagh.

Our readers, we venture to think, will thus agree with us that the “Imperator Scotorum” of the *Book of Armagh*, and the “Imperator Gloriosissimus” of the *Corpus Missal* are one and the same.

Upon these various grounds, palaeographic, liturgical, and historic, we have come to the conclusion that the *Missal* was compiled between the year 1002, the date of the foregoing entry, and 1014, the date of the Battle of Clontarf.

B. McC.

ST. PAUL AND SENECA.—No. III.

THE PROOFS OF THE TRADITION.

WE have seen in the history of the tradition which we are discussing, that there is no express testimony of its existence before the time of St. Jerome; and that, after his time, every writer who alludes to the matter, bases his allusion upon the testimony of that holy Father. Hence, we have now to consider that testimony, and to decide by a careful examination of it, what may be its real value. The words of St. Jerome bearing upon this subject are as follow:—

“Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Cordubensis, Socionis Stoici discipulus, et patruus Lucani poetae; continentissimae vitae fuit, quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum nisi me illae Epistolae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum. In quibus cum esset Neronis magister et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit ejus esse loci apud suos ejus sit Paulus apud Christianos.”

“Lucius Annaeus Seneca, of Cordova, a disciple of the Stoic

¹ There are no less than seven blunders in O'Curry's reading of this *Facsimile*: the most inexcusable being Briani instead of Briain. The genealogy of St. Finchu, of Brigobhan, near Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, in the so-called *Speckled Book*, folio 40 b., gives the name of Brian, one of his ancestors, in the genitive, Briain.

Socion, and uncle of the poet Lucan, was a man of most virtuous life. I would not place him in the catalogue of sacred writers, were I not induced by those Epistles of Paul to Seneca, and of Seneca to Paul, which are widely read. In these, tutor as he was to Nero, and one of the most powerful men of his time, he says that he wishes he had the same influence with his own disciples that Paul had with the Christians."

This passage is found in a work of St. Jerome which is known as the "*Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*," or "*De viris illustribus*." Now, the nature and scope of this production has not a little to do with the matter in hand. The object which St. Jerome had in view in composing this work, was a vindication of Christianity on what may be called its literary side. It had been a common objection with the early opponents of Christianity, that it had not held its own in a literary and philosophic point of view; that whatever charm it had was a charm only for the rude and the ignorant; that it had not, like pagan culture, proved itself the ally of human learning, and the inspirer of human genius. It was an objection that was not new in the time of St. Jerome, and never since has it grown so old as to have lost its force in the minds of the enemies of the Church. It has always been a favourite taunt that the Church is hostile to human culture, to science, to civilization, to genius, to secular progress, or to some one or other of those fine things that the world, after its varying fashion, wraps up in phrases of which the vagueness constitutes the charm, and which lend themselves to embody the craze of an epoch, or the fancy of a period. St. Paul, as we know, had his own way of meeting such a difficulty. It was, to admit it; to glory in it; and positively to elevate it almost to the rank of a note of the Church. "Not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." —(1 Cor., chap. i.). And, in truth, this is for all times the fundamental answer to any amount of fact that may at any particular time give plausibility to such an objection. The principal object of the Church is not to advance culture, but to save souls; not to promote civilization, but to push out upon the world, civilized and barbarous, the boundaries of the Kingdom of God; not to be the handmaiden of human interests, however cherished, but the promoter of that one interest that is eternal. This is her proper work, and it would only be from her failure in this, the great object of her existence, that any objection against her could have the slightest force.

Yet, though this be so, there is another side of the question to be contemplated; and from that contemplation another answer to be constructed, which ought in due season to be given. It is this:—Though the main object of the Church is to save souls, yet, there are other important, if less necessary ends to which her existence in the world largely contributes. She is so richly dowered, that wherever her organization is allowed to develop itself, she cannot help bringing to man, for the uses even of this present world, many good and noble things, though all the time she may be thinking only, or principally, of the “one thing necessary.” Of her is emphatically true, and in her history is vividly illustrated the great promise—“Seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added to you.”

The Church, accordingly, saves souls at all times, in every place, under whatever circumstances she may happen to find herself; but here and there, and from time to time, in proportion as her beneficent action has free scope, she also aids civilization, ennobles art, purifies literature, saves science from the pride that would turn its triumphs into a curse, gives a new beauty and a stronger wing to human genius, and turns the very trifling of worldly life into a means of life eternal. And it is well that, from time to time, her children should vindicate even her secular uses, and show that, although it is a melancholy fact that human genius often wastes itself on dreams, and human labour is lavished on things that will not stay, yet, in all times a fair proportion of genius and of labour has been devoted to the service of the Church of God.

It was to such a task as this that St. Jerome set himself, in the work under consideration. He wished to bring together under one view the names of those who had written for the honour of God and of His Church. His work was meant to be not critical but laudatory. He was concerned rather to swell the ranks of the army he reviewed, than to institute any particular inquiry into the merits of the individuals who composed it. It was his purpose rather to display in its extent and in its richness the literary armoury of the Church, than to test the keenness of each particular weapon. Accordingly, although, as a matter of course, his catalogue consists chiefly of those who were faithful children of the Church, and who might with a certain degree of propriety be called “*sancti*,” yet there were others in the list to whom, in any ecclesias-

tical sense, St. Jerome would be far from applying such a title. He swelled his numbers with the name of Philo the Jew, because Philo had praised the Church of Alexandria; and the Jewish historian, Josephus, obtained a place in the catalogue, on the strength of a celebrated passage which later criticism has pronounced to be a spurious interpolation. Hence, so far as the present matter is concerned, the insertion of the name of Seneca would not, in itself, be any proof that even St. Jerome believed him to have been a Christian. Such then is the passage of St. Jerome, and such the nature of the work from which it is taken.

Now, what and how much does this prove? Even if it could be deduced from it that St. Jerome believed in the authenticity of the Epistles, on the strength of which he, with, as we think his words suggest, some degree of reluctance, inserts in his catalogue the name of Seneca, it would not, as we have seen, follow from this that St. Jerome believed him ever to have become a Christian. It merely proves that in the time of St. Jerome certain Epistles were handed about which purported to be Epistles of St. Paul to Seneca, and of Seneca to St. Paul. Even with regard to the copy of the Epistles to which St. Jerome alludes, he pronounces no opinion of his own on the question of their authenticity. It did not come within the scope of his work to make any such pronouncement. His own private opinion is, then, merely a matter of conjecture. It is obvious, however, that any proof that is contained in the words of St. Jerome will have all the greater weight on the hypothesis that his words may be taken to imply his belief in the genuineness of the Epistles. We are willing, for the present, and for sake of argument, to deal with the matter on the basis of that hypothesis. We therefore proceed thus: either the Epistles which St. Jerome saw, and to which he alludes, were the same as those which are now extant, or they were an earlier version that has since been lost, and of which the present Epistles are a spurious reproduction. Now if we suppose the former, it is manifest that as the opinion of St. Jerome cannot rise above its source, and as the Epistles on which, taking that branch of the alternative, his judgment is founded, cannot, as we shall presently see, stand the test of criticism, the whole fabric, that has been built upon this opinion of St. Jerome, falls to the ground. Hence it is not wonderful that the most acute supporters of the tradition, unwilling to rest their case upon Epistles which can be examined, and which, on examina-

tion, can scarcely sustain a claim to authenticity, have rather accepted the second branch of the alternative, and have put forward the theory that there existed an early authentic version of the correspondence, which was the copy St. Jerome saw, and which has since disappeared.

At all events, our readers will see clearly that the strength of the case in favour of the fact that there ever was a correspondence at all, depends upon two assumptions—first, that St. Jerome's words necessarily imply St. Jerome's belief in the authenticity of the Epistles that were extant in his time; and second, that that copy was *not* the copy which we possess, but an earlier version that was lost after the time of St. Jerome, and reproduced by some writer of the middle ages after the pattern of his conception of the original correspondence. Should these assumptions be found to be groundless, then the whole case will rest entirely upon that copy of the Epistles which is now extant. We propose then to discuss briefly these two assumptions, to examine what can be adduced in their favour, and to decide how far they have a foundation in fact. Having done this, we shall examine the copy of the Epistles which we possess, and we shall then have placed before our readers abundant materials for forming their own judgment of the precise value of the testimony of St. Jerome that has been from first to last, the backbone, so to speak, of the whole tradition.

First then—Do the words of St. Jerome prove that he himself believed in the story of intimate relations between St. Paul and Seneca? We answer: apart from any belief which his words may be taken to imply in the authenticity of the Epistles of which he speaks, these words afford no proof whatever that St. Jerome had any belief in the intimate personal relations between the philosopher and the Apostle. No amount of ingenuity could extract from the passage any proof of St. Jerome's belief in the actual conversion of Seneca. He praises the life of the philosopher; and history, in great measure, bears out that eulogy, but this eulogy by no means implies that Seneca was a Christian. It is true St. Jerome places him "*in catalogo sanctorum*," but from the nature of the work in which he was engaged, we have seen that the term "*sanctus*" need not mean more than a writer who had written in the interests of Christianity, even though he was not himself a Christian. Hence the question narrows itself to this—did St. Jerome believe in the genuineness of the correspondence

on which he expressly grounds his testimony? We venture to think that, even independently of the fact that St. Jerome's main purpose did not require that he should express an opinion, and even makes it improbable that he should have done so, a careful examination of the passage itself will convince anyone, whose opinion on the matter is not a foregone conclusion, that the words of St. Jerome do not imply any belief in the authenticity of the correspondence. In the first place, they seem to carry with them a certain suggestion of hesitation and reluctance, and they certainly proclaim an admission, on the part of St. Jerome, of the absence of all the collateral evidence, which could not fail to have existed had the tradition had any roots in the far back past. St. Jerome is induced, not by any well-grounded tradition, but simply by the existence of a certain correspondence, which never seems to have attracted any notice before his time, to number Seneca amongst the writers who had, in some sort, served the cause of the Church. In fact St. Jerome expressly gives the full weight of his testimony to a fact to which we alluded in a former paper, a fact that is in the highest degree damaging to the cause of those who, in any shape, uphold the tradition, viz., that previous to his time there is no proof that any Christian writer had ever made the slightest allusion to any such tradition.

Did St. Jerome then believe in those Epistles? We are compelled to say that his words do not commit him to any such theory. He does not profess to have made of them any critical examination. He merely says of them, and mentioning them at all he could not possibly say less, "*leguntur a plurimis.*" In truth we believe that any candid person will admit that, if St. Jerome had had the slightest faith in the authenticity of these Epistles, he never would have used such a form of expression, as "*quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum nisi me illae Epistolae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis.*" He is content to pass by the question of their genuineness. In accordance both with his design and his manner of carrying it out, he is anxious only to swell his ranks. He gives these Epistles for what they are worth, without feeling himself called upon to decide their value. Hence we may conclude, that even on the hypothesis that the copy of the Epistles which St. Jerome saw was an earlier copy since lost—a hypothesis that raises the proof deduced from his words to its highest value—even on that hypothesis the testimony of St. Jerome

is far from proving the thesis of the supporters either of the tradition or the correspondence.

We now advance a step further and ask: is that hypothesis warranted by the facts of the case? was the correspondence which was in the hands of St. Jerome (or to speak more accurately, which may have been in his hands, for his own words do not even imply that he himself actually read it), was it, not the copy which is now extant, but another which since perished? The only clue which St. Jerome gives to the identification of the Epistles to which he alludes, is a passage which seems to be not so much a literal quotation from the correspondence, as a rendering from memory of a certain sentiment contained in it. "*In quibus optare se dicit ejus esse loci apud suos cujus sit Pauli apud Christianos.*" We now turn to the Epistles that are extant, and we do find in them a passage which, all things considered, bears a sufficient likeness to the passage quoted by St. Jerome to be considered the identical passage to which he refers. Unfortunately, however, it is the one controverted passage in the whole correspondence. The text in this place was found to be obscure, and the common reading at present is the one which was settled by Erasmus, principally, we must confess, from a consideration of the passage in St. Jerome. It is: "*Nam qui tuus apud tuos locus, apud meos velim ut meus.*" This is certainly like the passage in St. Jerome, but it has the disadvantage of having been purposely assimilated to that passage. Other readings were—"Nam qui meus apud te locus, tuus, qui tuus velim ut meus," or again, "*Nam qui meus tuus apud te locus, tuus qui velim ut meus.*" This is the sole clue of identification, but we believe, and we submit our belief to the candid consideration of our readers, that this clue is sufficient to establish the identity of the present Epistles with those from which St. Jerome made his quotations.

Indeed, it seems to us that the very obscurity of the text in this most important part is in itself a strong proof that the version in which such obscurity occurs can scarcely be a version reproduced by some writer after the time of St. Jerome. Such a writer, with the passage of St. Jerome before him, would have taken good care that no such obscurity should exist. In the one passage, by the identification of which the authority of St. Jerome might be conciliated for the Epistles which he forged, the writer would have made that identification as simple and un-

mistakable as possible. Whereas then, on the one hand, the present copy, even with all the obscurity of the text in this critical passage, may reasonably claim to fulfil sufficiently the conditions of likeness to the passage quoted by St. Jerome; and whereas, on the other hand, that very obscurity is, in itself, no mean guarantee that the version in which it occurs was not a version produced after the time of St. Jerome, we may fairly consider the Epistles of which St. Jerome spoke to be the very Epistles which have come down to us.

Again we remark, the present copy is in possession, has been in possession from time immemorial, what argument can be adduced to disturb that possession? We believe the only argument is this, which, though not perhaps stated so simply or barely, yet, underlies the reasoning of those who uphold the theory of an earlier authentic version. "The present copy is spurious, therefore it could not have been the copy in which St. Jerome testified his belief." Now the whole force of such an argument rests entirely on the two assumptions which we have shown to be fallacious: First, that St. Jerome's words necessarily imply that he believed at all in the genuineness of the Epistles he alluded to; and second, that his words amount to a well considered, carefully formed opinion with which his sagacity as a critic may fairly be considered to be bound up. To any critical opinion of St. Jerome, on this or any other matter, we would be disposed to attach the utmost importance: but in proportion to our real respect for his undoubted critical authority, is our unwillingness to rest the evidence of it on a passage in which, from the words which he uses, and from the scope of the work in which the passage occurs, he almost expressly disclaims its exercise.

For all these reasons, therefore, we conclude that the present Epistles are those which St. Jerome saw, and from his testimony derives any weight it has. Are they genuine? All modern critics unanimously answer that they are not. These Epistles are fourteen in number. Of these, eight are from Seneca to St. Paul, and six from St. Paul to Seneca. They are most of them very short, and not one of them of any great length. Neither in matter nor in style do they bear out their pretensions. The style is as unlike as possible to the manner of writing of either of the distinguished persons whose names they bear. In fact there is a suspicious similarity of style between those that purport to be Seneca's

and those that bear the name of St. Paul, that, even on a cursory reading, suggests the idea that the same hand has written them all. They are commonplace to a degree. They utterly disappoint the expectations excited by their title, and one can only wonder that a writer who had imagination enough to conceive the idea of such a correspondence, had not imagination enough to make it more worthy of its pretensions.

However, the arguments against its authenticity do not depend on the insignificance of its substance, or upon comparison of styles. The overwhelming proof against it is, that it contains internal evidence of falsehood, and that in a matter which must have been within the knowledge not only of Seneca (in one of whose letters it occurs), but of all his contemporaries. The letter in question mentions the burning of Rome, and states that in six days one hundred and thirty-two houses and four islands were burned. Now Tacitus testifies that out of fourteen districts of the city only four remained entire, and certainly the burning of only one hundred and thirty-two houses is quite irreconcilable with such a statement. Again, the letter in question is dated "quinto Kal. Aprilis sub Aproniano et Capitone, consulibus."¹ Whereas Tacitus declares that the fire occurred, "Sub Memmio Regulo et Virginio Rufo, consulibus." All this has been, and justly, considered decisive, and, so far as we know, no writer at the present day maintains the genuineness of these Epistles which are extant. To sum up then, the opinion of St. Jerome has been, and is, the mainstay of this historical theory; that opinion is based upon that copy of the Epistles that was extant in his time. If that copy were the same as that which we possess at present, any opinion based upon it ceases to possess the slightest value. And even in the hypothesis that St. Jerome's copy was different, that assumption, which is a mere assumption, not only unsupported by evidence, but even contradicted by such evidence as is available in a matter of the sort, would afford no solid ground on which to build an historical theory.

As a matter of fact, the considerations we have been urging have appeared so decisive, that by far the most plausible defence of the tradition of any personal communi-

¹ This statement of the argument against the Epistles is taken from Baronius, but it is right to say that in the copy of the Epistles now before us we find "Frugi et Basso consulibus." In either case, however, the point of the argument is the same.

cation between St. Paul and Seneca, is a defence that entirely gives up the theory that there ever existed, either in the time of St. Jerome or before it, any authentic correspondence whatsoever. It has been argued that the correspondence was merely the reduction into written form of the floating tradition of oral communication between Seneca and St. Paul, that had come down from their own time; and that, consequently, it is in itself a proof of the existence of such a tradition before the time of St. Jerome. It is added, that the correspondence that was first composed on the basis of that tradition, was not the meagre and unsatisfactory correspondence which we possess, and which could not, for a moment, deceive any one versed in historical studies, but a correspondence sufficiently well conceived and well executed to deceive even so able a critic as St. Jerome into a belief in its authenticity. This, we say, is the most plausible theory; and it is so, because, being based on mere fanciful conjecture, it exposes fewest points of attack to hostile criticism. Nevertheless, a few words will prove that it is quite untenable. It assumes, without the shadow of a proof, the existence of a tradition of which there is not, in any writer before St. Jerome, the slightest trace. It is based upon the notion that such a correspondence could never have been forged, except to give expression to an already existing tradition. But, surely, enough has been said in the course of these papers to show how naturally the idea of such a correspondence would have occurred to any one whose imagination had been excited by a consideration of those points of contact between St. Paul and Seneca, which the possibilities and the probabilities of the case might have suggested.

We now pass on to the opinion of St. Augustine, which has also been claimed in favor of the tradition. In its general features it is very much the same as the opinion of St. Jerome, and like that, too, but even in a greater degree, it is not the well considered, and deliberately expressed opinion of St. Augustine, in a matter which at the moment seriously engaged his attention; but it is an incidental utterance which St. Augustine lets fall at a time when he is seriously occupied with a matter of a very different kind. It occurs in Epistle 15, ad Macedonium, and runs thus:—*“Merito ait Seneca (qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit, cujus etiam quaedam ad Paulum Apostolum leguntur epistolae) ‘omnes odit qui malos odit.’”* It is, we feel, un-

necessary, and might be tiresome, to analyze this passage with anything like the same care which we bestowed upon the passage of St. Jerome. It speaks sufficiently for itself; and certainly if the citation from St. Jerome fails to uphold the tradition and the correspondence, they will derive very little support from the passage of St. Augustine. It will be seen, too, that an examination of this sentence would lead us over precisely the same ground that we have already travelled. St. Augustine makes merely a passing allusion to a correspondence, the existence of which had already been witnessed by St. Jerome. He pronounces no opinion whatsoever upon the matter: and probably the reason why he alluded to the matter at all was to enhance the value of the sentiment which he is about to quote from Seneca. In order to do so, he alludes to a correspondence which had already induced St. Jerome to give Seneca a place amongst sacred writers. Even the slight force that might be found in this passage of St. Augustine, is much attenuated by a passage in the "*De Civitate Dei*," lib. 7, cap. ii.; a passage which, all things considered, is more likely to contain his deliberate opinion. "*Christianos jam tum Judaeis inimicissimos in neutram partem (Seneca) commemorare ausus est, ne vel laudaret contra suae patriae veterem consuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan voluntatem.*" In this passage the correspondence seems to be entirely given up, and even the support which it seems to give to a tradition of friendly feeling on the part of Seneca towards the Christians, is a support certainly not stronger than its weakest word, the word "*forsitan.*"

That we may not fail in our enumeration of proofs, we may mention that Tertullian, "*De Anima*," cap. 20, uses this expression, an expression that has been eagerly laid hold of by the supporters of this tradition, "*Seneca saepe noster.*" It simply means—"Seneca, who is often on our side," and is a phrase that might be used in the case of almost every one of the Greek and Roman philosophers.

To conclude, then, we believe these letters to have been written about the time of St. Jerome, by some one whose imagination had been struck, perhaps, by the coincidence that the Gallio, before whom St. Paul was brought at Corinth, was the brother of Seneca; that St. Paul was a prisoner in Rome in the last years of the philosopher; and that Seneca's fast friend, Burrhus, was, at the time, the Prefect of the Pretorian guard. After the fashion of the time, they were left to take their fate in the literary world, and to

elevate themselves, if it so might be, from the rank of imaginative essays to the dignity of an historical document. Probably the writer never troubled himself to forecast their destiny, nor ever dreamed of the attention they would command, or of the theories that would be formed out of the materials supplied by his forgery. And, even had he anticipated the future controversies that would gather around his lucubrations, we feel quite sure that, after the manner of forgers of apocryphal documents, he would have been little troubled by any sense of responsibility,

It remains for us in a future paper to deal with the question, whether, and to what extent, the acknowledged writings of Seneca have been moulded by the teaching of St. Paul, or by the influences of Christianity.

J. F.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, LIMERICK.

(CONTINUED.)

WE will now pass on to the tombs in the Cathedral. The Arthur manuscripts, quoted by Mr. Lenihan, state that St. Mary's formerly contained a series of noble monuments. But time, and worse than time, the iconoclastic zeal of the early Reformers, and later of the Puritans, by whom everything Catholic was abhorred, have swept away by far the greater number. The first and the oldest to which I would direct your attention is a narrow slab lying on the floor near Dr. Jebb's statue; it is oblong, tapering towards one end. On it is a lion, the arms of the O'Briens. Tradition says this slab formerly covered the grave of the founder of the Cathedral; it lay on the floor of the church just inside the western door; such a place was often chosen for burial, *calcare pedibus introeuntum*, to be trodden under foot by those who entered the church and to obtain their prayers. It was removed to its present position only a few years ago. The ornamental border is peculiarly Irish in its character, very much the same as the oldest part of the church, and therefore the tradition is very probably a correct one.

Next in order of time comes an oblong slab, which is let into the wall of the south transept, close to the door leading to the vestry. This is the tomb of Richard Bultingfort, who was Mayor of Limerick in 1376, 1386, and

again 1390. I may remark, in passing, that no history of Limerick, so far as I am aware, has given the inscription on this stone correctly. It runs thus:—

Hic jacet in tuba venerabilis vir Ricardus

. . . fort quoda . . . civitatu lim.

corragie q. obiit . . . ano do' MCCCC . . .

Hic jacet . . . venerabilis vir Galfridus

Galwey, quoda civis civitatu limerici, corragie,

Wattfordiae, q. obiit id die Januarii anno Do.

MCCCXII. . . Edmundus

filius talis Galfridi et Margarite filie talis Rei Bu . . fort
ista tuba fieri fecerunt.

We have here then the tombs of Richard Bultingfort and Geoffrey Galwey. In Morrin's "Patent Rolls," there is a conveyance from Geoffrey Galwey of Cork to Margaret Bultingfort, his wife, and John, his heir, of all his possessions in Cork and Kinsale. There is also an inventory of the goods of Geoffrey Galwey, taken at Limerick on the 5th day of January, 1445, in the hands of Edmund Galwey. In his will he directs his body to be buried in the chapel of St. James, in the Cathedral of Limerick. The arms of Richard Bultingfort are set in the wall over this stone—a chief indented with a fesse engrailed and invected, and above are the letters S. R. B., Sepulchrum Ricardi Bultingfort; close by, to the left, are the arms of Geoffrey Galwey, a cross with a bend, differencing these arms from those of de Burgo, from whom the Galweys are descended, empaling a double-headed eagle for Stritch; over them are the letters S. G. G., Sepulchrum Galfridi Galwey. To the right are the arms of Edmund Galwey, empaling a chevron between three clarions for Arthur. Over these are the arms of John Galwey, quarterly, first and fourth for Galwey; on the fourth is a bridge turretted, a grant of arms made to John de Burgo, ancestor of the Galweys, for defending Ball's Bridge, in the city of Limerick, against the O'Briens, in 1361; second for Bultingfort, and third for Stritch, surmounted by the crest of the family, a cat-a-mountain; underneath is the inscription:—

"Lumina quae lector
Tua cernunt hisce Johanni
Muris sculpta sacris
Quadrant insignia Galwey."

The Galweys played a distinguished part in troubled times in their adopted city. In the *Pacata Hibernia*, a contemporary history written by Stafford, the secretary of Sir George Carew, an account is given of an encounter between Sir Geoffrey Galwey and the President of Munster, Sir Thomas Norris, in the year 1600. "There was," he says, "at this time, one Geoffrey Galwey, Mayor of Limerick, a man that had spent many years in England in studying the common law, and returned to Ireland about three years since; he did so pervert the city by his malicious counsell and perjurious example, that he witheld the mayor, aldermen, and generally the whole citie from coming to the church, which before they sometimes frequented. Moreover, there happened an affray in Limerick between the soldiers and some of the town; at what time Galwey came to the then mayor, advising him to disarm all the soldiers. With this man, therefore, did the President take occasion to enter into the lists, upon a manifest contempt offered to his office and government." The end of it was, that Galwey was obliged to appear before the President at Mallow, "where, making his appearance, he was censured to live as a prisoner in a castle in the country, and not to enter into the City of Limerick until he had paid a fine to her Majesty of £400 sterling, which was designed for the reparation of her Majesty's castle there; and lastly, that a new mayor should be placed in his room." James Galwey, of Limerick, was one of the Recusants who went to England in 1613 to present a protest to the King against the disorders of the civil and military government of Ireland under Chichester, a detailed account of which is given in *Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniae*, I. 231. Another of the family, the son of Sir Geoffrey and his namesake, was one of those who were exempted from pardon for life by Ireton at the surrender of Limerick in 1651, "because he had opposed and restrained the deluded people from accepting the conditions so often offered to them." Of him Bruodin says, "the illustrious Sir Geoffrey Galwey, Baronet, was hanged at Limerick, his head was cut off, and his body was quartered." The name of Bultingfort, though extinct in Limerick, is still found in the neighbourhood of New Pallas. The Limerick branch of the Galwey family is extinct.

Close to the Galwey monument, and in the place where was formerly the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, is that of John Budstone, of whom I have spoken already as donor of the four large brass bells. His name, in black letter, is

cut on one of the arches. He was the ancestor of the famous Dr. Arthur, who composed "an inscription to be set up, by way of epitaph, on a mural tablet of marble, sculptured in golden letters, inserted in the wall of his chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Mary Magdalen, in the Church of the Virgin Mother of God in Limerick, in happy memory of his grandfather's grandsire, by whose gift, he, his parents, his great-grandfather, and his great-great-grandmother, Margaret Budstone, possessed that part of the chapel." Dr. Arthur was famous in his day for his skill in the healing art. He was born in 1593; he began his practice in Limerick in 1619, living in Mungret-street. We must remember that up to a comparatively short time ago the learned professions were closed against Catholics; yet, strange to say, they were not excluded from practising medicine. One of the hardships which Cromwell and his companions complained of, was, that they were obliged to submit to treatment at the hands of Catholic physicians. In an old newspaper of the date January 8th, 1650, there is a letter to this effect from a certain W. A.—"Our condition for want of physicians is sad, being fain to trust our lives to the Papist doctors' hands when we fall sick, which is as much, if not more, than our adventures in the field." Doctors were even dispensed from transplanting to Connaught. In the list of Dr. Arthur's patients, as published by Mr. Lenihan in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, we find the names of the following high personages:—The Earl of Thomond, the wife of Sir Arthur Chichester, Primate Usher, Lord Deputy Falkland, the Countess of Tyrconnell, Sir William Parsons, Sir James Ware, St. Leger, son of the President of Munster, and many others; but the fees would hardly come up to the requirements of the practitioners of our times, for at the end of each year he makes up his yearly receipts, and blesses God that they amount to something more than £100 on an average.

The next is the tomb of Cornelius O'Dea, who obtained possession of the see of Limerick in 1400, and resigned it in 1426, in order to live a life of retirement. He was buried at first near the tomb of the O'Briens, with whom he was connected by fosterage, under a monument of black marble adorned with a statue. In 1621 his remains and those of his predecessors were removed to a place set apart on the south side of the chancel, at the expense of Donough, Earl of Thomond, as an inscription on a slab over the grave testifies. His mitre and crozier are in the possession of the

Most Rev. Dr. Butler. The legend of O'Dea's mitre runs thus: On one occasion, when a synod of prelates had assembled in Dublin, it happened that O'Dea went thither without his pontificals. He sought for a crozier and mitre in vain throughout the city. At length, when he had given up all hope, a youth landed from a ship which had just entered the harbour, and approaching the bishop, presented to him a case in which he would find what he sought, adding, moreover, that if he pleased he might keep the contents. O'Dea looked round to thank the owner, but the ship had already vanished beyond the horizon. It is said that the mitre was entrusted to the keeping of a wealthy merchant, to save it from the hands of the plunderers of ecclesiastical property, and that he abstracted some of the precious stones and substituted counterfeits, a sacrilege which heaven avenged on his posterity, for they all died in poverty.

The body of the mitre, both before and behind, consists of silver gilt laminae; it is adorned with flowers composed of an almost infinite number of pearls. The borders and ornamental panel, or style, down the middle, on both sides, is of the same substance, but thicker, being worked into mouldings, vine leaves, &c., and enriched with embossed crystals, pearls, garnets, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones, several of which are of a very large size. Near the apex, in front, is the following inscription, disposed in the form of a cross, and covered with a crystal of the same shape: "*Hoc signum crucis erit in cælo.*" In a corresponding situation on the opposite side, is the continuation under a similar crystal: "*Cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit;*" a record of the date and original owner of the mitre in black letter, is enamelled round the lower edge:—

Me fieri fecit Cornelius O'Deaugh, Epus
Anno Domini Mllo

The remainder is broken off; above the band, the name of the artist is engraved:—

Thomas O'Carryd, artifex faciens.

The crozier is of silver in great part, ornamented along the shaft with the Irish opus reticulatum; within the curve, in the open part, is a silver figure of the Blessed Virgin, seated; a dove, suspended by a wire over her head; a figure of the Angel Gabriel in a kneeling attitude, and between

the figures is a lily growing out of a ewer. The curve is supported by the emblematic figure of a pelican in piety. Below the curve are six female figures under canopies, St. Brigid, St. Barbara, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and two others which bear no distinctive emblems. The figures below these represent the Blessed Trinity, SS. Peter and Paul, SS. Patrick and Munchin, and the Blessed Virgin. Around the boss is a wreath of enamelling containing the name and title of the Bishop:—

Hic fieri fecit Cornelius O'Deaugh Epus Limericens' anno Dom. MCCCCXVIII. Consecrationis sue anno XVIII.

The enamelling on the upper part of the shaft contains the monogram I.H.S.

But we must pass on. Next in order of time come two monuments in the north transept, one of Geoffrey Arthur, treasurer of the church, who died on the 16th of May, 1519; it ends with the usual pious petition to the passer by:—

Tu transiens cave quod hic dices Pater et Ave.

Close by is the other of John Ffox, and, as this has been deciphered wrongly by our historians, as I conceive, I shall give the correct version in full: “Hic jacet Reverendus Joannes Ffox, quondam præpositus Sanctae Crucis, qui diem clausit supremum XXVIII die Mensis Augusti Ano. Dni. MDXIX. Cujus animae propicietur Deus.” Here lies the Rev. John Ffox, formerly Provost of Holy Cross, who died on the 28th of August, A.D. 1519; on whose soul the Lord have mercy.

In Limerick, in ancient times, there were two churches with this title, one belonging to the Augustinians, opposite the Cathedral gate, in Mary street; the other, St. John's, which was called St. John's de S. Cruce, as we may see from the inscription on the outside of the church wall near John's Gate.

On the north side of the chancel is the stately monument of Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Kildare. He succeeded to the title in 1580. Morrough, the first Earl, had made a full and free submission to Henry VIII., resigning his chieftainship, title, superiority, and country into the King's hands; undertaking to forsake and refuse the name of O'Brien, and to use instead such name as the

King would give him, and promising that he and his heirs and people should use the English habit, manner, and language. The King, to recompense him for this submission, created him Earl of Thomond for life, and granted the title of Baron of Inchiquin to his heirs male; moreover, he confirmed to him and his heirs male all his lands and possessions in Thomond, beyond the river Shannon. His nephew was created Baron of Ibracken, with remainder to his male issue, and, in case of his surviving his uncle, Earl of Thomond. But Elizabeth and her ministers were not satisfied with gaining over Irish nobles by titles. They took care to secure their children's allegiance in a very effectual way. To give proof of their "good affection," the parents were obliged to confide their heirs to the keeping of the Queen; she had them brought up "in the state religion." Hence we find the O'Briens and others of the Irish nobility returning after a time to their country aliens in feeling and in religion. Donough O'Brien was brought up in the English court, under the eye of Elizabeth; and in consequence, he abandoned the religion of his forefathers, and was most faithful to the English interests throughout his whole life. His name appears on the roll of the Parliament held in Dublin in 1585. Under him was finally brought about the settlement of Thomond. "The very root and origin of the people's ruin, being the uncertain possession of their lands, I brought them to agree to surrender their lands, and to take it of her Highness again, and yield both rent and service," says Sir Henry Sydney in his letter to the Lords of the Council. His connection by descent and marriage with the old English families of the Pale, biassed him still more in favour of the English government. In the rebellion of O'Neil and O'Donnell, when the success of the Irish at the Yellow Ford roused the men of Thomond, who had been robbed of their lands in the late settlement, to take up arms, he joined with Essex and accompanied him in his campaign southwards. In 1599 he was made Governor of Clare; with Lord Mountjoy he was present at the capture of Glynn, Askeaton, Tralee, and Ardfert, at the siege of Kinsale, and at the destruction of the O'Sullivan's at Dunboy. He died on the 5th of September, 1624.

There is a tradition in Limerick that his relative, Lord Inchiquin, the famous Morrough of the Burnings, was buried in St. Mary's Cathedral. Certain it is that in his will he ordered that his body should be buried there. Some years

ago, while repairs were going on, and a part of the floor in the north aisle was ripped up, a coffin was found covered with Irish frieze. The covering was quite fresh, the coffin sound, but on opening it no remains were found within. Tradition further says that, though the burial took place, the people of Limerick, indignant that the old church should be profaned by the presence of the bones of one who during life was the enemy of their country and their faith, took up the corpse during the night and threw it into the Shannon. Morrough too was one of those who were brought up as king's wards, and well did he repay the price of his nurture. In early life he was a soldier of fortune; he went to Italy and served in the Spanish army there. Soon after, we find him one of the most zealous supporters of Strafford in his attempt to rob the Anglo-Irish and Irish alike, and to establish in the south and west of Ireland such a "plantation" as Chichester, in the time of James I., had established in the north. There is still extant a letter from the king to his lieutenant:—

"Among others of our well-affected subjects in Ireland, we have understood by you the readiness shown by Morrough, Baron of Inchiquin, to advance and further the plantation in the Co. of Clare, by submitting himself to our title there; in which respect we are pleased to extend our grace and favour to him, that he may not, in course of plantation, have the fourth part of his lands in that county taken from him as from others the natives there, but he suffered to retain them upon such increase of rent as shall be set on those quarters of land which are left to the several possessors after our own fourth part shall be taken from them."

Some years after he was appointed Vice-President of Munster, under Sir William St. Leger, whose daughter he had married. On the breaking out of the rebellion he took the side of the King, and afforded valuable aid in opposing the rebels in the counties of Cork and Waterford. At the death of St. Leger, he was appointed to the chief military command in the province of Munster, and soon after the whole civil administration of that province was entrusted to him. Offended at the cold reception he met with from the King at Oxford, and at the refusal to grant him the presidency of Munster, he joined the party of the Parliament, and for some years continued to devote his great military skill and bravery to the service of the Puritans. Again he changed sides, but his zeal was not as active on the side of the King as on that of his former friends. In fact both he and Ormonde were distrusted by the people, and to that

well-founded distrust was due in great measure the rapidity and completeness of Cromwell's successes in his Irish campaign. One thing only Inchiquin was constant in, his hatred of his countrymen, his fierce and unrelenting enmity towards the Catholic Church. His cruelties are not yet forgotten, for even to this day throughout the whole of Munster there is a saying applied to one who looks frightened: "He has seen Morrough or some of his companions." Ludlow, the Cromwellian general, in his *Memoirs*, says that he did not spare even his own kindred; but if he found them faulty, hanged them up without distinction. The massacre of Cashel is one of the saddest pages of Irish history; and that was only one of his many cruel deeds; Cork and Kilmallock could tell tales of woe as pitiful. In his "*Memoir of Ireland*," O'Connell quotes the following passage from Ludlow:—

"Inchiquin marched into the County Tipperary, and hearing that many priests and gentry about Cashel had retired with their goods into the church he stormed it, and entering put 3,000 of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar."

After the surrender of the strong places in Ireland he went to France, where he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general. On the conquest of Catalonia he was made viceroy there. He continued for many years in the French service in Spain and the Netherlands. On one occasion he and his family were taken by Algerine corsairs. They were set free on payment of a large sum.

At the Restoration he returned to England; by the Act of Settlement he was restored to his estate, and a sum of £8,000 was granted him as a compensation for the losses he had sustained. Towards the end of his life he seems to have returned to the Catholic faith. He did not revisit Ireland; Charles II. feared that his excessive zeal on behalf of Catholics would cause commotions among the new settlers there. He lived in London, and there, it would seem, devoted himself wholly to the practice of religion. In the *Memoirs* written by F. Gamache, one of the French Capuchin priests who came to England with Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles II., mention is made of the conversion of a "Monsieur Insinkuin," and of the penitential practices which he followed; and of the sufferings which he endured at the hands of his wife, a Dutch Calvinist, "who kept her husband in a state of continual penance." He died in 1674. By his will he left £20 to the Franciscan monastery of

Ennis, also a sum of money "for the performance of the usual duties of the Roman Catholic clergy and for other pious uses."

The next of the illustrious dead lying buried in the Cathedral is Richard Talbot, the famous Earl of Tyrconnell, or as Macaulay styles him, "lying Dick Talbot," for he is the one, most of all, on whom that historian pours out the full vials of his wrath; his one great crime being that he strove to restore to his Catholic fellow-countrymen some portion of their lost estates, some share in the honours and public offices of their own country. He was the fifth son of William Talbot, a barrister, a junior branch of the Talbots of Malahide and of the family of Talbot, Lord Furnival, whose warlike exploits in France have been immortalized by Shakespeare. The first mention made of him is as a young and dashing officer of the Royalist army in Ireland during the war of 1641. It is said that he was present at the siege and capture of Drogheda by Cromwell, and that he then conceived a horror of puritanical fanaticism which made him during life a most zealous supporter of kingly power. Banished by Cromwell, he went to France, and thence to the Low Countries, following the fortunes of the exiled Stuarts. By his insinuating address and staunch loyalty, he obtained the favour of Charles II.; and in 1670 was deputed by the Irish noblemen who had suffered in the royal cause to press on the King their losses. His zeal on their behalf brought on him the anger of many who were interested in letting things be. The Duke of Ormonde, who acquired by the confiscations about 400,000 acres, was so wrath, that he waited on the king, and inquired whether he should not put off his doublet to fight with Dick Talbot. By James II., on his accession, he was made a lieutenant-general, the patent declaring him to be "a man of great abilities and clear courage, who for many years had a true attachment to his Majesty's person and interests." Soon after he was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron of Talbotstown, Viscount Baltinglas, and Earl of Tyrconnell. The preamble to the patent lauds him for his immaculate allegiance, his infinitely great services performed to the King and to King Charles II., in England, Ireland, and foreign parts, both by sea and land, in which he suffered frequent imprisonment and many great wounds." Again he incurred the wrath of the Protestant party. Being commissioned to model the army anew, he displaced all the officers that had been in the Parliamentary service.

In 1686 he was made Lord Lieutenant in the place of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Clarendon. It would delay us too long to follow up his history during the contest between James and William. At the battle of the Boyne, Tyrconnell's wing of horse and dragoons was drawn up before Oldbridge; this was the post of honour, which the Irish guards would not yield to any others. They charged repeatedly, driving the Dutch guards and Schomberg's regiment back into the river, with a loss of a great part of their officers. He did not leave the field until the King, in his retreat, passed the defile of Duleek. "At the siege of Limerick," says O'Connor, "though bent with age, and weighed down by corpulency, he assumed no inconsiderable degree of activity in repairing the fortifications of the town, establishing magazines, and enforcing discipline. He was powerfully aided by Sarsfield, to whom he had brought a patent creating him Earl of Lucan, and whose intentions were always right and zealous for the King's service; but their efforts were unhappily counteracted by treachery and discord, on which the English general relied more than on the number and valour of his troops." "He was a man," says his contemporary, O'Kelly, the author of the "*Excidium Macariae*," "of stately presence, bold, and resolute, of greater courage than conduct, naturally proud and passionate;" and in his "*Extinct Peerage*," Sir Bernard Burke says:—

"Of him much ill has been written, and more believed; but his history, like that of his unfortunate country, has been written by the pen of party, steeped in gall, copied servilely from the pages of prejudice by the lame historians of modern times, more anxious for authority than for authenticity. Two qualities he possessed in an eminent degree, wit and valour; and if to gifts so brilliant and so Irish, he joined devotion to his country, and fidelity to the unfortunate and fated family with whose exile he began life, and at whose ruin he finished it, it cannot be denied that in his character the elements of evil were mixed with great and striking good. Under happier circumstances the good might have predominated; and he, whose deeds are held by his own family in such high estimate, might have shed a wider lustre on his race. 'Whatever were his faults,' says Mason, 'most truly, he had the rare merit of sincere attachment to an unfortunate master.'"

On St. Laurence's day, soon after he had done his devotion, as Clarke in his "*Memoirs of James II.*," tells us, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy. And though he came

to his senses and speech again, yet he languished two or three days, and then died, just when he was effecting a unity at least amongst the Irish themselves, the want of which was the greatest evil they laboured under. He is buried in the north-west corner of the little chapel now used as a baptistry. There is no stone to tell the spot where he lies.

Of the vicissitudes of the Cathedral since the so called Reformation I shall say but little. When it ceased to be held by Catholics we do not know. William Casey was intruded into the see by Edward VI., having been consecrated in Dublin by the apostate George Browne. Probably he took possession of the Cathedral; at Queen Mary's accession Casey was expelled and fled beyond the sea. Hugh Lacy was appointed to the see, and held it till 1571. For some time after it seems to have been in Protestant hands. The accession of James I. brought fresh hopes to the Catholics; they could not think that the son of the martyred Mary Stuart would abandon the religion of his mother. The people seized on the churches, "put up the Mass," and practised their religion openly. The citizens of Waterford shut the gates of their city against Mountjoy, who, hearing of the commotion, marched into Munster with a strong force. But they were soon obliged to submit; and so too the inhabitants of Limerick. Soon the Act of Uniformity was enforced, and the "Papist clergy" were ordered to depart from the kingdom. But when the rebellion of 1641 broke out, and the strength of the Puritan party was needed at home to meet the dashing bravery of the Cavaliers, once more the churches fell into the hands of their rightful owners. When Rinuccini came to Limerick, he was received at the door of St. Mary's by Bishop Arthur, who then occupied the see. A year later he again visited Limerick. It was just when the news of Owen Roe O'Neill's famous victory of Benburb reached there. On the evening of Saturday, the 13th of June, as we read in the account of his nunciature in Ireland, news and confirmation of the victory of Benburb arrived in Limerick. Father O'Hartegan had brought to the Nuncio thirty-two ensigns and the great standard of the cavalry. Monsignor then ordered a public thanksgiving, which took place in the following manner:—

The next day, Sunday, the 14th of June, 1646, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a triumphal procession was formed from the Church of St. Francis, where the standards had

been deposited. The whole of the military of Limerick under arms led the way, after them came the standards, borne aloft by the gentlemen of the city. The Nuncio, accompanied by the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishops of Limerick, Clonfert, and Ardfert, followed; after them came the members of the Supreme Council, the mayor and magistrates, in their robes of office. The people filled the streets and windows, and on the arrival of the procession at the Cathedral, the *Te Deum* was sung by the Nuncio's choir, he himself offering up the usual prayers, concluding with a solemn benediction. Next morning he assisted at the mass of thanksgiving, which was chanted by the Dean of Fermo, in the presence of the prelates and magistrates above mentioned.

For a short interval, too short to be worth dwelling on, during the war that ended with the Treaty of Limerick, it was held by the Catholics. Ever since it is, as you now see it, lone, lorn, and desolate, without an altar, without a sacrifice, without a priesthood. *Quo usque, Domine, quo usque!*—how long, O Lord, how long!—is surely your prayer and mine to-night.

D. M.

THE COLLEGE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY OF MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE.

NO person who enters the gates of the present College of Maynooth can fail to observe on his right hand the frowning battlements of the "Geraldines' Gray Keep," and on his left, just within the walls, a square ivy-covered tower of much more ancient aspect than the Protestant Church of Maynooth, of which it now forms a part. The old tower is all that remains of the ancient College of St. Mary of Maynooth, which was founded and endowed by the "high and mighty lord" of the Castle opposite, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The history of the College is intertwined with the story of the Castle; for a while the School flourished undershadow of the keep, until both fell together, a prey to the rapacity of the lustful tyrant whose hands were as deeply bathed in the blood of the Geraldines as in the blood of his own wives. The "high and mighty Lord Gerald" died in the Tower of London, on the 12th December, 1534; his Castle of Maynooth, the strongest and richest within the Pale, was taken by storm on the 24th March, 1535; and

the College was suppressed by Henry VIII. in 1538, just one year after the execution of the gallant boy whom filial love drove to rash rebellion against the scourge of his country and kindred.

The College owed its foundation and endowment both to the eighth and ninth Earls of Kildare, who were certainly amongst the best of their ancient race. Gerald More, or Gerald the Great, eighth Earl of Kildare, was the son of an Irish mother, Dorothy O'More, and succeeded his father, the seventh Earl, in 1477. He resided mostly at his "Castell of Maynooth," which had been rebuilt and strengthened in 1426 by his grandfather, John the sixth Earl of Kildare. Gerald More was Lord Deputy at different times, for more than thirty years, during the reigns of Edward IV. and V., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. Although a well-known Yorkist, and a staunch supporter of both Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he was restored to his high position by Henry VII. in 1496, and continued in office almost during the remainder of his life. He was, indeed, committed a close prisoner to the Tower in 1494 on various charges, when his poor Countess, Alison Eustace, died of grief. He remained a prisoner for two years, and was brought to trial before the King in 1496. Asked what counsel he should have, he replied, none other than his Highness the King, to enable him to answer the charges of the "false knaves," his accusers. Amongst them was the Archbishop of Cashel, who accused him of burning his Cathedral. The Geraldine apologised, by stating that he should not have done it, had he not thought the Archbishop was in it. "Not all Ireland can rule this Earl," said his enemies; "then let this Earl rule all Ireland," said the King, so he sent him home and made him Lord Deputy. He signalized his zeal by several expeditions against the Irish chieftains, in most of which he was successful. Amongst other achievements he hanged the Mayor of Cork in the year 1500. In 1504 he gained, at Knocktuagh, near Galway, a great victory over Clanrickard and the Connaught chiefs, when six or seven thousand of the Irish were slain; but he did not adopt the charitable advice of Lord Gormanstown, who recommended him, after they had slaughtered the Irish who were opposed to them, to put to death their Irish allies who had helped them to gain the victory.

This Gerald More was the original founder of the College of Maynooth, although it was not built in his life-time. By

his will he assigned the Manor of Rathbeggan, and the lands of Kiltele and Carbreton, in Meath, to Thomas Rochfort, Dean of St. Patrick's, Nicholas Kerdiffe, Chancellor, and Robert Sutton, Archdeacon; for the use of his son Gerald, and of his heirs, to the intent that, "if in future times a College should be founded in the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Maynooth, according to form of law, the said feoffees should grant the manor and lands aforesaid to the Master of the College and his successors, if they should be incorporated, and be by law capable of receiving lands." Rathbeggan, between Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin, contained 271 acres, Kiltele, three miles west of Dunshaughlin, contained 140, and Carbuston 80 acres, in all 491, a very good beginning for Earl Gerald to make towards the endowment of Maynooth College. He was, in 1513, wounded by one of the O'Carrolls whilst watering his horse at the river Greise near Kilkea, and died a few days after. Holinshed describes him as "a mightie man of stature, full of honoure and courage, milde in government and to his enemies sterne." We may add that he was a good Catholic as well as a bold warrior, and, like most of his ancestors, quite as willing to found a church or monastery, as to burn a cathedral or an Archbishop who might happen to be under the protection of the Butlers.

He was succeeded in his titles and office by his son Gerald Oge, the ninth Earl, or Garrett MacAlison, so called from his mother, the poor Countess who died of grief when her husband was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

In 1518 this Gerald, the ninth Earl, anxious to carry out his father's intentions, presented a petition to William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin (1511-1521), for licence to found and endow a College at Maynooth, which was granted in the following terms:—

"Universis, &c., &c., Gulielmus Dub. Archiebiscopus Salutem. Cum praepotens ac strenuus vir, Giraldus Fitzgerald, Comes Kildare, pia devotione ductus, et divino, ut creditur, nutu instigatus quoddam collegium septem sacerdotum & prope manerium de Maynooth ordinari disposuerit, et quia auctoritas nostra ordinaria in hac parte necessaria et perutilis fore dignoscitur; ideoque instantissime supplicavit ut ad dicti Collegii institutionem et creationem, quantum ad nos attinet procedere dignaremur. Nos igitur & ad institutionem et primevam creationem divini Collegii in hunc modum, Domino adjuvante, salubriter duximusprehendendam, &c., &c.

Datum in domo ap. nostra Ecclesiae Cath. S. Patri.

6. Apr., 1518 et nostrae translationis (from Meath) 7^{mo}.

The Earl then built the College "in a most beautiful form" adjoining the Castle of Maynooth, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin. He appointed a Master, five Fellows (priests), two clerks, and two boys. These were "to pray for the prosperity of the Kings of England, for the good state of the Earl of Kildare, his wife, and their kindred, while living, and for their souls after their death." By the constitution of the College, the nomination of the Master and Sub-Master was vested in the Earl and his successors; they were, however, to obtain induction from the Archbishop. The five Fellows were to be chosen by the majority—the vote of the Master to be reckoned as two. The boys were to be nominated by the Earl, to whom was reserved the donation of the temporalities; the investiture of the spiritualities was to rest with the Archbishop, who granted to the clergy the privilege of having a common seal, and of suing and being sued as a corporate body, without infringement, however, of the rights of the Prebendary of Maynooth, the Vicar of Larah Bryan, or the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral. These ordinances, made on the 6th of October, 1518, were confirmed by royal letters patent of Henry VIII. on the 12th of the same month.

So early as 1248, with the consent of the Baron of Offaley, the Church of Larah Bryan was made a prebend of St. Patrick's Cathedral, by Luke, Archbishop of Dublin. "In 1307, the Sunday next following after the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, died Lord John Fitzthomas, at Larogh Brine, by Maynooth;" as the Book of Howth informs us. But this prebend of the old Church of Larah Bryan was afterwards transferred to Maynooth, and thus the former became the vicarage to which reference is made above. Every student of Maynooth will remember the old church, within a mile of the College, on the left of the road to Kilcock, overgrown with ivy, and quite hidden in the midst of a grove of ashes and elms. This ruin is now all that remains of the ancient prebendary Church of Larah Bryan.

The Earl of Kildare thus made ample provision for his young College, consisting of a Master, five Fellows, two clerks, and three boys. He endowed it almost as munificently as Elizabeth did Trinity College in 1591; for its original Charter only authorised that institution to hold lands to the value of £400 yearly.

Shortly after, however, the Earl endowed Maynooth,

even more amply than was originally intended, and named it the "College of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Maynooth." He also rebuilt the Church, which had been originally attached to the Castle, and caused it to be made a prebendal church, instead of the older foundation of Larah Bryan. The perpetual right of presentation, however, even to the College Church, was still reserved to him and his successors, and enjoyed by them down to the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

In 1521, this prebend being vacant, it was, at the Earl's request, annexed to the mastership of the College with the consent of the Archbishop, and the Dean and Chapter, on condition that the prebendary should be installed in the Cathedral before he be admitted as Master of the College. He was thenceforth to reside in the College, and eat in the common refectory. So much of the prebendal revenues were reserved, as would be sufficient to support one servant and defray the charges attending his office in the Cathedral. It was further arranged, with his own consent, that the Vicar of Larah Bryan should be Sub-Master of the College, in which he also was to reside while retaining the cure of souls in the Parish of Larah Bryan. The profits of the vicarage were to be added to the funds of the College, with the exception of £6 13s. 4*d.* per annum, to be paid to the vicar.

These arrangements rendered new rules necessary. They were contained in two indentures, sealed on the 12th October, 1521, with the seals of the Earl and the newly elected Corporation, and then entered on the Registry of St Patrick's Cathedral.¹

By these rules the Master was to sit in the most honourable place in the choir of the College, at the capitular meetings, and in the refectory. The members were to obey him in all things lawful and honest. Ten marks were to be deducted from the income of the prebend for the support of himself and his servant in the refectory, and he was to receive twenty marks from the College, to defray the expense of his station in the Cathedral. The Sub-Master was to have the upper place next the Master in the choir, at the chapter, and at table. In the absence of the Master he was to have authority over the other members of the College. Five marks were to be deducted from the profits of the vicarage for his support in the refectory. "A

¹ See Mason's Hist. of St. Peter Cathed., p. 63.

good and learned curate" was to be provided at the expense of the College, to celebrate the divine service in the "Cathedral" of Larah Bryan.¹ The members of the College were generally prohibited from going to market to buy corn, on any occasion however urgent, even for feasts of charity.

From 1520 to 1534, the young College seems to have flourished under the strong protection of the Earl of Kildare. But evil days were now at hand for the Geraldines, and with the Geraldines fell the College of Maynooth.

The Earl of Kildare was summoned to London, early in 1534. He had previously one narrow escape from the block, and the Earl of Ossory, his arch-enemy, expressed the general opinion, when he said—"Men think here, that all the parchment and wax in England will not bring the Earl of Kildare to London again." His servant, Robert Reilly, brought him the order from the King and Council, to repair to England, and at the same time a letter from his Countess, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, who was then in England, and was a relative of Henry VIII. Kildare kissed the letters, and, although conscious of his danger, promised prompt obedience to his sovereign. He summoned the council to meet him at Drogheda, and, it seems, with their approbation, gave the sword of state to his eldest son, the Lord Thomas, then only 21 years of age, charging him to be faithful to the King his sovereign. This was in February, 1534. Shortly after he sailed for England, and by the intrigues of Cromwell, who hated him for his defence of the Papal Supremacy, was at once cast into the Tower, where, it is said, he died through grief at the rebellion of his son, in the month of December, 1534.

Meanwhile a rumour was spread in Dublin that Kildare, shortly after his arrival in London, in May, 1534, had been put to death in the Tower. Young Lord Thomas at once flew to arms to avenge the death of his father. The story of his rebellion is well known. On the 11th of June, gathering his adherents around him, he marched through the principal streets of the city, from Thomas Court to the Council Chamber in St. Mary's Abbey. Cromer, the Primate, was in the chair when Lord Thomas entered; the

¹ The ancient glebe lands of this "Cathedral" of Larah Bryan formed a part of the farm of Larah Bryan, which was held from the Duke of Leinster by the Trustees of the College of Maynooth, until quite recently, when the College was evicted by the Duke, on the refusal of the Trustees to sign the "Leinster Lease."

members of the Council, most of them his enemies, were sitting at the board. "This sword of state," said he, "is yours, not mine, take it back ; I should stain mine honour if I used it to your hurt. Now, I need my own sword which I can trust. The common sword is already bathed in the Geraldine's blood, and thirsteth for more. I am none of Henry's deputies. I am his foe. I have more mind to meet him in the field, than to serve him in office." So flinging the sword on the table with great violence and indignation, he left the Council Chamber amid the cheers of his followers.

Cromer, the Primate, who loved the Geraldines, and pitied the rash boy, besought him with tears in his eyes to retract his words of rebellion, and retain the sword of state, but without effect. The die was cast, and Silken Thomas must conquer or perish.

We cannot enter into the details of the struggle, except so far as it concerns our College of Maynooth. At the very outset, however, an awful crime was perpetrated, whether or not we hold the Lord Thomas responsible for its commission. During the siege of Dublin, John Allen, the Archbishop, justly fearing the anger of Silken Thomas, whose family he sought to ruin, stole out of the city by night, and, embarking in a vessel on the Liffey, strove to make his escape to England. But his vessel was stranded on the bar, and he himself fell into the hands of the Geraldine's soldiers. They brought him from Howth, where they captured him, to Artane, and, it is said, dragged him, half naked and terror-stricken, into the presence of Silken Thomas. Cox adds that he was ordered to be put to death on the spot by the infuriated Geraldine. Another version of the story is, that when the Archbishop was brought before him, Silken Thomas said to his followers, in Irish, "*Beir uaim au bodagh*," "Away with the fellow," which his soldiers interpreted to be an order for his execution. According to the deposition of Robert Reilly, servant of the Earl of Kildare, taken on oath, on the 5th of August, 1536, Lord Thomas, John Fitzgerald, his uncle, and forty others, went to Tartagne (or Artane), where the prelate lay, at the house of a Mr. Hothe, and there he was murdered, but whether by command of Lord Thomas or not, the deponent could not say. Only he admits that the same day he was sent to Maynooth with a casket which his master had taken from the Archbishop. The Dean of St. Patrick's and Prior of Christ Church shortly after

fulminated a terrible excommunication against the authors of the murder, which they rightly declare to be an "execrable, abominable, and damnable act." They pronounce Thomas Fitzgerald, John Fitzgerald, and their associates, "to be excommunicate, accursed, and anathematized;" they invoke the vengeance of heaven and all the angels against the said Thomas Fitzgerald and his associates, "that they be accursed before them, and the devil do stand, and be in all their doings, on their right hand." They prayed that "God Almighty may rayne upon thaym flames of fyer and sulfure, to their eternall vengeance, and that they may clothe thaymselves with the malediction and high curses, as they dayly clothe them with their garments; the water of vengeance may be in the inner parts of their bodies as the mary is in their bonnes."

Sir William Skeffington landed in October, and succeeded in saving Dublin from falling into the hands of the Geraldine; as would have happened by the terms of his truce with the citizens, if not relieved within six weeks. Proclaimed a traitor at Drogheda, defeated and driven from Trim, deserted by many of his adherents, the unfortunate Lord Thomas went himself to Connaught to raise new forces amongst his allies in that province. On the 13th March, Skeffington took advantage of his absence to advance against Maynooth, the strongest of the six castles which Lord Thomas still held in the Pale. We have a most interesting and circumstantial account of his proceedings, in a letter written by Skeffington himself, from the Castle of Maynooth, the 26th of March, the day after its capture, which was Good Friday, in the Lent of 1535. He tells us that he set out to besiege the "'Castell of Maynooth' on the 14th March, which by your traitor and rebell, Thomas Fitzgerald, was so strongly fortified both with men and ordnance," as the 'lick' had not been seen in Ireland since the King's progenitors had first dominion in the land. Within the Castle there were 100 able men, whereof 60 were gunners. On the 16th the ordnance was directed against the north-west side of the dungeon, "which did baitter the top thereof on that wise that the ordnance within that part was dampned" The old Castle still retains visible proof of the battering it got on that day. Then the ordnance was bent upon the "north side of the base corte of the said Castell," which was well supplied with men and guns. For five days and nights continuously they battered

that part of the Castle, until a large entry was made. On Tuesday (the 23rd), in Holy Week, the assault was given between four and five in the morning, and the "base corte" entered. Visitors to the Castle can easily observe where this breach in the base court was made on the northern side of the Castle; sixty of the garrison were slain in this assault and seven of the assailants.

When the base court was won, they assaulted the keep, or "great Castell," as he calls it, which still guards our Skaeen gate of Maynooth. After a short time it yielded; within was the Dean of Kildare; Christopher Paris, or Parese, captain of the garrison—but we have here no word of his treason—Donogh O'Dogan, master of the ordnance; Sir Symon Walsh, a Priest, and Nicholas Wafer "who tooke the Archbussshop of Dublin," with divers gunners and archers to the number of 37. But on the following day, Holy Thursday, twenty-five of them were beheaded, and one hanged before the castle-gate, by order of this humane Deputy, as he himself informs us. The letter is dated from "your Manor of Maynooth, 26th day of this said month of March (1535);" and is signed by the Deputy and all the members of his council.

So fell the Castle of Maynooth, and very shortly after its gallant Lord and his College of St. Mary of Maynooth met a similar fate.

In August of the same year, the Lord Thomas wrote to his cousin, Lord Leonard Grey, the successor of Skeffington, asking him to intercede with the King, and promising submission. Lord Leonard Grey undoubtedly did undertake to make intercession with Henry for his unfortunate relative, and on the faith of that promise the Geraldine shortly after surrendered, when he was immediately brought over to England and thrown into the Tower. How cruelly he was treated there, we know from a letter preserved still in the State Papers, which he addressed to his faithful servant, John Rothe, enclosing another for his kinsman O'Brien, which he asks his servant to deliver. It is worth transcribing—

"I. H. S."

"My trusty servant, I heartily commend me unto you. I pray you that you will deliver thys othyr letter unto O'Bryen. I have sent to him for £20 starling, the which if he take you, as I trust he will, then I will that you come over, and bring it unto my

Lord Crumwell, that I may so have it. I never had eny money, syns I came into pryson, but a nobull, nor I have had neither hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt but one; nor any othyr garment, but a single fryse gown, for a velve furred wythe bowge, and so have gone wolward, and barefoot, and barelegged diverse times (when it hath not been very warm); and so I should have done still, and now, but that poor prisoners of their gentleness hath sometye given me old hosyn and shoes, and old shyrts. This I wryte to you not as complayning on my friends, but for to show you the trewth of my great need, that you should be the more dylygent in going unto O'Bryen, and in bringing me the aforesaid £20, whereby I might the sooner have here money to by me clothys, and also for to amend my slender comyns and fair. I will you take out of what you bring me for your cost and labour. I pray you have me commended unto all my lovers and friends, and show them that I am in gude health."

"By me, THOMAS FITZGERALD."

Alas for the Geraldine in the fangs of the tyrant! without shoe, or stocking, or shirt, or doublet, half starved and half fannished, glad to get the old shirts of his fellow-prisoners. Yet how uncomplaining in tone, how thoughtful for the wants of his servant, how faithful to his absent friends, writing with the monogram of the Holy Name at the head of both his letters. But he had not long to suffer. He and his five uncles were hanged and beheaded at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February, 1537. May he rest in peace! And if one so gentle and so good could be guilty of so great a crime, may God forgive, along with the rest of his misdeeds, the murder of the Archbishop of Dublin!

In December, 1537, Lord Leonard Grey, in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated from "the Kynge's Castell of Maynooth," after describing an inroad which he had made into Offally wrote:—"Out of the said Abbeye of Killeagh I brought a pair of organs and other necessary things for the Kynge's College of Maynooth, and so much glass as glazed part of the windows of the Church of the said College, and of the windows of his Grace's castle of Maynooth." This is almost the last we hear of the ancient College of St. Mary of Maynooth. It was suppressed, like most of the religious houses in the Pale, in the year 1538.

In Queen Elizabeth's rent roll, 1553, we find the following authentic amount of the property of the College, which

then belonged to the Crown. The record is worth preserving.

	£	s.	d.
1. Town of Carbreston, Co. Meath. Four messuages and 80 acres demised to four tenants in equal portions, each farm valued at 20s. yearly. ...	4	0	0
Rent of two cottages	0	2	8
Amount of customs paid by the aforesaid tenants	0	2	0
2. Town of Kiltale, Co. Meath. Seven messuages and 130 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres demised to seven tenants in various proportions, at a rent of 1s. per acre, per annum, nearly	6	11	3

CHIEFRIES.

3. A free rent from certain lands in Potterstown and Little Larrenstown	3	0	0
A free rent issuing from certain lands in Colleston	6	6	0
4. Tenements at will in Colleston, Manor of Rathbeggan. Of these lands, the first five portions were demised for nearly proportioned to those above-mentioned, being five messuages, 149 acres arable, and three of meadow ...	7	10	0
Another farm of 22 acres arable	0	14	8
Another of five acres	0	4	0
Another of four acres	0	3	4
Customs paid by tenants	0	15	8
Three cottages in the same	0	14	0
Farm of one messuage, 26 acres arable, and two of meadow	1	6	0
Farm of five several pastures, or underwoods, which at the time of survey were of no value, for that the tenants occupied the same for plow-bote, house-bote, and fire-bote	0	0	0
5. College House of Maynooth, Co. Kildare. Farm of one house called the College House, and one close belonging thereto, one park containing, by estimation, three stangs, and one garden to the tenement belonging	6	13	0
	<hr/>		
	£38	2	7

It is not improbable that the close and park belonging to this "College House" now form a portion of the splendid park enclosed within the walls of the present College.

On the 13th February, 1559, these lands were granted by the Queen to the Earl of Kildare; but the advowson

of the Rectory of "Kelinnick" was not included in the grant, and still belongs to the Crown.

It appears that all the possessions of the College were not actually surrendered in 1553; for by an inquisition of 2nd James I., "the Provost and Fellows of the late College of Maynooth were seized in fee of twelve acres of arable land with appurtenances, lying upon the Hill of Winglides near Taghtoquevok (now Windgates Hill, near Taghadoo)." These also were declared to be the property of the Crown. We understand, that as church lands they recently came under the hammer, and were purchased by the tenant in possession.

J. H.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.—INFORMAL MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DEAR SIR—It is of practical moment that a correct decision should be had regarding the validity of matrimonial dispensations, when granted *informaliter* by persons having only delegated authority. Hence, I request that you, or one of your contributors would kindly inform your readers whether there is extant any decision of the Sacred Congregation on the point affecting this country.

A few years ago, in a certain diocese of Ireland, a Vicar-Capitular exercised *informaliter* the dispensing faculties he received from the Holy See, and his action was severely criticised at the time, and the dispensations were regarded as null.

In Konings, p. 284, is to be found an affirmative response, given in 1875 to a similar question put by the Vicar-General of St. Louis. Looking over a copy of the Formula 6^{ta}, given in 1848 to one of our Bishops, I find the clause "*non concedantur nisi cum clausula*," &c., which does not appear to be an annulling one. Van Burgt, p. 133, does not appear to regard the insertion of the usual clauses as required *sub poena nullitatis*. Gury (Ballerini Edit., n. 881.), has the following:—"Episcopus virtute Indulti Apostolici dispensans *sub poena nullitatis* exprimere debet se dispensare tanquam S. Sedis delegatum, &c., &c.—Yours, &c.

WM. RICE, C.A.

The Rev. Administrator of Fermoy has proposed a very interesting question, and our readers will be grateful to him for having done so. The same question has been

repeatedly discussed in ecclesiastical circles during the past twenty years, and we believe we do not err in saying that there has been considerable diversity of opinion in replying to it. It seems to us, however, that the question may be answered in a few words, and we have no hesitation to state that so far as this country is concerned, F. Gury's opinion is not correct, and that the informal dispensations referred to are valid.

F. Gury's authority, which is at all times of great weight, would seem to be particularly conclusive in the present case, as he confirms his opinion by reference to the Constitution of Benedict XIV., *Ad tuas manus*, which was addressed to the Polish Bishops by that great Pontiff in 1748. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Special Faculties from the Holy See, which are granted to the Polish Bishops, are conveyed by the *Formula Tertia*, the terms of which are quite different from those of the *Formula Sexta*, which is the only one at present in use in the Irish Church. In the *Formula Tertia* it is not only said that in the dispensations granted in virtue of the Apostolical Indult, the usual clauses are to be inserted, but it is added that otherwise said dispensations shall be null, "*alias nullae sint*:" and nothing can be more clear than the line of reasoning pursued by Benedict XIV., that the Polish Prelates who granted dispensations in virtue of the Apostolical Indult, and nevertheless omitted the prescribed clauses, were acting *ultra vires*, and that the dispensations thus granted were null and void. We may add, that in the Indult of Special Faculties granted by the Holy See to the Bishops of France, Austria, and other Catholic kingdoms, the same annulling words are added, and this it was, most probably, that betrayed F. Gury into the too general statement which he has made.

In the *Formula Sexta*, by which Faculties are granted to the Irish Church, no annulling clause is added, and hence the Constitution of Benedict XIV. does not apply to our case. In like manner, the *Formula Prima*, which grants special Faculties to the Vicars-Apostolic of the East, contains no such annulling clause; and when some doubts arose in the matter, the question was proposed in the Congregation of Propaganda, on 16th August, 1841, whether dispensations granted under the *Formula Prima*, without the usual clauses, were to be considered null, and the Sacred Congregation decided that the said dispensations were valid. So too, the *Formula Secunda*, which

grants the Special Faculties to the Church of Bosnia, has no annulling clause, and the Holy See being interrogated as to whether the Constitution *Ad tuas manus* was to be considered binding there, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda replied that that Constitution contemplated quite a different case, and decreed that the dispensations granted under the *Formula Secunda*, without the usual clauses, were valid: “nulla quaestio movenda de validitate matrimoniorum Bosniensis Vicariatus ob non servatas dictae Constitutionis condiciones” (Decr. 2. Dec., 1816).

We have only to add that this question will be found fully discussed in the edition of Gury's Theology, printed at the Propaganda Press for the use of the students of that College, in 1875. The learned editor, in the Appendix to the 2nd vol., p. 682, authoritatively decides the question in conformity with the opinion which we have stated: “quando res est de Facultatibus, in quibus nulla apparet conditio irritans, dispensationes, earum vi concessae, sunt validae, etiamsi Apostolicae delegationis mentio in iis impertiendis praetermittatur.”

II.—HERETICAL BOOKS.

[In reply to a question regarding the penalty now attached to reading, retaining, printing, or defending heretical books, it will be sufficient for the present to state, that in order to incur the reserved Excommunication (2^a inter speciali modo Rom. Pontifici reservatas) certain well defined conditions must be present. 1^o There must be question of a *book*.¹ 2^o The Book must *certainly* contain heresy. 3^o It must not only contain but also *propound* heresy—*haeresim propugnantes*. “Propugnare vero est si quid opinor, haeresis patrocinium suscipere data operâ, et quasi pro viribus; quo circa excommunicatio eum non tenet qui librum legit apostatae vel haeretici si haeresim non propugnet, etsi eam contineat, immo et defendat, sed obiter, paucis, et quasi aliud agens.”

D'Annibale (Com. Reat. n. 33).

The Excommunication is also incurred by reading, retaining, &c. any book (no matter who the author, or what the subject may be) prohibited *by name* in a Brief,

¹ Since the Allocution of Nov. 1, 1874, in which Newspapers are included in the penalty, some writers remark that the word *book* is not to be understood in too exclusive a sense.

Bull, Encyclical, or other Apostolic Letter, emanating directly from the Holy See. Books so prohibited before the publication of the *Apostolicae Sedis*, must, however, have been prohibited under pain of Excommunication reserved to the Holy See.]-ED. I. E. R.

III.—USURY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR—The question of *Usury* has always been for me a troublesome and not a very intelligible one. Presuming that many of your readers would feel equally anxious as myself to find the subject discussed in the pages of the RECORD, I venture to suggest that some space may be devoted to the exposition of this practical and abstruse question.

I know that it would be unfair to expect an exhaustive treatment of so large a subject in the few pages that can be devoted to any one question.

For the present I would, therefore, respectfully ask you, or some of your contributors, to direct your attention to the three following points:—

- 1° What constitutes *Usury* properly so called?
- 2° How is the amount of interest that may lawfully be derived from a loan to be determined?
- 3° Is there any fixed limit which the interest derived from a loan can never exceed without being usurious?

Hoping that you may not consider these points unsuitable for discussion, I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, faithfully yours,

J. M.

[Our Reverend Correspondent opens up a wide and difficult question for solution. Carriere, in his admirable treatise on *Contracts*, remarks that in the whole range of Moral Theology there is not a more difficult question than this very question of Usury. The difficulty is increased very much by the altered purposes and value of money in modern, as compared with former times, and also by the different replies—not always seemingly consistent with one another—given by the Roman Congregations to inquiries on the subject of Usury. Notwithstanding these difficulties we feel bound to reply to our correspondent's letter, and we purpose to do so in our next or some early number of the RECORD.]-ED. I. E. R.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

I.

A Breviary without the "Approbatio Ordinarii" cannot be legitimately used.

Will you kindly give your opinion as to the legitimate use of a new Breviary—the edition printed "Taurini," publisher "Romano," A.D. 1879, and for sale in Dublin? It has all the credentials of authorities except the "Approbatio Ordinarii."

If the Breviary in question has not the "Approbatio Ordinarii," it cannot be legitimately used. The Sacred Congregation of Rites has declared, over and over again, (7th April, 1832, 16th March, 1833), that the decree of Urban VIII. regarding the Breviary to be used is in full force, and must be strictly observed. All priests know that this decree of Pope Urban enacts:—"Ne quis Typographorum Breviarium Romanum Pii Pont. Max. jussu editum, Clementis VIII. primum, nunc denuo ipsius Urbani, P.P. VIII. auctoritate recognitum, imprimere aut imprimi facere vel in lucem edere praesumat, sine licentia Ordinarii loci, desuper in scriptis obtenta ac in calce vel initio Breviarii semper impressa, quae fidem faciat de collatione istius Breviarii cum Breviario Romano typis Vaticanis anno MDCXXXII. excusso et de reperta inter utrumque conformitate." This decree regards not only the printers but also the priests who use such Breviaries. When the Congregation was asked in 1833: "An hujusmodi (Breviaria et Missalia) libros absque requisita Ordinarii licentia impressos liceat emere, penes se retinere, atque uti in Belgio aliisque regionibus ubi decretum Concilii Tridentini et supra memoratae Constitutiones Apostolicae communiter servantur." The Congregation answered: "*Non licere, nisi servatis Constitutionibus Apostolicis.*"¹

II.

Authority of the Directory.

Should a Priest follow the Directory in regulating his Office and Mass when he doubts its correctness? What, if he believes that it is incorrect?

In all cases of doubt as to the correctness of the Diocesan Calendar, and even when a Priest *thinks* that it is

¹See S. R. C. 26 Ap., 1834; 18 Feb., 1843; 27 Feb., 1847.

certainly incorrect, he should, notwithstanding, obey the Directory. This is the ruling of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. "An in casibus dubiis adhaerendum est Calendario Diocesis, sive quoad Officium publicum et privatum, sive quoad Missam, sive quoad vestium sacrarum colorem, etiamsi quibusdam probabilior videtur sententia Calendario opposita? et quatenus affirmative, an idem dicendum de casu quo certum alicui videretur errare Calendarium?" S.R.C. resp. "*Standum Calendario*," 23 May, 1835.

III.

Should the Celebrant stand or kneel at the "Laudate" after Benediction.

Should the celebrant and his ministers stand or kneel during the singing of the "Laudate Dominum," &c., with which the ceremony of Benediction usually ends?

As far as we know, there is no rubric or decision of the Congregation regulating this point. Practice, too, is not uniform. In some churches the celebrant and his ministers stand at the "Laudate"; in others they kneel.

The exposition of the manner of giving Benediction, printed as an appendix¹ to the Synod of Thurles, says that the celebrant is to kneel. "Sacerdos, data benedictione, . . . descendit cum assistentibus ad infimum altaris gradum, *ubi remanet genuflectus*."

In matters of this kind, respecting which there is no rubric or decision of the Congregation, or even an expression of opinion from writers of authority on ritual, it is a fixed principle laid down by rubricists that we should follow the custom of the church. Hence, if the Bishop wishes to see a uniform practice in such matters prevail in all the churches of his diocese, it is for him to determine the ceremony to be observed; and, if this is not done by the Bishop, the custom of the particular church would be best learned from the Parish Priest, or master of ceremonies. But one should carefully avoid introducing without authority a practice which he knows to be at variance with the custom of the church. By acting thus, he would violate that leading principle of ceremonial already referred to, the exact purpose of which is to secure, in such circumstances, uniformity.

¹ *Appendix ii.*, p. 70.

IV.

Suppressed Holidays of Obligation. Parish Priest bound to offer Mass on them "pro populo."

Is the list of Suppressed Holidays of Obligation given in the Directory at page iv. correct? I have seen other lists. Is the Parish Priest obliged to offer Mass "pro populo" on these days?

The list given in the Directory is correct. The Parish Priest is bound to offer Mass "pro populo" on all these days, unless his bishop has dispensed him from this obligation, using for this purpose the privilege granted to our Bishops by the Indult dated the 1st September, 1876. This privilege was granted for ten years only. Moreover the Bishop is charged to examine the circumstances of each case and to satisfy his conscience that it is one which justifies the application of the Indult. "SS^{mus}. Dom. Noster Pius P.P. IX. benigne annuit juxta petita ad decennium pro arbitrio et conscientia Episcoporum, qui tamen Apostolico Indulto utantur perpensis locorum et personarum adjunctis."¹

V.

When a visit to a church is a condition for gaining an indulgence, it is not necessary to visit a consecrated church.

When it is laid down as a condition for gaining an indulgence, for example, on the feast of the Patronus Ecclesiae, that a visit is to be made to the church or public oratory, is it necessary that the church or public oratory should be consecrated, or at least solemnly dedicated?

Consecration is not necessary. It suffices if the church or public oratory be blessed, with the form of blessing given in the Ritual, by a Bishop, or by a Priest delegated by him for the purpose.

Our respected correspondent will allow us to remark that there is no distinction between the consecration and the dedication of a church. They are two names for that solemn form of blessing of a church, which is given in the Pontifical. "Dedicatio Ecclesiae," writes Guyetus, "est ipsamet consecratio facta ab Episcopo solemnī ritu, qui in Pontificali praescribitur."²

¹ See "Acta et Decreta Synodi Plen. habitae apud Manutiam." Appendix xviii. page 300.

² Lib. i., Cap. iii., Quest. i.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ARE INFALLIBLE DEFINITIONS RARE?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR.—You have kindly consented to insert a short letter from me under the following circumstances :—

Father O'Dwyer has contributed to your periodical two articles on my recently published volume of *Essays*. I have to thank him heartily for his uniform courtesy, or rather great kindness, of language towards me throughout; but in his second article he expresses much difference of judgment from me, on one or two points of more or less importance. In my humble judgment, indeed, all the objections which he adduces against my doctrine are capable of most ready solution. But I have no leisure for writing an argumentative reply, even if I wished to do so; nor indeed could I ask you to insert one, without asking you to violate the recognized and reasonable usage of periodicals. Still there is one particular theme—the greater or less frequency of infallible Definitions—on which those who read Father O'Dwyer's article, without referring to my volume, will be sure (I consider) gravely to misapprehend what it is which I affirm. I have obtained your permission, therefore, briefly to set forth—as far as possible in the very words of my volume—what are the chief heads of my reply to the question, “Are Infallible Definitions rare?”

I. “It is very certain that ex-cathedrà Definitions are far rarer in every period than are other Pontifical Acts,” (p. 506). I argued in the *Dublin Review* that this is what was intended by Bishop Fessler, and also by Father O'Reilly, in the passages quoted by Father O'Dwyer (pp. 472–3). Such is still my opinion.

II. “But some Catholics seem to speak as though an infallible Definition were in such sense rare, that its pronouncement is almost an epoch in the Church's history. For my own part I cannot approach ever so distantly to the acceptance of such a statement.” (p. 506).

III. The infallible Definitions, which issue from the Holy See, “will be found almost invariably to do no more than express distinctly, what has throughout been ascertainably involved in the Church's practical teaching;” and they present, accordingly, in general no difficulty to anyone, “who has been in the habit of deferring profoundly to the Church's magisterium, and labouring to ascertain her true mind.” (Preface, p. xi.).

IV. “I am very far from meaning to imply that other Popes have spoken ex-cathedrà with as much comparative frequency as Pius IX. But still it will be useful to ascertain in the first instance how the case has stood with *him*,” (p. 507). Now it is quite certain

that (during one period of his reign)¹ his ex-cathedrà utterances were very numerous indeed. For this conclusion I adduce (pp. 507–513) three different arguments. I account them all very strong; but the third in particular (pp. 511–513) does not fall short (I think) of actual demonstration. Certainly Father O'Dwyer has not attempted to confront it.²

V. There were, no doubt, special circumstances, during that part of Pius IX.'s reign, which might have led one to expect that his ex-cathedrà utterances would be exceptionally numerous. Still our present Holy Father has used very significant words; and "the very last thing that one would surmise from them is, that" ex-cathedrà Acts "have been but few and far between." (p. 514).

VI. Then, as regards St. Leo I. The preamble to the Definition of 1870 singles out three in particular, from all the ecclesiastical testimonies which might have been adduced, for the conclusion that the Pope is infallible when speaking ex-cathedrà. One of these is the well-known formula, prescribed by Pope Hormisdas, to the Eastern Bishops. But this formula does not so much as particularly *mention* St. Leo's Letter to St. Flavian. The Infallibility which it virtually ascribes, is to "*all* the letters of Pope Leo;" "*all* that he wrote concerning the Christian religion." Surely—such is my argument—this fact is quite irreconcilable with the supposition, that Pope Hormisdas, or again the Vatican Council, regarded the *rarity* of infallible Definitions as a recognized ecclesiastical maxim.

VII. My conclusion is the following:—"The question whether any given Pontifical utterance be ex-cathedrà, must be decided by the special circumstances (intrinsic and extrinsic) of that utterance. But no argument against its being ex-cathedrà can be derived from any such general principle, as that ex-cathedrà utterances are rare; because, on the contrary, it would rather appear that such utterances are frequent," (pp. 515–16).

VIII. Lastly, I must altogether disclaim one doctrine, which Father O'Dwyer ascribes to me; viz., that "Infallibility pervades" certain Pontifical utterances "as doctrinal expositions, *in a way*

¹ I admit that these parenthetical words are not explicitly contained in my volume; but they are implied in my whole context.

² Father O'Dwyer considers me to hold that "infallible utterances have been so frequent during the reign of Pius IX., that that Pontiff may be said never to have ceased from issuing one continuous infallible pronouncement." He adds, that I have said this "in downright earnest," "in a formal Latin treatise." (p. 472). But what I do say—not, however, in a Latin treatise—runs thus. (I italicize four words which Father O'Dwyer has not inserted):—"The Pontiff declares," in the Preface to the First Dogmatic Constitution of the Vatican Council, "that he has been speaking ex-cathedrà with such frequency, that *in a figurative sense* he may be said 'never to have ceased' from one continuous ex-cathedrà pronouncement." (p. 510).

somewhat similar to the inspiration which runs through the text of Scripture." (p. 474).

It is almost impertinent for me to add how firm is my conviction, that Father O'Dwyer had no kind of intention to do me injustice, but that on the contrary he sincerely aimed at apprehending the true sense of my language.

Thanking you for your courtesy in the promised insertion of this letter,

I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, with much respect, sincerely yours,

W. G. WARD.

DOCUMENTS.

LETTER OF THE S. C. OF PROPAGANDA ON BUILDING GRANTS FOR SCHOOLS UNDER THE NATIONAL BOARD.

[As the following Document has been recently referred to, and as a copy of it has become very rare, we know that its publication in the RECORD will be acceptable to many of our readers. Lest it should be supposed that the publication of important Documents is neglected, we may take this opportunity of notifying that we purpose in a double number, to be issued in December, to publish many important and recent Documents which pressure on our limited space has hitherto compelled us to withhold.—ED. I. E. R.]

EÏME. ET RÏME. DÑE MI OÏME.

Libenter admodum accepit Sacra haec Congregatio in ultimo conventu sacrorum antistitum qui Hibernenses regunt Ecclesias eam fuisse Praesulum sententiam ut scholae Catholicae istius Regni a qualibet Gubernii dominatione servarentur immunes, utque propterea subsidia ne acceptarentur ab illo ad novarum scholarum constructionem, tum quidem ut debita haberetur ratio eorum quae in rem praescripta fuerunt a sacro hoc consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando sub die 16 Januarii anni 1841, tum etiam ne ulla gubernio civili tribueretur occasio Catholicas scholas sibi vindicandi.

Etsi vero prudentissime atque ad tramitem etiam Decretorum Synodi Thurlesensis, Hibernenses Episcopi praedictam ediderint resolutionem, notum tamen est Emis Patribus Sacrae hujus Congregationis nonnullos extare ecclesiasticos viros, qui non solum a mente Praesulum dissentiunt, sed etiam contrariam agendi rationem initari censentur. Quae cum ita sint, Eminentiae vestrae committo ac simul in Domino vehementer commendo ut cum R.R. P.P. D.D., Episcopis Provinciae

Ecclesiae vestrae ita agas ut omnes ad unum Sacerdotes suarum Dioecesium resolutionem de qua supra, adamussim exequendam curent.

Interea manus Emae. Vae. humillime deosculor,
Romae ex aed. S. C. de Prop. Fide die 13 Junii, 1872.

Humillimus et addictissimus famulus verus.

Emo. ac Rmo. D. Card. Paulo Cullen.

AL. CARD. BARNABO,

Joannes Simeoni, Secretarius.

Concordat cum originali,

PAULUS CARD. CULLEN.

N.B.—A similar Letter was addressed to each of the Metropolitans. The Resolution referred to in this Letter is as follows, and was proposed by the Archbishop of Cashel, and seconded by the Archbishop of Tuam :—"That we shall not accept Building Grants from the Board of National Education, nor allow any of our Priests to accept them, till circumstances shall have been so changed that in the opinion of the body of Bishops such grants may be accepted."

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, PATRON OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

[We have in type for a considerable time the Encyclical of his Holiness, Leo XIII., recommending to the Catholic world the study of the works of St. Thomas. Hitherto we have been unable to publish a Document of such length without unduly encroaching on the space set aside for other purposes.

In this number we give the text of the latest Document emanating from the Holy See, in which St. Thomas is authoritatively constituted Patron of Catholic Universities, Colleges, and Schools throughout the world.—ED. I. E. R.]

LEO PP. XIII. AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Cum hoc sit et natura insitum et ab Ecclesia Catholica comprobatum, ut a viris sanctitate praeclaris patrocinium, ab excellentibus autem perfectisque in aliquo genere exempla ad imitandum homines exquirant; ideoque Ordines religiosi non pauci, Lycea, coetus litteratorum, Apostolica Sede approbante, iamdiu magistrum ac patronum sibi sanctum Thomam Aquinatem esse voluerunt, qui doctrina et virtute, solis instar, semper eluxit. Nostris vero temporibus, aucto passim studio doctrinarum eius, plurimi extiterunt, qui peterent, ut cunctis ille Lyceis, Academiis, et scholis gentium Catholicarum, huius Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate, patronus assignaretur. Hoc quidem optare se plures Episcopi significarunt, datis in id litteris cum singularibus tum communibus; hoc pariter studuerunt multarum Academicarum sodales et collegia doctorum supplice atque humili obsecratione deposcere.—Quorum omnium incensas desiderio preces cum differre visum esset, ut productione temporis auferrentur, idonea ad rem opportunitas accessit ab Encyclicis Litteris Nostris *De philosophia christiana ad mentem S. Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici in scholis catholicis instauranda*, quas superiore anno hoc ipso die publicavimus. Etenim Episcopi, Academiae, doctores, decuriales

lyceorum, atque ex omni terrarum regione cultores artium optimarum se Nobis dicto audientes et esse et futuros una pene voce et consentientibus animis testati sunt: imo velle se in tradendis philosophicis ac theologicis disciplinis sancti Thomae vestigiis penitus insistere; sibi enim non secus ac Nobis, exploratum esse affirmant, in doctrinis Thomisticis eximiam quandum inesse praestantiam, ei ad saranda mala, quibus nostra premitur aetas, vim virtutemque singularem. Nos igitur, qui diu multumque cupimus, florere scholas disciplinarum universas tam excellenti magistro in fidem et clientelam commendatas, quoniam tam clara et testata sunt communia omnium desideria, maturitatem advenisse censemus decernendi, ut Thomae Aquinatis immortale decus novae huius accessione laudis cumuletur.

Hoc est autem caussarum, quibus permovemur, caput et summa; eminere inter omnes sanctum Thomam, quem in variis scientiarum studiis, tamquam exemplar, Catholici homines intueantur. Et sane praeclara lumina animi et ingenii, quibus ad imitationem sui iure vocet alios, in eo sunt omnia: doctrina uberrima, incorrupta, apte disposita; obsequium fidei et cum veritatibus divinitus traditis mira consensio; integritas vitae cum splendore virtutum maximarum.

Doctrina quidem est tanta, ut sapientiam a veteribus defluentem, maris instar, omnem comprehendat. Quidquid est vere dictum aut prudenter disputatum a philosophis ethnicorum, ab Ecclesiae Patribus et Doctoribus, a summis viris qui ante ipsum floruerunt, non modo ille penitus dignovit, sed auxit, perfecit, digessit tam luculenta perspicuitate formarum, tam accurata disserendi ratione, et tanta proprietate sermonis, ut facultatem imitandi posteris reliquisse, superandi potestatem ademisse videatur. Atque illud est permagnum, quod eius doctrina, cum instructa sit atque apparata principiis latissime patentibus, non ad unius dumtaxat, sed ad omnium temporum necessitates est apta, et ad pervincendos errores perpetua vice renascentes maxime accommodata. Eadem vero, sua se vi et ratione confirmans, invicta consistit, atque adversarios terret vehementer.

Neque minoris aestimanda, Christianorum praesertim hominem iudicio, rationis et fidei perfecta convenientia. Evidenter enim sanctus Doctor demonstrat, quae ex rerum genere naturalium vera sunt, ab iis dissidere non posse, quae, Deo auctore, creduntur; quamobrem sequi et colere fidem christianam, non esse humilem et minime generosam rationis servitutem, sed nobile obsequium, quo mens ipsa iuvatur et ad sublimiora eruditur; denique intelligentiam et fidem a Deo ambas proficisci, non simultatum secum exercendarum causa, sed ut sese amicitiae vinculo colligatae mutuis officiis tueantur.—Cuius convenientiae mirabilisque concordiae cunctis beati Thomae scriptis expressa, imago perspicitur. In iis enim excellit atque eminent modo intelligentia quae quod vult, fide praeunte, consequitur in pervestigatione naturae; modo fides, quae rationis ope illustratur ac defenditur, sic tamen, ut suam quaeque inviolate teneat et vim et dignitatem; atque, ubi res postulat, ambae quasi foedere icto ad utriusque inimicos debellandos coniunguntur. Ac si magnopere semper interfuit, firmam rationis et fidei manere concordiam, multo magis post saeculum XVI. interesse existimandum est: quoniam per id tempus spargi semina coeperunt finem et modum transeuntis libertatis, quae facit ut humana ratio divinam auctoritatem aperte repudiet, armisque a philosophia quaesitis religiosas veritates pervellat atque oppugnet.

Postremo, Angelicus Doctor non est magis doctrina, quam virtute et sanctitate magnus. Est autem virtus ad periclitandas ingenii vires

adipiscendamque doctrinam praeparatio optima; quam qui negligunt, solidam fructuosamque sapientiam falso se consecuturos putant, propterea quod *malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis*.¹ Ista vero comparatio animi quae ab indole virtutis proficiscitur, in Thoma Aquinate extitit non modo excellens atque praestans, sed plane digna, quae aspectabili signo divinitus consignaretur. Etenim cum maximam voluptatis illecebram victor evasisset, hoc veluti praemium fortitudinis tulit a Deo pudicissimus adolescens, ut lumbos sibi arcanum in modum constringi, atque una libidinis faces extinguere sentiret. Quo facto, perinde vixit, ac esset ab omni corporis contagione seiunctus, cum ipsis angelicis spiritibus non minus innocentia, quam ingenio comparandus.

His de causis dignum prorsus Angelicum Doctorem iudicamus, qui praestes tutelarum studiorum cooptetur. Quod cum libenter facimus, tum illa Nos consideratio movet, futurum ut patrocinium hominis maximi et sanctissimi multum valeat ad philosophicas theologicasque disciplinas, summa cum utilitate reipublicae, instaurandas. Nam, ubi se scholae catholicae in disciplinam et clientelam Doctoris Angelici tradiderint, facile florebit sapientia veri nominis, firmis hausta principiis, ratione atque ordine explicata. Ex probitate doctrinarum probitas gignetur vitae cum privatae tum publicae: probe vivendi consuetudinem salus populorum, ordo, pacata rerum tranquillitas consequentur.—Qui in scientia rerum sacrarum elaborant, tam acriter hoc tempore lacessita, ex voluminibus sancti Thomae habituri sunt, quo fundamenta fidei christianae ample demonstrent, quo veritates supernaturales persueant, quo nefarios hostium impetus a religione sanctissima propulsent. Eaque ex re humanae disciplinae omnes non impediri aut tardari cursus suos, sed incitari augerique sentient; ratio vero in gratiam cum fide, sublatis dissidiorum causis, redibit, eamque in indagatione veri sequetur ducem. Demum quotquot sunt homines discendi cupidi, tanti magistri exemplis praeceptisque conformati, comparare sese integritate morum assuescent; nec eam rerum scientiam consectabuntur, quae a caritate seiuncta inflat animos et de via deflectit, sed eam quae sicut a *Patre luminum et scientiarum Domino* exordia capit, sic ad eum recta perducit.

Placuit autem hac super re sacri etiam Consilii legitimis ritibus cognoscendis perrogare sententiam; quam cum perspexerimus, dis-sentiente nemine, votis Nostris plane congruere. Nos ad gloriam omnipotentis Dei et honorem Doctoris Angelici, ad incrementa scientiarum et communem societatis humanae utilitatem, sanctum Thomam Doctorem Angelicum suprema auctoritate Nostra, Patronum declaramus Universitatum studiorum, Academiarum, Lyceorum, scholarum catholicarum, atque uti talem ab omnibus haberi, coli, atque observari volumus, ita tamen ut sanctis caelitibus, quos iam Academiae aut Lyceae sibi forte patronos singulares delegerint, suus honos suusque gradus etiam in posterum permanere intelligatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die IV. Augusti MDCCCLXXX. Pontificatus Nostri anno Tertio.

THEODULPHUS CARD. MERTEL.

¹ Sap. 1, 4.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Faith. By the Rev. MARK M'NEAL. London : R. Washbourne, Paternoster-row. Dublin : J. Duffy. Glasgow : H. Margey.

THIS work is full of learning, and is evidently inspired by a devoted Catholic spirit. The Reverend writer discusses the evidences of the Church, examines the bearing of her doctrines on society, and exposes the popular fallacies of Protestant authorities. He takes up many of the questions treated with so much skill in the "Clifton Tracts," as well as by the older English Catholic controversialists, and shows a large acquaintance not only with the Fathers but with the most recent literature, Catholic and Protestant. We can therefore recommend "The Faith" to those who have been trained to read in the discriminating way approved of by Lord Bacon. Unfortunately we cannot go further. There are books like Milner's "End of Controversy," admirable in argument and arrangement, but hopeless in style. There are others, like the writings of "A. K. H. B.," with a certain easy flow of nonsense not unpleasant to the class of men who can find a charm in the prattle of a bore. But the present work has neither arrangement nor style. The author neither consistently adopts the historical method of maintaining the claims of the Church, nor any principle of theological division. The style of "The Faith" seems peculiar to itself. We do not say there is any lengthened passage in it we could not understand, but some sentences, like the following, threw us into a state of doubt from which, we regret to say, we have not yet escaped :—

"Nothing but the sudden appearance in Christendom of some phenomenal bestirrer of souls and kingdoms, who in an implied mission from heaven, though failing the miracle, might obtain independent rights for mitres without trenching on those of crowns."

We tried to look at this sentence from the point of view of an Intermediate boy, but failed to produce any analysis which could secure the very smallest number of marks. We were in a similar plight with many others. But the Reverend author provided us with one resource. The work is very full of quotations, old and new ; and whenever we were sorely tried, we passed with unfeigned pleasure from these grammatical puzzles to classical commonplaces, even though familiar enough to point the speech of a Cabinet Minister. We are sorry to have to make these strictures, especially as we believe "The Faith" to be in some respects a valuable work.

The Life of the Venerable Francis Mary Paul Libermann, founder of the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary, and first Superior General of the Society of the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Heart of Mary. By the REV. PROSPER GOEPFERT, Priest of the same Society. With a Preface by His Grace the Most REV. DR. CROKE, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1880.

BESIDES the common interest belonging to the lives of eminent servants of God, who have been elevated or are in progress of elevation to the honours of the Church, there is an interest more or less special attached to each. Like human faces, though there is sometimes a striking resemblance between one life and another, yet no two lives are exactly alike. But the present biography possesses a singularly special interest from the fact that the subject of it was born of Jewish parents, and reared from infancy in the strictest and most exclusive form of Judaism. His father was not only a Jew but a Rabbi, profoundly versed in the Talmud lore, and fanatically wedded to all its dark mysteries.* So deeply had he tainted his son with an anti-Christian spirit, that young Jacob (such was his Hebrew name), when a mere child, on seeing a priest in surplice and stole coming in the opposite direction, in his terror ran into a neighbouring shop, and hid behind the counter until the dreaded apparition had disappeared. On another occasion, having no other way of escape from a similar encounter with the same priest, he climbed over a high wall, and shot off through the fields. Yet this child, to whom the name of Christian was such a horror, was

* The Talmud is a huge mass of Jewish traditions, laws, philosophies, proverbs, &c., &c. There are two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian, the latter occupying twelve printed folio volumes. Beside short notices of this extraordinary production, e.g. in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, two elaborate articles appeared, not many years ago, in the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*. The former article (October, 1867), was subsequently (1874) reprinted in a posthumous publication of the *Literary Remains* of the author, Emanuel Deutsch. According to the *Edinburgh Reviewer* (July, 1873), this essay, though "brilliant," was "superficial." Whether his own essay be more profound or not, I am utterly incompetent even to conjecture. But if, in point of accuracy and truth, his representations of the contents of the Talmud be on a par with his statement on a point of Catholic doctrine, which appears in page 41, the reader may judge how far these representations are trustworthy. In a certain division of the Babylonian Talmud there is a treatise called "Kerithoth, or excisions, relating to offences which, if wantonly committed, are to be punished by excision from the people; that is to say, by death; and which, if inadvertently committed, entail the obligation to bring sin offerings. In this marked division . . . is to be traced the *origin* of the Romish distinction between mortal and venial sin." The Catholic Church stealing one of her most universally known dogmas from one of the manuscript folios of the Babylonian Talmud!!!

destined to become in after life a sincere and fervent Christian, a holy and zealous priest, the founder of a new religious society—one of those numerous lights which in these latter days God has given to illumine his Church amid the surrounding darkness of a atheist and pagan world.

Jacob Libermann was born in the province of Alsace, in the month of April, 1804 (he died in February, 1852), the youngest of six brothers. Samson, the eldest of these, after a protracted struggle (of which a very interesting account is given in the volume before us, pp. 25-34), became a Christian, and was with his wife received into the Church in 1824, followed by several others of the same Jewish persuasion. On learning the news of his son's defection, old Lazarus Libermann, the father, with the rest of the family, put on mourning as for one dead. Jacob, then a student at Metz, preparing to qualify himself for the office of Rabbi in after time, felt not less afflicted, and actually set out for Strasburg, where Samson then resided, with the full hope of re-converting him. Several private discussions took place between the brothers. We need hardly say that on Samson's mind no impression was made, while Jacob, for the present, remained equally unmoved, nay, commenced to practice a still more rigid observance of Jewish rites and forms. Meantime, Samson succeeded in converting two of his other brothers, Felkel and Samuel; but Jacob still remained firm and unshaken. A constant correspondence, however, was kept up between him and his brother: so that, after some time, the first silent workings of grace began to make themselves felt, slight specks of doubt commenced to rise on the hitherto serene horizon of his mind, until at length his whole soul became covered with an over-arching canopy of impenetrable mist. How that mist was ultimately dissipated and succeeded by the clear and full light of faith, is told in a simple account given by himself, a year or two before his death.

In the latter half of 1826, he made a journey to Paris, spent a few days with Samson, but, though greatly surprised at his brother's happiness, still remained unchanged. He had been introduced to the celebrated Jewish convert, M. Drach, author of some very learned works. "M. Drach," he tells us in his narrative (p. 51), "found a place for me at the College Stanislaus, whither he conducted me himself. I was led into a cell, and there left alone, with two works by Thomond, the *History of the Christian Doctrine* and the *History of Religion*. This was for me a most trying moment. The profound solitude, the appearance of that room admitting the light through a small window in the roof, the thought of being so far from home, from my parents and acquaintances, all tended to plunge my soul into intense sadness.

"Then it was that, remembering the God of my fathers, I threw myself on my knees, and conjured Him to enlighten me in my search after the true religion. I besought Him, if the faith of the

Christians was the true one, to make it known to me; but if it was false, to remove me at once beyond the reach of its influence.

“The Lord, ever near to those who invoke Him, from the inmost depths of their hearts, heard my prayer. *I was immediately enlightened: I saw the truth; faith penetrated my mind and my heart.* Having commenced the reading of Thomond, I easily and firmly adhered to all that is related therein about the life and death of Jesus Christ. Even the mystery of the Eucharist, rather imprudently submitted to my meditations, in no way disheartened me. I believed all without difficulty. From that moment, my most ardent desire was to be regenerated in the sacred waters of Baptism. That happiness was soon to be granted to me. I was immediately prepared for this august sacrament, which I received on Christmas Eve, 1826. On this festival I was likewise admitted to partake of the Blessed Eucharist.”

Of his feelings on the occasion of his baptism, he says in another place (p. 56):—“To tell you what I then experienced would be impossible. At the moment the sacred water began to flow on my forehead, it seemed to me that I was in another world. *I saw myself, as it were, in the middle of an immense globe of fire.* I felt as if living no longer an earthly life; I no longer heard or saw anything of what was going on around me; I was led almost mechanically through all the ceremonies which follow baptism.” “On his leaving the baptismal font,” says M. Drach (p. 58), “the pious neophyte promised the Lord to consecrate himself to his service in the sacred ministry.”

With this all-important event, very appropriately closes the first part of this most interesting and edifying volume.

Jacob—now no longer Jacob, but Francis Mary Paul Libermann—was destined to wait long, and to pass through many sharp tribulations before that early desire of becoming a priest should be realized. But, having become a Christian, he at once commenced a career not only of solid Christian virtue but of earnest and continued struggle for the highest Christian perfection. After remaining one year in the College of St. Stanislaus, he was transferred to the renowned seminary of St. Sulpice. Here and in the branch house at Issy he remained for several years, edifying all by the unobtrusive saintliness of his life, avoiding everything that savoured of singularity. But hard trials, the daily bread of the saints, awaited him. He had been for some time subject to severe nervous affections: and, on the eve of the day appointed for his receiving the order of sub-deaconship (he had previously received the tonsure and minor orders), he was suddenly struck down with a violent attack of epilepsy—a gulf, seemingly impassible, thus yawning between him and the great desire of his heart, the priesthood. He meekly submitted to Gods’ will, and, during a period of terrific mental agony and desolation superadded

to his bodily sufferings, he abated in nothing his onward march in the path of charity, self-denial and communion with God. I may mention here, that he lived to see all his brothers Christiaus. His father and sister, notwithstanding all the efforts made to convert them ("O altitudo"), died obstinate Jews. Of his mother I could find no account.

This biography is divided into five parts: four of which are occupied with the life of the servant of God, the fifth being an account of his virtues, of the progress of the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary, of some of the miracles wrought by him, and finally the solemn introduction by the late Pope of the cause of his beatification and canonization—a step conferring on those for whom it is taken the title of "Venerable." I have been able to give only a very rapid outline of the more interesting events of the first two parts. I purpose resuming my brief sketch in a future number of the RECORD.

I may add that the volume is got up in excellent style as to paper, printing and binding. There are two engravings, one representing the Venerable as he was in life, the other as he lay sleeping the sleep of the just on the bed of death.

P. MURRAY.

Illustrated Europe. Nos. 1–8. ORELL FUSSLI, Zurich.
C. Smith & Son, Charing-cross, London.

UNDER this title, Fuessli of Zurich are bringing out a series of guide books of an unusual character. The idea of setting some competent person to work in each renowned locality, to write a brief and well illustrated sketch of what must be familiar to him, and to bring them out in a cheap form, with sufficient unity of design to fit them for a complete volume, and yet with individual character enough to make each complete in itself—the idea is good, it is a happy thought, and may as such have commended itself to many minds, and among others, to not a few travellers who have felt the want of something truly local, and yet not too minute in character, or swollen with details which are of little value in strange eyes.

It has been reserved for the spirited Zurich publishers to realize the idea, the first eight numbers of the work being now before us. Naturally enough, Switzerland occupies most of them, one only, on Baden-Baden, reaching over the frontier. So we have the "Arth-Rigi-Railway" which will carry us up one side of the popular mountain, and the "Lucerne-Rigi-Rail" which will bring us down the other; and if we have acquired a taste for this kind of mountain climbing, there is the "Rorschach-Heiden-Rail," near the Lake of Constance, which will give us views over those grand waters, and lodge us among the milk and whey drinking people of Heiden. Other numbers take us to Interlaken, Thun, Einsiedeln, and the Upper Engadine, or, perhaps, we should rather say, meet

and welcome us in these delightful spots; for they are local guides and friends who know how to make us feel at home, and so are very different from larger and more pretentious books, which at best are but as couriers, who are, indeed, little more at home in the various places than ourselves. Of course local guides have their drawbacks, like other friends who show us over their own places; they are sometimes a little too positive as to the rarity of the beauties they have to point out, and, it may be, they have personal peculiarities, which have to be borne with for the sake of many compensating advantages. So in these pleasant and well illustrated sixpenny guide books—each with its map, and twenty illustrations—we have to contend with the inconvenience of a translation, in which the original German makes itself at times painfully felt, and with a vulgar joke, in the “Interlaken,” which smacks somewhat too much of Dr. Martin Luther, while more than once there is an exhibition of a want of knowledge of ecclesiastical history, which that very out-spoken personage would have sharply rebuked in the writing of one of his spiritual children, the “Vicar of Interlaken.”

But these blemishes may be easily corrected, could the next edition be submitted to some English scholar; and then we shall be able, without any drawback, to recommend this pretty “Illustrated Europe,” to those who have thoughts of visiting these charming spots, or who, having been there already, desire to possess some pleasing memorial of what they cannot but have enjoyed.

Dissertationes Selectae in Historiam Ecclesiasticam. AUCTORE
BERNARDO JUNGMAN. Tomus I.

DR. JUNGMAN, already favourably known as the distinguished author of several important dogmatic works, now offers to the public the fruits of his labours in the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, which he has filled, for some years, in the Catholic University of Louvain. The volume, to which we invite attention, is the first published, of a series of “Select Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History.” Five or six more are soon to pass through the press. In a brief prefatory notice Dr. Jungmann’s object is declared. He expresses a hope that his Dissertations may prove useful to University Students, who shall either devote themselves to the profounder study of Theology and Canon Law, or aim at something more than an elementary knowledge of Church History. He also commends them to another class, for specific purposes: namely, to candidates for academic honours; as supplying suitable subjects for “public defences.” It may be observed that the path, traversed by Dr. Jungmann, is by no means a new, nor untrodden way. Before him, many have gone over the same ground; and, after him, many will be sure to follow. It is, indeed, a beaten track, yet not a

smooth one, nor a safe one without a trusty guide. We are not without such guidance. For, great men, of rare skill and vast learning, and endowed with untiring energy, have here traced out such well defined lines as may be followed, for the most part, in all security. This department of Ecclesiastical Literature, has, it is well known, been enriched by historical, critical, and theological Dissertations, contributed by numerous writers of singular eminence. The names of the Bollandists, of the Benedictines of S. Maur, of the Pagi, of Petavius, Norris, Gotti and Zaccaria, and, rising above others, that of Natalis Alexander, at once suggest themselves. Still, the unceasing exigencies of controversy; the necessity whether of opposing new arguments to new forms of error, or of taking note of the contributions to history supplied by the more recent researches of antiquarians, leave ample room for the industry and labours of such writers as Palma, De Smedt, and Dr. Jungmann.

We have looked through the pages of our author, and can promise our readers a rich treat in the perusal of them. The subjects discussed and the method of treatment claim our attention and sustain our interest. Of the six Dissertations, comprised in the volume, the first is preliminary, dealing with the "Origin and Progress" of Ecclesiastical History, and tracing them, through three distinct epochs, down to the present time. Here the sources of Church History are fairly brought into view, and the bibliography of the subject set forth in a manner that will satisfy the majority of those who are devoted to its study. The first Dissertation discusses the great fundamental question of St. Peter's residence at Rome, and of his having established there the Primatial See, with all the prerogatives that have descended from him to his successors, Christ's Vicars on earth.

The Papal succession during the first and second centuries, and the famous Paschal controversy, are carefully treated in the second Dissertation. A question of absorbing interest for many scholars, and of important bearing on the character of the early Church at Rome, namely, the authorship of the "Philosophoumena" and its historical value and significance, is the subject-matter of the third Dissertation. The fourth treats of the Cyprianic controversy and rightly, we think, rejects the opinion of those who regard as spurious certain works of the martyred Bishop of Carthage. The Arian heresy, and the history of the celebration of the Council of Nice, are the eventful topics examined in the fifth and last Dissertation of this interesting volume.

It will help us to attach a just value to these essays, if we bear in mind the wide range of matter which they comprise. Here we find the most striking characteristics of the early Church set before us in a clear light. Here great controversies, relating to dogma and discipline, are carefully examined. Nor are these subjects of merely historical interest; for the seeds of strife, then

sown, still retain their vitality. At the present moment the enemies of the Church, imitating the Reformers of the sixteenth century, would, by distorting the picture which Dr. Jungmann has faithfully reproduced, fain discover in primitive Christianity the prototype of the counterfeit by which their followers are duped. We have outrun our limits and must bring our brief notice to a close by a confident assurance to students of Theology and Ecclesiastical History, that the work before us is well worthy of their most serious attention. As a writer on the great dogmas of Faith, our author has earned, in the "*Acta S. Sedis*, fasc. 64," the praise of profound scholarship, remarkable clearness and accuracy. His Dissertations on Church History exhibit the same qualities, and come to us accredited by the formal approbations of the Bishop of Bruges and the Rector of the University of Louvain.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers :—

From MESSRS. GILL & SON, Dublin—

1. *Alzog's History of the Church translated.* 3 Vols., 8vo.
2. *Preparation before and Thanksgiving after Communion.* By FATHER LANCICIUS, S.J.
3. *The Spoken Word, or The Art of Extemporary Preaching.* By REV. THOMAS J. POTTER.

From MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

The Endowments of Man. By the Right Rev. Dr. ULLATHORNE.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1880.

THE MODERN THEORY OF HEAT, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE PHENOMENA OF LATENT HEAT.¹

I.—THE LATENT HEAT OF LIQUIDS.

THE modern theory of Heat is, I am inclined to think, the most important contribution that the present age has made to the advancement of physical science. Other discoveries might, no doubt, easily be named, which are more striking for their novelty, or more attractive for their evident and immediate usefulness. But there is no other that leads us so straight and so far into the secret mysteries of Nature; no other that seems destined to become, in future times, so fruitful a source of new discoveries.

I could not hope, within the limits of one or two popular lectures, to set forth this theory with any degree of completeness. But I thought it would not be uninteresting if I were to offer you some general conceptions regarding the theory itself, and then to illustrate it by some one particular class of phenomena. For this purpose I have chosen the phenomena of Latent Heat; and my choice has this, at least, to recommend it, that if I should fail to interest you in the theory itself, I shall be able to set before you a series of facts which are full of interest on their own account, and which, if not already familiar to you, will constitute a valuable addition to your existing stores of knowledge.

A general idea of the modern theory of Heat may be conveyed in a few words. Heat is a kind of energy: it

¹ Two lectures delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society, April 14 and 16, 1880, by the Rev. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D.

may be converted into other kinds of energy ; and other kinds of energy may be converted into heat. Moreover, whenever heat begins to exist where none has existed before, energy of some other kind must be expended in producing it ; and whenever heat is expended and ceases to exist, some other kind of energy, its exact equivalent in amount, must at the same moment begin to exist.

It will help us to form a more distinct conception of this dry and summary statement if we consider one or two methods by which heat may be produced. Everyone knows that a smith can take a bar of cold iron, lay it on a cold anvil, and make it red hot by repeated blows of a cold hammer. Now, where does this heat come from ? The modern theory answers that the energy of the moving hammer has been converted into the energy of heat. Each time that the hammer descends it possesses a certain amount of energy capable of giving a blow ; but the moment the blow is struck the hammer is stopped in its course, and has lost the energy it possessed before. Nevertheless this energy has not been absolutely destroyed ; it has only been converted into a new form ; and it now exists as heat. The motion of the hammer has been, in fact, transferred to the molecules of the iron bar—that is, the indefinitely small particles of which the iron bar is made up—and these molecules are now swinging about, with a certain degree of activity, through indefinitely small spaces. This swinging motion of the molecules is the objective physical fact that constitutes what we call the heat of the bar. As the blows of the hammer are repeated, the motion becomes more and more energetic, and the bar gets hotter and hotter. If, on the other hand, the bar is left to itself, the motion gradually gets feebler, and the bar gets colder.

Thus, according to the modern theory, heat is a kind of energy, and that energy consists in a swinging to and fro of the molecules of the hot body ; whereas according to the old theory, which prevailed very generally down to the close of the last century, heat was regarded as a kind of matter. It was conceived to be a subtle and elastic fluid, without weight, which could be added to a body or taken away from it by various means. If it was added, then, as a general rule, the body got hotter ; if it was taken away, the body, as a general rule, got colder. The particular example to which I have just referred offered some difficulty to the advocates of this theory, because it was not easy to see where this subtle fluid comes from each time

that the smith's hammer strikes the iron bar. They suggested, however, that the heat thus developed already existed in the iron bar: but it was not sensibly felt, because it was hidden, in some way, between the particles of the mass, and the effect of the blows was simply to force it out from its lurking places, and to make it sensible.

Another example of the production of heat that brings these two theories very clearly before us, in striking contrast, is furnished by the classical experiment of Count Rumford, which was made at the very close of the last century. He was engaged, at the time, in superintending the boring of cannon in the military arsenal at Munich, and he was forcibly struck by the immense amount of heat that was developed in the small shavings of metal cut away by the action of the boring instrument. In particular, he called attention to the fact that the quantity of heat which might be generated by this process, in the same mass of gun metal, seemed practically inexhaustible. Now you will see that, if heat is a material substance, the quantity of that substance contained in a given mass of gun metal, and capable of being squeezed out of it by any process, must be limited; whereas if it is a swinging to and fro of the molecules, produced by the pressure of the gun metal as it rotates against the edge of the boring instrument, then the quantity of this motion depends simply on the quantity of energy expended in producing such pressure. Hence Count Rumford argued that the development of heat in the process of boring cannon told very strongly against the supposition that heat is a kind of matter, and in favour of the supposition that heat is a kind of motion.

With a view to exhibit this phenomenon in a striking light he devised the experiment to which I have referred. A cylinder of metal, partially bored, was so mounted that it could be made to rotate round its axis, and, in rotating, to press against the edge of a blunt borer which was firmly held in a fixed position. The whole was then enclosed in an oblong deal box, and the box was filled with cold water. The weight of the metal cylinder was 113 pounds, and the quantity of water surrounding it was two gallons and a half. The apparatus was then set in action; the metal cylinder began to revolve, pressing always against the edge of the steel borer, and in two hours and a half that large quantity of water was actually boiled by the heat that was generated. "The result of this beautiful experiment," writes Count Rumford, "was very striking

and the pleasure it afforded me amply repaid me for all the trouble I had had in contriving and arranging the complicated machinery used in making it . . . It would be difficult to describe the surprise and astonishment expressed in the countenances of the bystanders, on seeing so large a quantity of water heated, and actually made to boil, without any fire. Though there was nothing that could be considered very surprising in this matter, yet I acknowledge fairly that it afforded me a degree of childish pleasure which, were I ambitious of the reputation of a grave philosopher, I ought most certainly rather to hide than to discover."

On the table before you is an apparatus with which a somewhat similar experiment may be made, on a much smaller scale, but also, I may add, in a much shorter time.

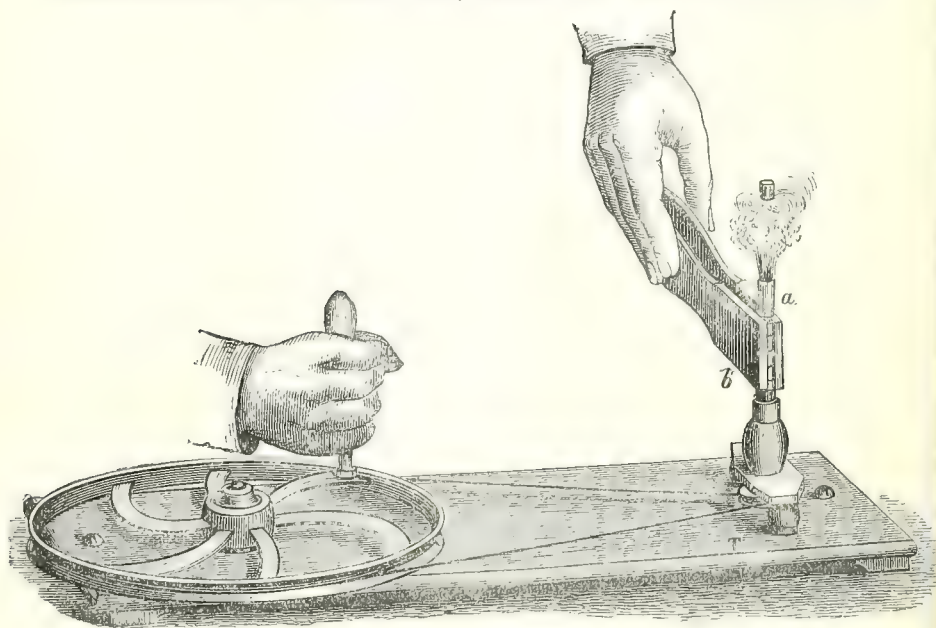


FIG. 1.—HEAT PRODUCED BY EXPENDITURE OF MECHANICAL ENERGY.

T Whirling Table.

a Hollow Copper Cylinder.

b Oak Boards, hinged at one end, and closed on Copper Cylinder.

You see this hollow cylinder of copper, about three inches long, and less than half an inch in diameter, mounted on a whirling table. I pour into it a little water, at the temperature of this room, and close the cylinder with a cork. Next I take two oak boards, fastened together at one end by a hinge, and folding them round the copper cylinder, I grasp it between two semi-circular grooves which are cut

on the inside of the boards. My assistant will now turn the wheel of the whirling table; the cylinder is made to rotate between the oak boards, which are pressing against it; you see what energy he must expend to overcome the resistance they offer. But, while that energy is passing away, heat is developed in the cylinder, and this heat gradually passes to the water within it. Meanwhile it is evident my assistant is getting tired; the steady resistance of friction is too much for him; he is not working with the freshness with which he began; and another must take his place. At the end of about two minutes the water begins to boil, steam is formed within the cylinder, and now the cork is driven out with a sort of mild explosion, and is followed by a puff of steam.

Where did the heat come from that boiled the water in this experiment? Those who used to think that heat was a kind of matter, could only say that this matter must have been there from the beginning; that it was hidden, at first, in the little spaces between the molecules, and that it was then squeezed out by the pressure of the oak boards. But the modern theory tells us that the muscular energy, expended in turning the wheel, has been converted into the energy of heat in the copper cylinder. The rotating motion of the cylinder, according as it was checked by the resistance of friction, was converted into a swinging motion of its molecules to and fro; and this swinging motion of the molecules was itself the heat of the cylinder, and passed, in due course, from the cylinder to the water it contained.

In making this experiment I always feel as if somebody would say that, after all, it is much ado about nothing; that I have tired two men, and boiled about a thimbleful of water. But this is really one of the most instructive features of the experiment: for it teaches us that the small quantity of heat required to boil a thimbleful of water, is the equivalent of a very large amount of muscular energy; and you see this truth illustrated every day, after another fashion, when heat is itself employed as a source of mechanical energy. The heat that is generated by the combustion of a few pounds weight of coal, in a locomotive, has an energy sufficient to transport a long train of carriages, with passengers and merchandize, over a distance of many miles.

One more example I should like you to consider, because it exhibits the production of heat from a somewhat different point of view. Here is a tiny spiral of platinum wire,

mounted between the two binding screws of a little apparatus, called a commutator, by means of which I can send an electric current at pleasure, through the platinum spiral, from a battery near at hand. Directly I do so, heat is produced in the wire, and it glows with a brilliant light. Once again, the question forces itself upon us, where has this heat come from? And the question becomes especially difficult, in the present instance, because the nature of the electric current is so entirely unknown to us. If we were to regard heat as a kind of matter, I really think we could offer no satisfactory account of this phenomenon: we should be obliged to shelter ourselves behind the mysterious nature of electricity, which can do so many things that we cannot explain. But if we regard heat as a kind of energy, there is no difficulty in accounting for its production in the experiment before us. It is true we do not know what the electric current is, in its intrinsic nature; but we are certainly justified in believing that it is some kind of energy, because it can do work of various kinds. We know that this energy is transmitted through the platinum wire; that it there encounters resistance; that it overcomes this resistance, and that, in doing so, it becomes feebler than it was before. In other words, the electric current expends a portion of its energy in forcing its way through the platinum wire, against the resistance it there encounters; and the energy so expended is converted into heat.

Let me show you an experiment which occurred to me when preparing these lectures, and which, I think, brings out very clearly that the electric current loses a portion of its energy at the very moment in which heat is generated in the platinum wire. Beside the platinum spiral is placed a little apparatus known by the somewhat pretentious title of an electro-magnetic engine. When I send a current of electricity through this engine, you see how it makes the wheel of the engine rotate with considerable velocity. Thus our electric current can do two things: it can produce a motion of rotation in the engine, and it can produce heat in the platinum spiral. You have seen these two effects produced separately. But I can also get them both together, because I can send the current first through the platinum spiral, and then through the engine before it returns to the battery. Having made the necessary connections for this purpose, I now turn on the current. The platinum spiral is heated, and the wheel of

the engine begins to revolve. But you see at a glance that the wheel revolves much more slowly than before. This is just what the modern theory would lead us to expect; the

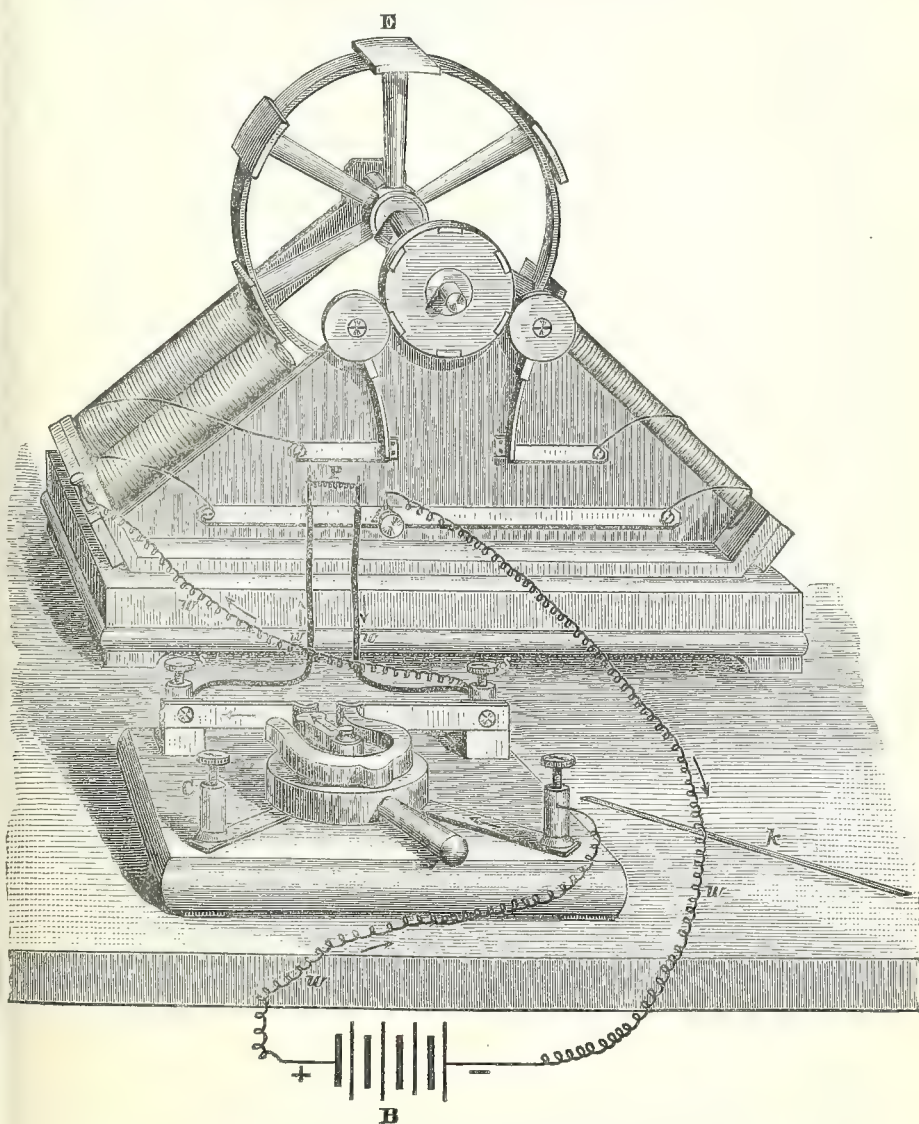


FIG. 2.—HEAT PRODUCED BY EXPENDITURE OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY.

B Battery. C Commutator. E Electric Engine. P Platinum Spiral.
w w Connecting Wires. *s s* Binding Screws.
k Flat Plate of Copper to act as Bridge. The Arrows indicate the direction of the current.

current expends a portion of its energy in producing heat, and therefore less energy remains to turn the wheel. Observe, too, that the platinum spiral is not so brilliantly

luminous as it was before, because the energy expended in turning the wheel is so much lost to the platinum spiral. In fact the current is now producing two kinds of motion : a motion of rotation in the wheel, a swinging motion of the molecules in the wire ; and each motion is naturally more feeble than it was when the whole energy of the current was employed to produce it alone.

By means of this flat plate of copper I can bridge over the space between the two binding screws of the commutator. The greater part of the current will then pass over the bridge, and go on direct to the engine, while only a small fraction will traverse the platinum wire. The effect is almost instantaneous : less heat is generated in the platinum wire, which now ceases to be luminous, and the wheel of our little engine races off with greatly increased velocity. I remove the bridge ; the whole current passes once more through the platinum wire, which again becomes red hot ; and the slackened speed of the engine reveals to us that the current has expended a portion of its energy in heating it.

And now that we have before us, as I hope, a clear idea, though a very limited one, of the modern theory of heat, perhaps you will expect that I am going to prove it for you. But this it would be impossible to do within the limits assigned to me in these lectures. The true test of a theory in physical science is to bring it face to face with the facts of nature, to see if it is consistent with these facts, and if it can help us to explain them. Now, you will readily believe that where the facts are so various, so subtle, so complex, as they are in the case of heat, the application of such a test must be the work not of hours, but of years. And even the knowledge, which I suppose is all you would aspire to, of the results arrived at by those who, with great care and labour, have applied this test to all the various phenomena of heat, must be the slow growth of time, the ripe fruit of long study. You cannot hope, then, to-day to grasp in its fulness the proof by which the modern theory of heat has been established. Nor do I mean to set it before you with any attempt at completeness. I have hinted at it more than once in explaining, by examples, the meaning and significance of the theory itself, and I now propose to develop it, somewhat in detail, with reference to that particular class of facts which are comprised under the general designation of Latent Heat.

The phenomena of Latent Heat were first investigated by Dr. Black, of Edinburgh, just a hundred and twenty years ago. His attention was arrested by the fact that when ice begins to melt it is impossible to raise its temperature, it is impossible to make it warmer, however much heat may be added to it, until all the ice is melted. If I take a quantity of snow or pounded ice at zero Centigrade, that is, at freezing point,¹ and put it into a vessel over a spirit lamp, heat passes rapidly into the ice and melts it; but a thermometer resting in the mixture of ice and water shows no tendency to rise; it remains steadily at 0° C. until all the ice is melted. Noting this fact, and brooding over it, Dr. Black asked himself the question, what becomes of all the heat that is thus added to the melting ice, and that produces no sensible effect in heating it.

With a view to answer this question, he first proceeded to measure the *quantity* of heat that thus disappears, when a certain quantity of ice, say a pound weight, is melted. His experiments are well worthy of being recorded. He took a pound weight of water at 0° C., and a pound weight of ice at 0° C., and placing them separately in similar glass vessels, he suspended the two vessels in a chamber, the temperature of which was carefully kept uniform, at about 18° C. The water receiving heat from the surrounding air began to get warm; the ice began to melt. At the end of half an hour the water had reached a temperature of 4° C.; but not until the end of ten hours and a half did the ice reach the same temperature, having been, of course, in the meantime melted.

Now let us try and realize the significance of these facts. To measure any quantity, we must first agree on some unit of measurement. Thus cloth is measured by the yard; distance on a railway is measured by the mile; liquids are measured by the pint, or by the gallon. So, too, when we want to measure quantities of heat, we must agree upon some unit in which such quantities may be expressed. Several units of this kind are in use among scientific men; just as there are various units of length, and various units

¹ It may be well to explain that, throughout these lectures, I find it convenient to refer to the Centigrade thermometer, which is generally adopted by scientific men, rather than to the Fahrenheit thermometer, which is in common use. In the Centigrade thermometer freezing point is marked nought or zero, boiling point is marked 100, and the space between them is divided into 100 equal parts, which are called degrees Centigrade.

of weight. But the unit most convenient for us, just now, is what I may call the Pound-Centigrade unit; that is, the quantity of heat that is necessary to raise a pound weight of water through one degree of the Centigrade scale.

In the experiment of Dr. Black, which I have just described, it is evident that the pound weight of water received four such units in half an hour; because it was raised from 0° C. to 4° C., that is, through four degrees of the Centigrade scale. Now, Dr. Black reasonably assumed that the ice received the same quantity of heat, in each half hour, as the water received, because it was placed in exactly the same condition with regard to the surrounding air; that is to say, it received four units every half hour, or eight units in the hour, eighty units in ten hours, and eighty-four units in ten hours and a half. Thus he discovered that it took eighty-four units of heat to change a pound weight of ice at 0° C. into water at 4° C. Of this immense quantity of heat only four units are accounted for by the thermometer. Eighty units have disappeared, and are represented simply by the fact that the ice has been melted.

This result was subsequently confirmed by another method of experiment, also due to Dr. Black, and not less ingenious than the former. It is called the method of mixtures. If I take a pound weight of water at 100° C., that is of boiling water, and mix it with a pound weight of water at 0° C., I get two pounds weight of water at about 50° C. This is what we should naturally expect. The pound of boiling water, in falling from 100° C. to 50° C., gives up fifty units of heat; and the pound of ice-cold water, receiving these fifty units of heat, is raised from 0° C. to 50° C. But if I pour a pound of water at 100° C. upon a pound of broken ice at 0° C., and stir them up together until the ice is all melted, the thermometer will show the temperature of the mixture to be somewhere about 10° C. Let us try and interpret the meaning of this fact. The pound weight of boiling water, in falling from 100° C. to 10° C., gives up ninety units of heat; and the pound weight of ice, receiving these ninety units, is melted, and raised from 0° C. to 10° C. Thus it appears that of the ninety units given up by the hot water only ten units are accounted for by the thermometer, and eighty units are missing.

The heat that disappears in this way when ice is melted was called by Dr. Black Latent Heat, and the name is still pre-

served. But his researches did not end here. Having satisfied himself that eighty units of heat disappear whenever a pound weight of ice is converted into water, he asked the further question, what would happen if the water were converted back again into ice. Would the missing heat re-appear? He tried the experiment, and he found that the missing heat did re-appear. Whenever a pound weight of water at 0° C. is converted into ice, eighty units of heat are developed, and generally given up to the surrounding bodies.

Here, then, are two fundamental facts that call for explanation. When a pound weight of ice at 0° C. is converted into water at the same temperature, eighty units of heat are absorbed; and when a pound weight of water at 0° C. is converted into ice at the same temperature, eighty units of heat are developed. We cannot forbear asking, where does the heat go to that disappears when the ice is melted, and where does the heat come from that appears again when the water is frozen. Let us take our two theories of heat, and see what answer they can give to these questions.

According to the old theory the heat that is poured into the melting ice is a kind of matter, a subtle and elastic fluid; and the advocates of the theory used to suppose that water has a great capacity for holding this fluid. Between the molecules of the water, they said, there are minute spaces, into which the heat finds its way, and there lies hidden as long as the water remains in the liquid state. In this condition the heat produces no sensible effect on a thermometer. But no sooner does the water begin to pass back into the solid form of ice than this heat is forced to come out from its lurking place, and to make itself sensible once again. This was the doctrine of Latent Heat that prevailed from the time of Dr. Black down to nearly the close of the last century.

But, according to the modern theory, when we add heat to a mass of melting ice, we do not pour into it a certain quantity of matter, but we impart to it a certain amount of energy. The effect of this energy is to pull asunder the molecules of the ice against the action of those molecular forces that tend to keep them locked together in the solid form. In overcoming these forces the energy of heat expends itself, and ceases to exist as heat.

Let me try to bring home this conception clearly to your minds. You see these two blocks of lead suspended by

separate strings from the same point of the iron ring of a retort stand. Under the influence of gravity each tends to place itself vertically below the point of suspension, and thus they cling together with a certain small force. If I wish to pull them asunder I must overcome the force that is pulling them together, and in doing so I expend a certain definite amount of muscular energy. Now something of this kind must occur when ice is melted. There are certain molecular forces, the nature of which we do not exactly understand, but the existence of which is certain, that tend to keep the molecules of the ice in that mutual relation in which they constitute a solid body. To melt the ice it is necessary to overcome these molecular forces; heat is the agent by which this is done, and in doing it, heat expends a portion of its energy, just as I expend muscular energy in pulling asunder these two blocks of lead. In the one case millions upon millions of molecules are pulled asunder through indefinitely small spaces, in the other, two massive bodies are pulled asunder through a sensible distance; but in both cases a resisting force is overcome, and energy is expended in overcoming it.

Thus, according to the old theory, the heat that is poured into melting ice only hides itself in the interstices of the mass; while, according to the modern theory, it entirely expends itself in melting the ice, and ceases to exist as heat. But, you will ask, if the heat thus ceases to exist, how is it that the water gives up that heat again when it is converted back into ice? To answer this question I must take you back to a former illustration. You remember how the blow of a smith's hammer generates heat in an iron bar. The motion of the hammer, as a mass, is converted into a swinging motion of the molecules of the bar, and this swinging motion of the molecules is the objective physical fact that constitutes what we call the heat of the bar. Now transfer this conception to the two blocks of lead suspended from the ring of our retort stand. When I pull them asunder, against the force of gravity, I expend a certain definite amount of energy. If I let them go, they fall together again, and, in falling, acquire an energy of motion exactly equal in amount to the energy that I had expended in pulling them asunder. But, at the moment of collision, this energy of motion ceases, and, like the energy of motion in the falling hammer, it is converted into the energy of heat. Now what takes place between these two masses, as they fall together, may be supposed to

take place between the molecules of water, when they fall together into the solid state. In every minute drop of water there are millions of little molecules, held asunder in opposition to certain forces which tend to bring them together into the form of solid crystals. When the water begins to pass back to the solid state, the molecules begin to clash together under the action of these secret forces; and in the collision heat is produced just as surely as when the smith's hammer strikes the iron bar. And thus heat is generated, by the clash of molecules, as crystal after crystal is built up, until, when the whole pound of water is converted back into ice, the eighty units of heat that were first expended in the process by which the ice was melted, have been again developed in the process by which the water is frozen.

The phenomenon of Latent Heat is not confined to water; it is exhibited by other liquids as well, under similar conditions. Whenever a solid is converted into a liquid, heat disappears in the process; and whenever a liquid is converted into a solid, heat is developed in the process. The particular amount of heat required to melt a pound weight of any solid, already existing at its melting temperature, is called the Latent Heat of that liquid; because in the old theory, as I told you, it was supposed to lie hidden between the molecules of the liquid. It is remarkable how widely different is the Latent Heat of different liquids. We have seen that it takes about eighty units of heat to melt a pound weight of ice without raising its temperature; and hence the Latent Heat of water may be roughly set down at eighty. The most exact researches of recent times fix it at seventy-nine and a quarter. There is no other substance that requires so much heat, simply to melt it, as ice does. Thus, for example, if nitrate of soda has been already heated to its melting point, only sixty-three units of heat are required to melt a pound weight of it; nitrate of potash requires only forty-seven units; silver, twenty-one; lead, five and a half; and mercury, less than three.

A solid may be changed into a liquid not only by melting it, but also by dissolving it; as salt, for instance, is dissolved in water, or as sugar is dissolved in tea. Since the particles of the solid body must be torn asunder against resisting forces, in the one case as in the other, we should naturally expect that heat must be expended when a solid

is dissolved no less than when a solid is melted. That this is so, in fact, may be readily shown by experiment. Before you is a large beaker, half full of water, which is now about the temperature of the air in this hall; the thermometer shows it to be 12° C. And here, in this paper, is about half a pound of sal ammoniac, at the same temperature. I now plunge the bulb of a large air thermometer into the water in the beaker, and fix it in its position by the arm of this retort stand. The long stem of the air thermometer is provided behind with a slip of white cardboard, so that every one can see the coloured liquid in the stem. This coloured liquid will quickly reveal to you any change of temperature that may take place in the contents of the beaker. An increase of temperature makes the coloured liquid rise in the stem; a falling off in the temperature makes the coloured liquid fall. Now observe the effect of produced, when I pour in the sal ammoniac, and stir it in the water. The sal ammoniac begins to dissolve, and the coloured liquid falls rapidly in the stem of the air thermometer. We were prepared for this result, and we are able to account for it. Heat must be expended to dissolve the solid body; and, as that heat is not furnished from without, it comes from the mixture itself, which is quickly chilled in consequence. With an ordinary mercurial thermometer I now try the temperature of the solution, and I find it has fallen to -4° C., or four degrees Centigrade below freezing point.

This is the principle on which freezing mixtures are made. Two or more substances are mixed together, one of which, at least, is a solid, and is dissolved in the mixture. The heat that must be expended in dissolving the solid comes, in great part, from the mixture itself; and by the loss of this heat the mixture may be reduced to a temperature many degrees below freezing point. Here are two papers: one contains 600 grammes weight of sulphate of soda, a solid; the other, 500 grammes weight of nitrate of ammonia, a solid: and in this glass jar is contained dilute nitric acid, weighing 400 grammes. All these substances are now at the temperature of this hall, 12° C. I mix them together in the glass jar; the two solids are rapidly dissolved in the nitric acid; and in a few moments, on inserting a thermometer, I find that the temperature has fallen to -18° C., that is, 18 degrees Centigrade below freezing point.

If one of the substances, employed in the freezing

mixture, is already at freezing point, the cold produced may become still more intense. One of the best freezing mixtures known is composed of snow and common salt, in the proportion of two parts, by weight, of snow to one of salt. In this case both the substances employed are solid, both are dissolved in the mixture, and one of them already exists at freezing temperature. In default of snow, pounded ice may be used as a substitute. While I have been speaking my assistant has mixed two pounds weight of broken ice with one pound of salt, and stirred them up together in this large glass beaker. I now introduce the thermometer into the mixture, and it falls at once to twenty-six degrees Centigrade below freezing point; and the thick fur of hoar frost, which will appear, in a few minutes, on the outside of the glass beaker, will be a sufficient evidence to all present that a very intense cold has been produced within.

These freezing mixtures furnish a striking proof that heat is expended when a solid is converted into a liquid. I will now give you one or two illustrations of the converse fact, that heat is developed when a liquid is changed into a solid. Here is a little apparatus in which the bulb and part of the stem of an ordinary thermometer are surrounded by a small glass vessel, half filled with water. The glass vessel has been exhausted of its air, and hermetically sealed. Water, under these conditions, if kept in perfect repose, may be reduced to a temperature several degrees below freezing point, and still continue to exist in the liquid state. The molecules seem to be under some constraint, which prevents them from obeying the molecular forces that act upon them, and building up the solid crystals of ice. But a very slight disturbance is sufficient to release them from this constraint; the building up of the ice crystals then sets in with astonishing rapidity; and, in a moment or two, the whole mass of liquid passes into the solid state. This fact is striking enough; but it will probably appear to you even more wonderful that, at the moment the water is converted into ice, it becomes sensibly warmer than it was before. The apparatus has been for some time standing in one of our freezing mixtures; and I find the Centigrade thermometer marks eight degrees below freezing point, the water still remaining liquid. I now shake the vessel; in an instant the water has become a solid block of ice, and the thermometer rises rapidly from -8° C. to 0° C.

This experiment, though a very beautiful and interesting one, is unfortunately, from the nature of the case, not quite satisfactory to a large audience like the present. Only one person can see the actual rise of the thermometer at the moment the ice is formed; and, therefore, this fact, which is of cardinal importance, you are obliged to accept on the

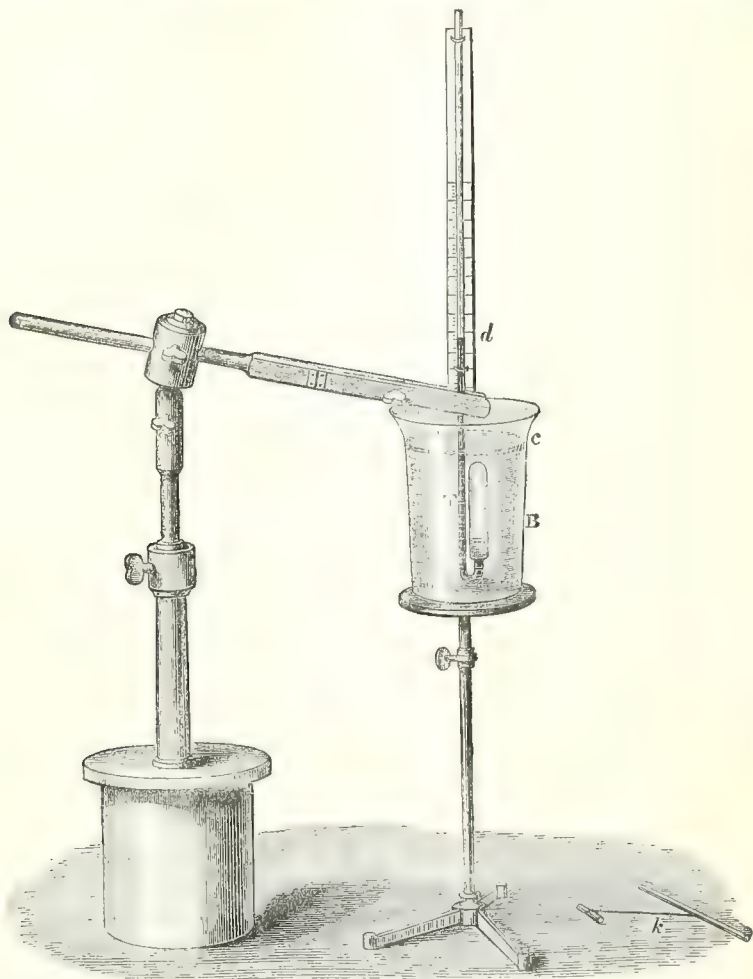


FIG. 3.—HEAT PRODUCED BY THE SOLIDIFICATION OF A LIQUID.

B Beaker holding Supersaturated Solution of Sulphate of Soda; before Solidification.

T Air Thermometer.

c Film of Oil on Surface of Solution.

d Height of Coloured Liquid in Stem of Thermometer, before Solidification.

k Copper Wire with Crystal of Sulphate of Soda attached.

authority of my statement. But I will now show you an experiment, in which the evidence that heat is produced when a liquid is solidified, will be apparent to every one present in this hall. This glass beaker before you is filled,

nearly to the top, with a clear transparent liquid; and resting in the liquid is an air thermometer, the stem of which, furnished behind with a slip of white cardboard, rises about twenty inches above the top of the beaker. Against the white background you can easily see a column of coloured liquid within the stem, which stands at present six or eight inches high. Every change of temperature in the contents of the beaker produces a movement in that column of coloured liquid: if you see the column rise in the stem, it is a proof that the contents of the beaker have got warmer; if you see the column fall, it is a proof that the contents of the beaker have got colder.

Now, the clear transparent liquid, contained in the beaker, has been obtained by dissolving a solid body, commonly called sulphate of soda, in water. It is found that hot water can dissolve a great deal more of this solid than cold water can. But if the solid be first dissolved in hot water, until the water can dissolve no more of it, and the solution be then allowed slowly to cool, being carefully protected, in the meantime, from dust and disturbance, it will still remain liquid, when cold. The solution before you has been prepared in this way. It was made, yesterday evening, at a temperature of about 40° C.; it was placed on this stand where you now see it; the thermometer was fixed in its place; and the surface of the solution was covered over with a layer of oil, to shut out the impurities of the atmosphere.

At the present moment, the solution would seem to be in a condition analogous to that of the water which we saw, a few minutes ago, in the liquid state, at a temperature eight degrees below freezing point. The molecules of sulphate of soda are eagerly solicited by certain hidden forces to come together into the form of solid crystals. But they seem to be under some constraint, which makes it difficult for the process to begin. I can relieve them from this constraint by dropping into the liquid a small crystal of the same substance, which you see attached to this copper wire. The copper wire hangs down from the middle of a cross-piece, so that, when I drop in the crystal, the cross-piece rests on the upper edge of the beaker, and keeps the crystal suspended in the middle of the liquid mass. And now the building process has set in; the molecules of sulphate of soda are rushing together in myriads; and you can see the solid crystalline mass growing outwards, in all directions, with a

rapidity that is certainly most wonderful. In the meantime, the coloured liquid is rising in the stem of the air thermometer, and, by its silent testimony, reveals to us that

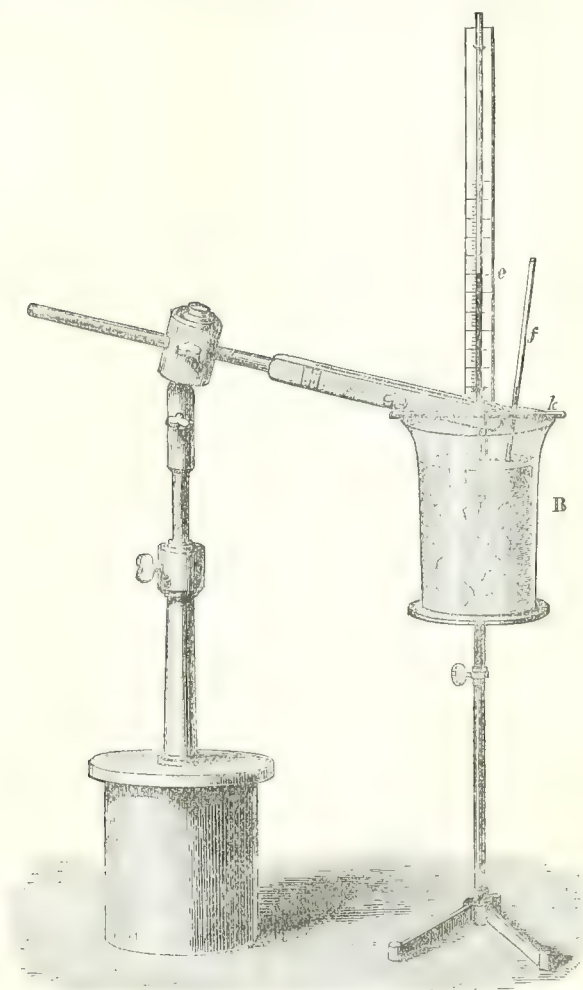


FIG. 4.—HEAT PRODUCED BY THE SOLIDIFICATION OF A LIQUID.

B The same Beaker as in Fig. 3; appearance after Solidification.

k Copper Wire holding suspended a Crystal of Sulphate of Soda.

e Height of Coloured Liquid in Stem of Air Thermometer, after Solidification.

f Mercurial Thermometer.

heat is generated as the sulphate of soda passes from the liquid to the solid state. The whole experiment has lasted not quite half a minute. In that time, our clear transparent solution has become almost a solid mass; the coloured liquid has risen about four inches in the stem of the air thermometer; and a mercurial thermometer indicates

that the contents of the beaker have been raised from 12°C. to 20°C.

My last illustration of Latent Heat will be taken from those great natural phenomena that every one can observe and study for himself. For it always seems to me a pleasant and a profitable practice, when we have been searching out, to some extent, the laws that govern the material world, with the aid of such apparatus as human ingenuity has devised, to lift up our eyes, for a time, from the petty operations of the laboratory and the lecture hall, and turn them abroad on the face of Nature, where these same laws are presented to our view, on a scale of colossal magnitude. Everyone must have observed how long it takes, when a frost sets in, before a thick sheet of ice is formed on the surface of a lake. When the first crystal of ice appears, the surface has already been reduced to freezing point; and yet days often pass by, even during an unbroken frost, before the ice is one inch thick. You will see, at once, that if this was only a question of temperature, the transition of a mass of water, at freezing point, to ice, would be almost instantaneous. But we have learned to-day that, for each pound of ice-cold water that passes into ice, eighty units of heat are given up, and must be carried off by the atmosphere; and this is plainly the reason why the process of freezing goes on so slowly. The quantity of heat, in fact, that must be taken away from water, at freezing point, in order to convert it into ice, would be sufficient, if it were added instead of being taken away, to raise the mass of water to within twenty degrees Centigrade of boiling point. Let me put this into figures for you. The lake at the Zoological Gardens is, I believe, about six acres in extent. Taking this estimate, and supposing the whole surface, to a depth of one inch, to have been already reduced to freezing point, you will find, from the data I have put before you to-day, that before it can be converted into ice, that layer of water must give up as much heat as would be sufficient to boil somewhat more than 300 tons weight of ice-cold water.

Again, after a severe winter, great patches of snow may sometimes be seen, for a long time, hanging on the mountain slopes, holding their ground with wonderful pertinacity, as it would seem, against the increasing warmth of the spring. And many of you, no doubt, have seen how the great snow-fields of the Alps are able to bid defiance, the whole summer through, to the consuming heat of a

southern sun. The reason of all this is now made clear to us. For every pound weight of snow that is melted, eighty units of heat, at least, must be poured into the mass. Whether the balance, in the end, will be in favour of the snow-field or in favour of the sun, is simply a question of calculation. The quantity of snow that falls in the winter may be measured in pounds weight. The quantity of heat that is imparted to that snow may be measured in those Pound-Centigrade units that I have described to you. And if there be not, at least, eighty such units of heat, for every pound weight of snow that has fallen, then a balance of last season's snow will be carried over to the coming winter.

From these considerations it is evident that the Latent Heat of water has a very important influence in the economy of nature. It prevents those sudden changes which would be always inconvenient and often destructive. If it were not for the Latent Heat of water, on the first approach of winter, when the temperature falls below freezing point, the rivers would be, at once, converted into massive blocks of ice, and would cease to flow in their channels. And when, with the changing seasons, the returning summer would breathe again on the slopes and summits of the higher mountains, the snow fields would be melted in a day, and sweeping down with impetuous force, would flood the plains, and carry destruction in their course. But, through the influence of Latent Heat, the rivers are slowly frozen when winter comes, and the ice and snow are slowly melted, when winter passes away; thus affording evidence of the beneficent design that everywhere pervades the order of Nature, and guides all things for the use and convenience of man.

In conclusion, I beg to say, that I have brought before you to-day but one half of my subject. I have dealt with the doctrine of Latent Heat in relation to liquids only. In my next lecture I propose to consider it in relation to vapours; a branch of the subject not less interesting than that which we have investigated to-day, and one which affords, perhaps, a larger scope for experimental illustration.

ST. PAUL AND SENECA—No. IV.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING ON THE WRITINGS OF SENECA.

THE question of the positive influence of Christian teaching upon the acknowledged writings of Seneca, which we now proceed to discuss, opens out the far larger question of the influence of revealed truth upon the secular philosophies that have prevailed amongst men. It is a question that has always awakened the deepest interest amongst Christian thinkers, and that has been treated with an ability and a learning that supply ample materials for its solution. Whether these materials, even in the case of men who had them most abundantly at command, have been so employed as to furnish a satisfactory solution is, unfortunately, quite a different matter.

We shall therefore endeavour, in the first place, to clear the controversy of irrelevant discussion, by laying down certain things that are generally admitted on all sides of the question. To anyone who has an acquaintance on the one hand with the books of Christian revelation, both of the Old and the New Testament, and, on the other, an acquaintance with the secular literature and philosophy of the world, it will be at once obvious that several striking coincidences present themselves between the two, that challenge human inquiry, and that strangely stimulate the eagerness of the human mind in its endeavour to account for them. In attempting to account for them, the first consideration that presents itself is that the revealed Word of God, at least in a large portion of its contents, claims, and sustains its claim, to be contained in the oldest books that the world has preserved. Such being the case, the most obvious and simple explanation of the coincidences between revealed truth and secular philosophy would be, that the writers of the latter borrowed from the former; and that, consequently, as all known secular philosophy, so far as it is contained in books, is posterior at all events to the books of Moses, it might, with some degree of fairness, be assumed that wherever coincidences occur they are owing to the fact that secular writers borrowed directly from the Inspired Books. As a matter of fact, this is the simple solution that has occurred to a great many learned writers in dealing with this matter. It was, as we before intimated, the solu-

tion adopted by Clement of Alexandria,¹ and in which he has been followed by many of the early fathers. In later times a similar solution has been adopted, and we may see the matter fully treated from this point of view by Natalis Alexander. That eminent historian, following, as he is proud to acknowledge, the footsteps of Voss, Bochart, and, above all, of the learned Huet, has undertaken to sustain the following proposition—"The ancient philosophers, poets, and historians of profane nations drew the chief part of their teaching from the books of Moses, and other books of the Sacred Scripture."

We think it best to treat this question under the form which has been given to it by Natalis Alexander; because it brings the whole subject before us with the clearness and conciseness which scholastic methods were so eminently calculated to secure. The coincidences on which Natalis Alexander dwells are (1) historical; (2) coincidences in rites, manners, and laws; (3) in sentiments and doctrines. And we say at once that by the quotations adduced the *fact* of coincidence is fully established. But, reading over the several passages, it occurs to us to remark that with regard (1) to historical coincidences between inspired writers and pagan historians, the case is exactly such as might have fallen out quite naturally. Secular history has its origin in the traditions of the people amongst whom it is written. These traditions, largely, no doubt, adulterated by mythical additions, reach back to the past events in which they originated, and any rational account of them will be exceedingly likely to be coincident with the real facts of the matter. Hence we would be prepared to find that, in many points, any secular history of past events will coincide with the true version of those events as contained in the Inspired Writings.

With regard (2) to coincidences in rites, manners, and laws, we must remember that the rites, manners, and laws of the Jews were not imposed upon them at random, or by

¹ In previous papers, inadvertently following a very common usage, we gave to Clement the title of "Saint." Now, there is no doubt his name appears in early martyrologies, under the date of Dec. 4th, but in the Roman Martyrology, published by Clement VIII., after the corrections of Baronius, the name was purposely left out. This omission gave rise to some remonstrance, and Benedict XIV., in a letter to John V. of Portugal, 1748, defends the omission on the grounds that several points in the teaching of Clement of Alexandria are open, to say the least, to a suspicion of error. Hence, it will be seen that for Catholic writers the only proper way is to call him simply Clement of Alexandria.

caprice, but were such as were specially suited to their peculiar circumstances. Amongst these circumstances must be reckoned the social state of that people, as it sprang from purely natural conditions which God in His revelation never ignores, and hence we will be prepared to find that the rites, laws, and manners of the people of God, have, in their natural groundwork, a considerable affinity with those of peoples under the same natural conditions of time, climate, and culture. Finally, as regards (3) coincidences in sentiment and doctrine, such coincidences will prove very little unless the origin of such coincidences be clearly stated and clearly proved, and this proof and statement we shall have expressly to examine at a later stage of the discussion.

Reading over the proof of the proposition we have quoted, we find this strange phenomenon, that it is so perfectly taken for granted that, where such coincidences existed, they could not possibly have been either accidental, or the result of the independent action of the human mind in its natural condition, or indeed accounted for in any other way than by the supposition that they were the direct results of conscious borrowing; that the whole burden of the proof is made to rest on the possibility and the probability of such supposed borrowing. There is only one instance of anything like direct proof—and it is very meagre—that pagan writers actually borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures. Josephus quotes Hermippus to the effect that “Pythagoras is said to have transferred into his philosophy many of the laws of the Jews;” and this testimony, in itself mere hearsay, and resting on the authority of a writer who might well be supposed anxious to strain a point where the glory of the Jews was concerned, is the only direct testimony offered that pagan writers actually copied from the inspired books. It is, as we have said, considered sufficient to point out how possible it was, and how probable, that Gentile nations had availed themselves of opportunities of studying the sacred books of the Jews. Now, for such possibility, and, in many cases, for such probability, there is, indeed, a case made out which an opponent would find very difficult to answer. The various points of contact that occurred between the Jewish people and the surrounding nations, the various circumstances of these communications, the probability even of the existence of a Greek version of some of the sacred writings anterior to the Septuagint, and, above all, the possible and probable influence of the Septuagint itself, all are set forth with an

amount of ability, acuteness, and learning, that leaves nothing to be desired. If only it were once either conceded or proved, that the coincidences could not have arisen otherwise than by borrowing, there would be no doubt whatever that the proposition was fairly established.

But, as to this point, no satisfactory proof is even attempted, and without proof, one is startled by the largeness of the concession demanded. We are tempted then to ask, *is* there no other way of accounting for these coincidences, in fact is there *not* another way that will supply a solution that harmonizes far better with Christian teaching in its fundamental elements, and that in fact will be more consistent with the general teaching even of those very fathers who most vigorously uphold the proposition we have been considering?

An answer of this kind has been attempted, so far as the substance of it is concerned, by men who, so far from desiring that such an answer would harmonize with Christian teaching, fondly, but vainly, imagine that it will discredit that teaching, by destroying or diminishing the idea of its necessity for the uses of men and the service of the world. They seize on these coincidences as a proof that the human mind, at least under certain favourable conditions, is quite capable, without any assistance from revelation, of discovering for itself, and even of systematising, those several truths that are necessary for human progress. Their extreme conclusion is, that all religion is simply natural, and that even Christianity, so far as it has aided human progress, is a natural development of human reason, which has been assisted in that development, by appropriating to itself (with a skill, we may remark in passing, that has no parallel in any other human transaction) those very truths that have been, at all times, and in every place, found scattered among the peoples of the world; and the appropriation of which into the Christian system, is the cause of those apparent coincidences, which Christian writers have been so exercised to explain.

Now there is one brief and obvious answer to any such theory. Whatever be the degree of coincidence between Christian teaching and pagan philosophy, or whatever be the cause of that coincidence, has it ever, as a matter of fact, been found that human reason, at any time, in any place, or under any circumstances, has developed into Christianity in any other way than by the express teaching and preaching of Christian doctrine? We may, and must, therefore, conclude

that Christianity has made for itself a distinctive place in the world as a teacher of men, and that no amount of coincidence in certain points between it and other philosophies can depose it from that august place or relegate it to the class of mere natural development.

There is another matter on which we wish to make a remark, and we think this the most convenient place to make it. The question with which we are concerned has regard to the direct and positive influence of revealed truth on secular thinking, and must be answered precisely in that relation. But we must remember that no answer that is possible in the matter could hope to deal with the question under another aspect which must never be forgotten. That aspect is the indirect, indemonstrable, but nevertheless very real influence which, from the nature of the case, God's revealed word cast into the fruitful bosom of humanity, must always have exercised first upon the people who had the privilege of possessing it, next, through them, on the peoples with whom they were brought into contact, and lastly, on the world at large, even at long distances, which it must have reached by means of that atmosphere which all works of human genius, and above all, works, which to human genius superadd Divine inspiration form around themselves, and which is diffused to an extent that is simply immeasurable by any human effort, and refuses to become amenable to any human analysis.

We shall better understand this if we take a purely literary instance. Shakspeare, for example, has made for himself a place not only in English literature, but also in English history and English thinking, and, through the medium of these, has entered into the kindred developments of European culture. This place can, to some extent, be estimated by those who are skilled in literary matters. The direct influence of Shakspeare may be traced in the style and manner of thinking of this or that great writer, who, in his turn, has had his own sphere of influence. But when all this is done there remains an unquestionable amount of influence which no man can measure, that has penetrated even to men who never heard the name of Shakspeare. In fact the best explanation one can give in the matter is that contained in the figure we have been using, that around Shakspeare and his work has grown an atmosphere that penetrates into all likely and unlikely places, so that, even in the case of a man of whom it could be proved that he had never read a word of the great

dramatist, or even heard his name, it would be by no means a safe conclusion that he had not been affected, and perhaps largely affected, by the influence of what we may call the Shakspearean atmosphere.

This consideration applies to every writer of genius from Homer down, and we think it applies with tenfold and a hundredfold force to the inspired writers. We believe they had quite an incalculable influence, that the atmosphere which emanated from them penetrated far and wide to the most unlikely places, and in the most inscrutable ways. We believe that it would be absurd to suppose that the Sacred Writings of the Jews had no appreciable influence on the peoples with whom, at various times of their eventful history, they were brought into contact. We deem it highly probable that some portion of the Sacred Books was translated into Greek before the production of the Septuagint version; and, over that version itself, we would fain believe that a special Providence presided in behalf of the Gentile nations amongst whom its influence was widely diffused and largely felt; but we say all this without, in the slightest degree, thinking it necessary to explain every coincidence that occurs between a pagan author and an inspired writer, by immediately tracing in that coincidence a certain indication of the direct and positive and traceable influence of the Sacred Writings.

This then leads us back to the point from which we digressed, and it will be seen at once that the position we take in the matter holds a middle place between the extreme opinions we have expounded.

We say (1) that as all men were originally created for a supernatural end, so all men and all nations receive and have always received absolutely sufficient means for its attainment; and that one great means was a primitive revelation made to the fathers of the human race of those things that were necessary to guide them to that end. (2) That primitive revelation was transmitted more or less perfectly to future generations, and, aided by that transmission, human reason was at all times able to discover and to preserve certain important truths; and, under such circumstances, the human conscience, aided externally by the "*disciplina sapientum*," had absolutely sufficient means to arrive at a knowledge of necessary moral truth and of the truths of natural religion. (3) We say that human reason so aided is capable of discovering moral truths of a high order—and of course in specially gifted instances

that capability is largely increased—but morally incapable, without the aid of positive revelation, of co-ordinating these truths into a body of doctrine that would serve as a safe and permanent guide in matters of morality and natural religion even to the gifted few; still more incapable of diffusing any such system among large bodies of ordinary men; and most of all incapable of forming such a religious and moral system as would preserve human society from even gross errors for any great length of time. (4) We hold that at all times grace has been, and is, given to men, and means of salvation afforded; corresponding with the first motions of which grace, men are led from light to larger light, from virtue to higher virtue.

The selection by God of a special people by no means changed, in these respects, the condition of human things. That selection is to be regarded, not by any means as an exclusion of the Gentile world from the mercy of God, or from a share in the promises for the future; but rather as a means of preparing in the bosom of humanity a home for our Divine Saviour, and of preserving for the Jewish people the revelation of God—for this, in the first place; but, secondly, and not less principally, that the whole Gentile world might, through that Jewish people, share in the benefits of revelation, and inherit the fruits of Redemption. It is very remarkable that, at the very time that God called Abraham apart to be the father of a special and an exclusive people, He distinctly declared that the blessing that was to come through his agency, should reach to all the nations of the earth. It is remarkable that the special type of the great Christian sacrifice was taken from the sacrifice offered, not by Abraham, nor by any son of Abraham, but by Melchisedech, a Gentile of the Gentiles. It is remarkable that the Jews, to whom exclusiveness was first a duty, and then a boast and a badge, should have found in their Canonical Scriptures a book in which the spiritual fortunes of a Gentile prince of Idumea were narrated with a sublimity that no human composition has ever reached.

Believing, then, that the hand of God was never lifted off even of the Gentile nations; that they had preserved more or less obscurely some vestiges of primitive revelation; that God, the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil, has always been revealed to the human conscience; that the great moral law that issues from the nature of that great God is discoverable in its primary principles, and in its proximate deductions from those principles, by human

reason; that that reason is still further aided at every time and in every place by the "discipline of the wise;" that nothing is in itself more likely, and, in some cases (as in the case of Job), more demonstrable, than that God had amongst Gentile nations his special servants:—so far from being surprised at finding in some pagan author some moral and religious truths, which are found in their full perfection in the Revealed Word, we would be greatly surprised, and greatly disappointed, if such were not the case; and we would consider the absence of such coincidences a far graver difficulty against the divine origin of Christianity than any possible difficulty that can arise from their existence. We are prepared to expect them, we welcome their appearance, and we identify the human nature from which they spring as that nature which God created "naturally Christian."

There would be only one case in which we would question the natural right of any such truth to a place in secular philosophy, and that case would arise, if we met in such philosophy some dogma of religion which it would plainly exceed the unaided powers of human reason to discover. Now we do not think that in any pagan author there is to be found any truth that will perfectly answer to that description; and, as bearing specially on our present subject, truths that would in any degree sustain the application of such a test would be found far more readily in Plato or in Cicero than in the writings of Seneca, who, even in those passages that come nearest to deserve the name of Christian, does nothing more, in any instance we have fallen in with, than repeat the teaching he had received from his predecessors in the schools of pagan philosophy.

These truths, that may be found in abundance in the pages of classical authors, are principally moral, and we may remark, once for all, that it would be difficult to say of any separate moral truth, even the most sublime, that it is utterly beyond the discovery of human reason unassisted by revelation, or, at all events, unassisted by any other revelation than that primitive one which all once received, and of which all, to some extent at least, have preserved some fragments. The precepts of the Decalogue of Moses are a solemn enactment of the law of nature. However difficult it might be with regard to some of them to trace them in their fulness to the dictate of reason, not one of them seems utterly beyond the scope of that dictate. Their enactment into a system would present a greater

difficulty, but one that would be far from insuperable. Even the Sermon on the Mount, which carries Christian morality to its highest point of sublimity, is nothing more than a fulfilling and carrying out to its reasonable conclusions of "what was said to them of old." Our Lord neither added anything to, nor took away anything from, the precepts of the Decalogue. He gave a fuller explanation, let in a larger light, drew out from them those conclusions that human blindness had overlooked and human passion ignored, but that, from the very first, were really and naturally contained in them. St. Augustine (in "*Liber contra Faustum*," cap. 26) says that, in the Sermon on the Mount, "when our Lord used the words '*ego autem dico vobis*,' He did not intend either to add to, or to destroy, the Law of Moses, but rather, all that He quotes from the Hebrew Law, He commends in such a way that, whatever over and above He speaks in His own person, belongs either to necessary explanation of any obscurity that might be in that law, or to the better preservation of its precepts." And St. Augustine concludes—"Therefore all, or nearly all, that Christ commanded or recommended in the words, '*But I say to you*,' is found in the books themselves of the Old Law."

Though we should be surprised to such a degree, as to be able to give no satisfactory answer, if we found in any pagan author, whose connection with revealed religion could be proved to be impossible, a system of morality as pure and as perfectly drawn out as the Sermon on the Mount, we should be, by no means equally, if at all, surprised to meet one or other of its beautiful moral precepts even in an author who could not be proved ever to have read a word of the Sacred Writings.

Summing up then, and returning to the question with which we started, we believe that while Natalis Alexander proves the possibility, and, in many cases, the probability of the direct influence of revelation on the pagan authors with whom he deals, and admitting, moreover, a certain immense but indirect and indemonstrable influence of revealed truth on secular philosophy, we do not think that he is warranted in assuming, what he certainly seems to assume without any adequate proof, that given a coincidence between a revealed truth and a passage in a pagan author, there is no other probable way of accounting for it than by supposing that it was transferred directly from the pages of revelation. In any particular case it

may possibly have been so, but in the cases alleged it is not proved to have been so, and, indeed, the matter is of such a nature that proof is impossible. In the absence of such proof we hold that by far the most philosophic, and in many respects the most satisfactory way of accounting for such coincidences, is to attribute them to the working of human reason, aided by the surviving elements of primitive revelation, and by the Providence which never left a people outside the sphere of its beneficence.

We think that this is not only true in itself, but also, and indeed, because it is true, the best answer to those (and in those latter days they are particularly numerous), who, using to evil purpose the earnestness of research and the facilities of travel that are characteristic of our age, bring together, from different quarters, facts regarding the social and moral condition of all kinds of societies, and snatch at those hints of the habits of more or less primitive people who have never been brought, to any great degree, under the influence either of civilization or Christianity; as if their likeness, in several points, either to each other or to Christianity were an argument against the latter. So far from being an argument it is an additional proof that Christianity rightly understood is as old as the world, that it "keeps the keys of all the creeds" that have prevailed amongst men, and that any one who endeavours by the mere aid of secular history and secular philosophy to deal with the primitive elements of human thought as found in societies whether civilized or barbarous, and who, ignoring Christianity, builds up a theory that would try to dispossess it, is employed mainly in that futile process which a distinguished writer has graphically described as "chewing the cud of erudite mistake."

Cardinal Newman, in his *Essay on Milman* (Historical Essays, vol. 2), treats of matters kindred to those of which we have been speaking with the clearness and the suggestiveness that characterise every thing he has written. Combating Milman's "External Theory" "which," he says, "seems to us to result or to manifest itself in the following canon:—that nothing belongs to the Gospel but what originated in it, and that whatever, professing to belong to it, is found in anterior or collateral systems, may be put away out of it as a foreign element"—goes on in a most eloquent passage:—"There is another far more Catholic philosophy upon which the facts of the case, as Mr. Milman states them, may be solved. Now the phenomenon admitted

on all hands is this—that a great portion of what is generally received as Christian truth is, in its rudiments or in its separate parts, to be found in heathen philosophies and religions. . . . Such is the general nature of the fact before us. Mr. Milman argues from it, ‘these things are in heathenism, therefore they are not Christian:’ we, on the contrary, prefer to say, ‘these things are in Christianity, therefore they are not heathen.’ That is, we prefer to say, and we think that Scripture bears us out in saying, that from the beginning, the moral governor of the universe has scattered the seeds of truth far and wide over its extent; that these have variously taken root, and grown up as in the wilderness, wild plants indeed but living; and hence, that, as the inferior animals have tokens of an immaterial principle in them, yet have not souls, so the philosophies and religions of men have their life in certain true ideas, though they are not directly divine.”

Having thus at such length dwelt upon the general question that underlies the subject of this, the concluding paper of our study on Seneca, we now proceed to deal with the question as it concerns that philosopher in particular. We shall be brief, both because this paper threatens to exceed reasonable limits, and because the general observations that have gone before contain nearly all that need be said upon particular questions.

From all that we have been saying it will be obvious that, when we come to examine whether we can trace in the writings of Seneca the direct influence of revealed truth, any satisfactory proof that such was the case must fulfil at least two conditions. First, we must find in Seneca some doctrine or doctrines that coincide with Christian teaching; but, secondly, also, we must have good grounds for thinking that this coincidence could not be accounted for in any other way, than by supposing that Seneca either personally communicated in the matter with some Christian teacher, or availed himself of some opportunity of studying the Christian writings.

With regard to the first of these conditions, it is easy enough to find in Seneca, as well as in any other pagan writer on morals, passages that, at all events to friendly ears, have in them a Christian sound. But we remark that the same thing is true, and to a still greater extent, of other earlier pagan writers whom no one has ever suspected of direct relations with Christian teaching; and, as a matter of fact, those of the Fathers who expatiate with

most complacency on the traces of revealed truth that are to be found in pagan authors, take these instances especially from Plato and from Cicero, and pass by Seneca, as if either his writings did not seem to them to give much support to their contention, or, as would seem more probable, as if they thought that whatever in his writings would support their views was merely an echo, and an inheritance from his earlier philosophical predecessors; from whom rather than from their later disciples these Fathers were content to quote.

In making an examination of Seneca we should first of all remember that he belonged mainly, and professed to belong, to the great school of the Stoics. This was, perhaps, all things considered, the noblest school that secular thinking had produced; and there is no doubt that during many centuries it seemed to have a special attraction for heroic souls. Yet we believe it rather attracted inborn heroism than produced it where it was not inborn. We cannot but think that its success was largely due to a fact that, from a Christian point of view, makes that success less admirable, the fact, namely, that Stoicism merely pitted human pride against human passions and human weakness, and taught that if a man were only strong, he might be proud and yet be perfect. We believe that Stoicism is of all philosophies the most alien to Christianity, and that its precepts are very different indeed when merely taken as separate moral aphorisms, and when considered as parts of the system in which they were contained. Stoicism begins in self and ends in nothingness. It proclaims the solidarity of the human race in words that bear a specious likeness to Christian teaching about the Fatherhood of God, and fraternal charity; but on examination, it will be found that such language breathes the deadly pantheistic doctrine by which Stoicism would make God merely the Soul of the universe. Again, if there be anything above another characteristic of Christianity, it is humility; and if there be anything above another characteristic of Stoicism, it is pride—a pride that finds its greatest glory in making man independent of God. Hence, the moral type of Stoicism, even in its best specimens, has always had in it something revolting to the Christian conscience.

Now, we should remember that Seneca was a Stoic, and though, by a refined eclecticism, he incorporated into his philosophy the teaching of other and rival schools,

yet in the leading features of his philosophy he remains a Stoic still. There are, however, certain points in which he diverges from Stoicism, and it is especially in these divergencies that we must look for those features in his teaching that bear any resemblance to Christianity. Yet, we are forced to say that Seneca diverges from Stoicism not so much in those fundamental matters which alone can be said to give its character to a philosophy, as in those details by which individual taste modifies the accepted teaching of a philosophical school.

The foundation of all natural religion and morality is to be found in the idea of God. In this idea Seneca was profoundly identified with Stoicism, which was, as we intimated, fundamentally erroneous in this vital matter. Seneca's notions about the relations of man with God are eminently un-Christian. Man, he says, is God's equal—"Sapiens cum deo ex pari vivit."—(Epist. 59.)—and he says of his typical wise man—"Deo socius non supplex." (Epist. 53.)

If the idea of God be the foundation, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul may be said to be the buttress of natural religion. Human reason, proceeding on *a priori* grounds, would come to that conclusion which history and experience fully establish, that where this great doctrine is either denied or ignored, or surrounded with uncertainty, morality and natural religion are exposed to gross corruptions, and fail to produce on men their natural effects. Now, there is nothing more striking in pagan philosophical literature than the wavering, uncertain, inconsistent manner in which this important subject was habitually treated. Few things are more melancholy than the inconsistencies, for instance, of Cicero, not only with truth, but even with himself, in dealing with such matters as the nature of God and the immortality of the soul. "At one time," says Cardinal Newman (*Hist. Sketches*), "he describes the Deity as the all-pervading soul of the world, the cause of life and motion; at another he is the Intelligent Preserver and Governor of every separate part. At one time the soul of man is in its own nature necessarily eternal, without beginning or end of existence; at another, it is represented as a portion, or as the haunt of the one infinite spirit; at another it is to enter into the assembly of the gods, or to be driven into darkness, according to its moral conduct in this life; at another, it is only in its best and greatest specimens destined for immortality; sometimes that immortality is described as attended with

consciousness and the continuance of earthly friendships; sometimes as but an immortality of fame and glory; more frequently, however, these separate notions are confused together in the same passage." Now, Seneca fully shares the uncertainty and the inconsistency of Cicero. The passage we have quoted might with equal propriety be applied to him; and, in fact, what is of importance in the present matter, there is not a passage of Seneca that has been cited in support of the thesis of his relations with Christianity that will not fully find its parallel in the writings of Cicero and others for whom no special claim has ever been set up, such as has been set up in the case of Seneca, that they were ever directly influenced by Christian teaching.

With regard to Stoicism and the immortality of the soul, Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, denied it. Chrysippus taught that only the good would continue to exist—and even they only to the end of the world. Cleanthes asserted this of all, good and wicked. These teachings, that appear so different, are not, after all, so much opposed to each other as might at first sight appear. The point on which all agreed was, that God was the soul of the world, and that individual human souls were but emanations from the Deity, and were to be re-absorbed at some time or another—what time that might be was only a matter of not very important detail. Now, Seneca sometimes speaks as a Stoic; and nowhere does he speak in a way that could be said to be absolutely irreconcilable with Stoicism. In the "*Consolatio ad Marciam*," (19-4), speaking of death, he says, "*quod vero ipsum nihil est, et omnia in nihilum redigit, nulli nos fortunæ tradit,*" and he concludes, "*nec potest esse miser qui nihil est.*" There is, however, a marked advance in his views, and, we must say, an advance that synchronises with the possibility and probability of his acquaintance with Christianity. (Epist. 63.) "*Et fortasse, si modo sapientum vera fama est, recipitque nos locus aliquis, quem putamus periisse, præmissus est,*" and in Epist. 86, speaking of Scipio, he says, "*Animum ejus in cœlum, ex quo erat, rediisse, persuadeo mihi.*" In Epist. 62 there occurs a beautiful expression which reminds us of the reason why the Church celebrates not the birth day but the death day of her saints—"dies iste (of death) quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis est." But surely it will be evident that these expressions, besides being in sound uncertain, and being couched in language that sug-

gests deep underlying pantheistic errors, are neither more nor less than the teaching which Seneca had inherited from the philosophers who preceded him, and do not in any way transcend the average pagan philosophic teaching on these important matters.

Precisely the same remark may be made of several other passages of Seneca, which are very beautiful in themselves, and which, though far above the average of the ordinary public opinion of his time, or, indeed, of any time anterior to Christianity, are by no means above the average of previous philosophic teaching. As a matter of curiosity, and for sake of the charm both of the matter and the manner of expression, we subjoin a few specimens. Thus in *Epist.* 107—and here we may remark, that though some of his other works, and notably his “*Consolations*,” attain a high degree of eloquence and sublimity, it is, perhaps, in his *Epistles to Lucilius* that we are to look for the ripest conclusions of his philosophy—“*optimum est pati quod emendare non possis, et Deum quo auctore omnia proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari.*” And, again, in the very practical matter of the treatment of slaves, that was so great a blot upon the civilization of Rome, to one who objects to familiarity with slaves, he very beautifully says—“*hoc qui dixerit, obliviscitur, id dominis parum esse quod Deo satis est, qui colitur et amatur.*” (*Epist.* 47.) Again, he says, “*vis deos propitiare, bonus esto. Satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est;*” and he says especially of “wise men” that they are “*membra unius corporis magni,*” an expression which strikingly reminds us of a celebrated passage of St. Paul. Seneca speaks of war, that had so much attraction for the Romans, as a “*gloriosum scelus;*” and what is much more remarkable, he stigmatizes the gladiatorial combats which had such a fascination, not merely for the Roman populace, but for the Roman people. (*Epist.* 95.) “*Homo sacra res homini jam per lusum et jocum occiditur, et quem erudiri ad inferenda accipiendaque vulnera nefas erat, is jam nudus inermisque producitur, satisque spectaculi ex homine, mors est.*”

But it is time to pause and bring these quotations to an end. Led away by the fascination of the subject, and charmed by the manner of Seneca, we might cover pages with passages from his writing that would be not only edifying in themselves, but that would be far more in accordance with Christianity than pages formed on the same plan from the works of many a writer who calls him-

self Christian. But we feel that we have said enough to show, that a fairly sufficient number of passages may be quoted from Seneca, to satisfy, in some degree at least, the first condition that has been laid down in this matter.

But, with regard to the second condition, we believe that it would be impossible to prove in the case of any single passage, or of all such passages together, that they transcend the powers of human reason, especially when that reason was assisted, as in the case of Seneca, by the writings of numerous philosophers who dealt to much the same purpose, and in language not very different, with these subjects. Accordingly, we remark that in passages from Seneca about God, about Providence, about conformity of the Divine will, about prayer, whatever likeness they have to Christian teaching is a likeness that is most easily recognisable, and perhaps only recognisable when they are separated from a context that is decidedly stoical, and that gives them, taken with that context, far other than a Christian meaning. And, moreover, whatever likeness may be discovered between such passages and passages from the inspired writings, no one has undertaken to prove that Seneca could not have arrived at his conclusions by a road far different from Christianity. No one has attempted such a proof, and should anyone attempt it, he will be met upon the threshold of his proof by a fact which would alone impede his further progress, the fact, namely, that in all these passages Seneca was but reproducing the substance of a traditional philosophic teaching that no one ever yet proved to have been subjected to the direct influence of revelation.

With these remarks, and with the quotations already given, we think it best to leave to our readers to follow in the pages of Seneca any indications of coincidences between Christian teaching and the teaching of that philosopher. It is a study that will well repay any labour that is bestowed upon it. In conclusion we will say, that if in the course of these papers, which we now bring to a close, we have sent any of our readers to make or to renew their acquaintance with the writings of Seneca; and above all if we have awakened curiosity or stimulated interest in those problems that surround the question of the early relations of Christianity with the philosophies which it met and vanquished, our readers will have to thank us for benefits far greater than we could have hoped to bestow upon them directly by any labours of our own. J. F.

ON A QUESTION IN PROBABILISM.

IT is a fact, the full significance of which is scarcely appreciated except by those whose position as Professors of Theology has placed upon them the responsible duty of endeavouring scientifically to analyze the structure of the various systems, of which one must be selected as the framework of their moral teaching, that the publication of F. Ballerini's Annotations to the Roman Editions of Gury's Moral Theology, has rendered it, at all events, a matter for inquiry, whether the views hitherto accepted in the schools, regarding some of the most fundamental points of the system of Probabilism adopted by St. Alphonsus, really represent the teaching of the great Doctor of Moral Theology.

I do not now refer to the question—which, though really of but secondary importance as regards its practical bearing on moral decisions, has of recent years been debated with so much vehemence between the opponents and the upholders of F. Ballerini's views—as to whether the system entitled to claim the high authority of St. Alphonsus is, as F. Ballerini so strenuously maintains, that technically known as Probabilism, or, as is maintained with no less earnestness by the authors of the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*, that modification of Probabilism, technically known as Equiprobabilism.

The question to which I wish, at least in this paper, to direct attention, is, as I conceive it, a question of far wider and deeper importance. It is this:—Is it the teaching of St. Alphonsus that his system (of Probabilism, or Equiprobabilism, as the case may be), should be applied not merely when there is question of *introducing*, or of *setting up*, an obligation not previously recognised or established, but also when there is question of *curtailing*, or of *bringing to an end*, an obligation previously and unquestionably in force?

I have just now spoken of this question as one of special importance. This, surely, is no exaggeration. Throughout the entire course of Moral Theology there is no treatise into which it does not enter, and in which its consideration, if we would follow the practical guidance of St. Alphonsus, is not essential for the solution of many questions second in practical importance to few others.

Thus, for instance, in the Treatise *de Legibus* we must

consider how practically to deal with cases of doubt as to whether the obligation of an existing law has been set aside, say, by custom. In the Treatise *de Jejuniis* we have to decide how far a cause can be regarded as a sufficient ground for exemption, when its sufficiency is but probable, or when, though the cause is in itself certainly sufficient, its presence in a particular case is doubtful; and again, it is a question typical of a class of cases both numerous and practically important, whether one is at liberty, for instance, on Friday night, to eat meat on the ground that it is solidly probable that twelve o'clock is past. So, in the Treatise *de Præceptis Particularibus* it has to be decided whether a probability that a certain Hour of the Divine Office has been read is sufficient practically to remove the obligation. So, in the Treatise *de Justitia*, as regards a doubtful payment of a debt. So, in the Treatise *de Poenitentia*, when a doubt arises as to whether a mortal sin certainly committed has been confessed; or in regard to the fulfilment of the penance enjoined by the confessor. But it is unnecessary to continue an enumeration where hundreds of instances cannot fail to occur to every student of Moral Theology.

It would, I venture to assume, be out of place for me in these pages to dwell upon the importance of ascertaining the actual teaching of St. Alphonsus in regard to the point in question. Those only who have mastered the principles on which alone a solid superstructure of Probabilism can be raised, are aware of the extent to which this fundamental department of Moral Theology is one in which we must be guided by theological authority. And on what authority can we pretend to rely if, even at the outset of our investigation, we do not hearken to the voice of the great modern Doctor of Moral Theology? To him, indeed, as regards the moral code set forth in his theological works, no less truthfully than to the great Doctor of the Schools, of whom they were originally spoken, we may, in a certain sense, apply the words of Cajetan, "*Veteres doctores sacros quia summe veneratus est, ideo intellectum omnium quodammodo sortitus est.*" To him also, with no ordinary emphasis, we may apply the words which, from the depths of his humility, and surely with no thought that they should one day be fully applicable to himself, he wrote of that same great Master:—"Systema meum statui, innixus non meo judicio, sed doctrina theologorum, et speciatim principis Theologorum, S. Thomae Aquinatis, quem ut magistrum

tenent omnes scholae, omnesque Catholicae Universitates, et generatim omnes celebriores Ecclesiae Theologi; sed hoc majoris ponderis est, ipsum declaratum fuisse Doctorem Ecclesiae. Si ergo errassem, errarem cum Sancto isto Doctore.”¹

And here we must not lose sight of the fact that, in the Decree *Urbis et Orbis* and in the Apostolic Letters, respectively conferring and confirming the concession of the title of Doctor of the Church, the Sovereign Pontiff has expressly declared, that this highest mark of the authoritative approval of the Holy See has been bestowed on St. Alphonsus mainly on account of his writings in Moral Theology—“maxime Theologiae Moralis tractationibus”—and that, as regards these, the special service rendered by the Saint has been his clearing away of doubts, and his pointing out, between the tendency to undue rigour on the one hand, and to undue leniency on the other, the safe middle course which may be pursued with safety by those who have the guidance of the souls of the faithful of Christ—“Obscura itaque dilucidavit, dubiaque declaravit, quum inter implexas Theologorum, sive laxiores sive rigidiores, sententias, tutam straverit viam, per quam Christi fidelium animarum Moderatores inoffenso pede incedere possent.”

1. Coming, then, to an examination of the point in question, it is safe to begin with the statement—which F. Ballerini himself does not seem to question—that up to a comparatively recent date a strong concurrence of opinion as to the actual teaching of St. Alphonsus on the point in question, finds expression in the writings of those who, since the publication of his great work on Moral Theology, have made it the basis of their teaching. This singular unanimity, where the question is one of actual fact, furnishes, at the very outset of our inquiry, an argument of which it would be difficult to overrate the force.

It is unnecessary to adduce evidence in sustainment of a point which is not only clear, but, as I believe, unquestioned. It may, however, be interesting to note the testimony of Gury, whose remarkable change of view with regard to what we may call the *quaestio juris*—as to whether a probable opinion in favour of liberty really suffices to put an end to an obligation previously existing—only serves to

¹ *Declaratio Systematis*. Neapoli. 1774.

emphasize his testimony regarding the *quaestio facti*—as to what St. Alphonsus, as a matter of fact, has taught in reference to this question.

In all the earlier editions of his work, when discussing the question whether an obligation, previously certainly existing, is got rid of by the fact that it has *probably* been fulfilled, F. Gury distinctly laid down (1) that in such a case it is at all events *more probable* that the obligation of the law *does not cease*; (2) that this is the *far more common* opinion of theologians; and (3) that it is the teaching of St. Alphonsus. Let us take, for instance, the earliest edition to which I am at present able to refer, that published in Ratisbon, in 1857:—

“QUAER. 6° Si dubites utrum alicui obligationi jam satisfeceris, tenerisne adhuc satisfacere?”

“RESP. 1° Affirmative prorsus, quoties probabilius aut saltem aequè probabiliter tibi non constat te satisfecisse” . . .

So far, of course, no difficulty can arise. The questions with which we have to deal, regard the case not of *negative* but of *positive* doubt, that is to say, the case in which it is solidly *probable* that the obligation has been fulfilled. For the purpose of comparison I shall place in parallel columns (1) the answer to this portion of the question, as given in the Ratisbon Edition from which I have just quoted; and (2) the corresponding portion of the answer as given in the latest edition published during the author's lifetime—this being the Roman Edition of 1866, annotated by F. Ballerini, the text of the work having been revised, and in many questions of great practical importance largely altered by F. Gury himself:—

RATISBON EDITION OF 1857.

RESP. 2° Posita autem majori aut aequali probabilitate, adhuc *probabilius* urget obligatio praecedens.

Ratio deducitur ex hoc principio *communiter* admissio: *Non satisfit obligationi certae per impletionem dubiam*. Etenim lex semel existens et imperans jus habet exigendi indubiam obligationis impletionem . . . Ita S. Liguorius et alii multo *communius*.

ROMAN EDITION OF 1866.

RESP. 2° Si agatur de dubio positivo seu de vera et solida probabilitate, *controversum* fuit.

Affirmant, cum quibusdam aliis, Concina, Collet, et Antoine; et rationem *desumunt* ex hoc principio: *Non satisfit obligationi certae per impletionem dubiam*. Etenim, *inquirunt*, lex semel existens et imperans jus habet exigendi indubiam obligationis impletionem.

Attamen *non pauci*, nec infimae notae TT., oppositam sectantur sententiam saltem ut probabilem.

Etenim, *aiunt*, non est imponenda obligatio nisi de ea CERTO CONSTET, ut supra de Probabilismo dictum est: porro non CONSTAT de obligatione cui jam *probabilius* aut *aeque probabiliter* satis factum est: ergo etc.

Hanc sententiam tenent Lugo, Bonacina, Lacroix, Salmanticensis, etc.

Utrum vero rationes quibus nititur posterior haec sententia solido fundamento careant, et posthabenda sit auctoritas Doctorum qui hanc opinionem tenentur, definire non audeo.

In *praxi* priorem sententiam *enixe commendandam*, immo PLERUMQUE *certo tenendam* esse existimo.

Communissima tamen, et *prorsus rationi consona* sententia est, eum, qui probabiliter alicui obligationi satisfecit, ad nihil ulterius teneri.

PROBATUR 1° [Hic tradit rationem deductam ex eo quod ille qui *probabiliter* satisfecerit obligationi, illud egit quod *prudenter* iudicio sufficit ad praeceptum implendum.]

PROBATUR 2° [Alteram tradit rationem desumptam ex eo quod obligatio seu lex, de qua agitur, contra se habet iudicium *probabile*, et ideo est lex incerta, quae (ex superius dictis) vim obligandi habere non potest.]

PROBATUR 3° Ab absurdo [ex eo quod si *certa* satisfactio exigatur, nedum per *probabilissimam* quidem satisfactionem praeceptum dici poterit impletum: quod, ait cl. Auctor, recta via ducit ad *damnatum* Tutiorismum.]

Quoad axioma quod OBJCITUR: *Non satisfit obligationi certae per impletionem* dubiam, RESPONDETUR, verum esse quoties sermo est de dubio *negativo*, non vero si libertati faveat vera et solida *probabilitas*.

I am not now of course concerned with the reasoning thus advanced in favour of either side of what I have called the *quaestio juris*. But, nevertheless, I do not wish to pass on without remarking that, in this defence of his later view, F. Gury has, unquestionably, and with thorough consistency, followed up to one of its necessary consequences the line of reasoning on which St. Alphonsus has based his defence of Probabilism against the Rigorism of his time.

The writings of St. Alphonsus, strange to say, contain no evidence that the singularly philosophical ground of defence, taken up by several of the earlier writers on Prob-

abilism, especially among the German Jesuit Theologians, ever came within his observation; or, to speak with becoming caution, perhaps I should rather say that, although not unfamiliar with his writings on this subject—his lesser Dissertations and *Opuscula* on Probabilism, as well as his expositions of the question in the various Editions of his Moral Theology—I have never met with any quotation, or reference to the treatises of the writers to whom I refer, which would show that St. Alphonsus had become aware of the line of argument followed out by them.

I trust it implies no want of veneration for the Saint, or of respect for his teaching, but is rather an expression of devotion to his memory, and of zeal for the maintenance of his work, if I venture to express an opinion that, if the writings in which that line of argument is so amply elucidated had come under his notice, the Moral System which he devised with such anxious care, and fenced round with so many safeguards against the insidious inroads of laxer teaching, would have been placed upon a foundation more likely to maintain it in its integrity than that on which it now rests. The comparison of the two modes of logical treatment of Probabilism is too large a subject to be dealt with incidentally in a discussion on another question like that before us in this paper. But, from many points which must necessarily come under consideration in the course of this discussion, it will, if I mistake not, be made abundantly evident, that a system of morality based merely on the *reasoning* of St. Alphonsus, and following out some of the lines of that reasoning to their logical issue, would stand less remote from that system of Laxism, which—though it did not fall to him to grapple with it—he held in such abhorrence, than from that marvellous combination of considerate regard for human weakness, on the one hand, and of zeal for the maintenance of law, on the other, which has been so signally commended from the chair of Peter as the “middle course,” in which we may walk in safety.

But, reserving those considerations to form perhaps the subject of a future paper, I shall now merely call attention to the evidence furnished by the quotation from F. Gury, as to the actual teaching of St. Alphonsus on the point in question. In the earlier editions, as we have seen, the authority of the Saint is distinctly quoted in favour of the opinion then held by F. Gury. In the later edition, the opinion itself is (1) abandoned; (2) it is even abandoned as inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Probabil-

ism, and in fact (3), as leading straightway, by necessary logical inference, to the condemned doctrine of absolute Tutorism. Moreover (4) F. Gury, who had previously regarded it as the opinion not merely of St. Alphonsus, but of the greater number of Theologians, had so completely changed his view, as now to regard it as held only by some—"quibusdam,"—and by these, indeed, in opposition to the all but unanimous—"communissima"—concurrence of theological opinion. Naturally it would devolve upon him, having thus ascertained, as he supposed, the genuine theological status of the opinion, to note, if he felt himself in a position to do so, that St. Alphonsus was not in reality among its defenders, and to withdraw by an explicit statement the citation in his earlier editions, by which he had made the Saint responsible for the defence of an opinion now stigmatized as logically connected with a system of Rigorism condemned by the Holy See. But no such withdrawal is to be met with in the later edition; and the only change—a change, indeed, rendered almost necessary by the terms in which the opinion in question is so severely stigmatized—is the omission of the explicit mention of the Saint's name. For, instead of "ita S. Liguori et alii," we read "affirmant, cum quibusdam aliis, Concina, Collet, et Antoine." Whether, indeed, this statement occurring in the revised text, may not even be regarded as still equivalently quoting St. Alphonsus for the opinion, will more plainly appear from a passage from his Treatise *de Conscientia*, to be transcribed a little farther on.

2. It is, of course, well known to professional Theologians, but, almost equally of course, known but to few others, that, throughout those many years of his busy and apostolic life in which the various editions of his Moral Theology were given to the Church, the views of St. Alphonsus regarding almost every aspect of Probabilism that could possibly be regarded as open to difference of opinion, were constantly undergoing change. It is to be regretted that this fact has not been kept more fully in view by the editors who, since his death, have undertaken, and in many respects so ably discharged, the duty of superintending the issue of the successive editions of his Moral Theology. Annotations calling attention to the various opinions, and shades of opinion, recorded by him on so many questions in various editions of his work, published

in his lifetime and under his own supervision and correction, could not fail to bring into a stronger light the expressions of his matured views, as published in the text now so familiar to every ecclesiastic. The absence of notes of this character is to no small extent a drawback in even the best editions hitherto published. It is a want, indeed, that it should not be difficult to supply: and there seems to be good reason to trust that an edition in which that want shall be abundantly supplied, may even now be in preparation.¹

Now, if we accept the testimony of those who, since the publication of St. Alphonsus' Moral Theology, have written upon the subjects of which he treats, there are, in all the vast range of his moral teaching, few subjects on which his views underwent so absolute and total a change, as on that which forms the subject of our present investigation.

At one time—there can be no doubt upon the point, for we have his own plain testimony upon it—he held, or at all events did not dissent from, the more “liberal” opinion, subsequently maintained, as we have seen, by F. Gury in the later editions of the *Compendium*.

It is equally unquestionable that, later on, in the sixth (A.D. 1767), and subsequent editions (A.D. 1773, 1779, 1785), of his Moral Theology, St. Alphonsus modified his view on

¹ Those who have read the *Vindiciæ Alphonsianæ* with the attention which so erudite a treatise demands, will not need to be informed that I refer to the welcome announcement made by the authors of that work, at the close of the section in which they lay down the rules necessary to be kept in view by those who would ascertain, from the existing editions of the works of St. Alphonsus, the opinions for which the authority of his matured judgment may be claimed.

“Non diffitemur,” say the authors of the *Vindiciæ*, “hanc Operum collationem, ad ultimum S. Doctoris sensum eruendum, vix a quoquam institui posse Quum tamen fideli S. Alphonsi discipulo maxime intersit clare cognoscere, quænam in singulis quaestionibus censenda sit *ultima*, ac proin *vera*, S. Doctoris sententia, consilium cepimus evulgandi, ut primum (spectata rei gravitate) licuerit, novam accuratissimam editionem *Theologiæ Moralis*, in qua, *collatis ceteris operibus moralibus*, meliori quo poterimus modo, ubi opus fuerit, indicabimus quænam sententia præferenda videatur.

“Insuper, ut complurium desideriis satis fiat, speramus fore ut, suo tempore, in lucem prodeat *Compendium Morale*, in quo, servatis supra memoratis regulis, genuina et integra S. Alphonsi doctrina, quanta maxima fidelitate exponetur.” *Vindiciæ Alphonsianæ*, Tom. 2. Appendix 1. (Clavis Operum Moralium S. Alphonsi, sect. 1. n. 3).

this point. In the sixth edition (A.D. 1767) of his Moral Theology (*Tract. de Conscientia*, n. 29), the following passage occurs :—

“ Si quis probabiliter judicat jam voto satisfecisse, an teneatur hoc non obstante illud implere? Negant plures AA., nempe Roncaglia, Salmanticenses, cum Laymann, Lugo, et alii; quia, *ut aiunt*, cum obligatio legis eo casu sit dubia, fit dubia etiam legis possessio.

“ Olim probabilem hanc opinionem putavi, ductus magis a probabilitate extrinseca, quam intrinseca; sed re melius perpensa, nunc minime illam probabilem censeo.

“ Hinc oppositam dico tenendam cum Concina, Antoine, Filiucio, Leandro, et aliis. Ratio, quia, cum votum est *dubie emissum*, recte dicitur non adesse obligationem illud implendi; tunc enim *possidet libertas*; cum tamen votum est *certum*, libertas haec *ligata remanet* ab obligatione voti, donec votum *certe* non sit impletum.”

But unequivocal as is this record of so substantial a change of opinion, it would be disingenuous to represent it as absolutely decisive of the question at issue. In his Annotation on the text of Gury already quoted, F. Ballerini—following up, as it were, F. Gury's marked change of view in regard to the *quaestio juris*—goes on to deny that, even as a matter of fact, the authority of St. Alphonsus can be claimed for the decision “favouring” the obligation. That some change of opinion from his earlier view took place, and is recorded in the sixth edition of his work, is not of course denied. But that this change is to be regarded as amounting to a change of opinion regarding the *general question* as to the obligation of further fulfilling an obligation but probably fulfilled; that, indeed, it can be regarded even as extending beyond the narrow limits of the one special point in reference to which the question is raised by St. Alphonsus in the passage quoted—all this F. Ballerini broadly denies.

“ St. Alphonsus,” he says, “ opinionem suam utique mutavit quoad quaestionem specialem, *De Voto*, non vero quoad *generale principium* . . . Nam alioqui centies, immo et millies, S. Alphonsus inculcat tutissimum in conscientia eum esse qui quoad obligationes *probabile judicium sequatur*, quum totum ejus Opus Morale huic innitatur principio.”

In the next number of the RECORD I hope to succeed in showing that some very substantial limitations must be put

upon this somewhat unqualified statement; and, that especially as regards the question before us, we cannot accept the view so strenuously maintained by F. Ballerini, without ignoring the plain expositions of St. Alphonsus himself, and eliminating from his system one of the most marked of those special features which have won for it the signal commendation, already quoted, of the Holy See.

W. J. W.

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES.

THE PHOTOPHONE..

THE scientific world which, thanks perhaps as much to its talkers and writers as to its thinkers, is daily extending its boundaries, threatening to include all, even the most recalcitrant, within its limits, is becoming quite accustomed to startling news, looks if not for its daily at least for its monthly discovery, and grumbles if it has not its due supply of sensational enjoyment. The supply, in commercial language, is sure to equal the demand, at least when newspaper paragraphs are considered sufficient; and so our American cousins flash wonderful revelations from Menlo Park and other head centres; and if all does not follow which the first intelligence promised, a still greater marvel is sure to be telegraphed to fill its place in public gossip if not in scientific quarters, and to divert attention from the former failure. Real science, of course, must not be held responsible for these queer attempts to satisfy a natural craving for wonderful novelties; nor must physicists be judged by the misapprehensions and consequent misinterpretations of paragraph vendors. Prudent people wait for further information, and reserve their judgment until the inventors speak for themselves in more measured language and lay their statements before scientific people in formal shape. The recent invention of Professor Bell, of which we have to write, comes before us with these guarantees for its reception. We have¹ his own full and precise account of what he had done, delivered in clear and simple language before an association of men who are quite

¹ Lecture delivered at the Boston Meeting of the American Association, by Professor A. Graham Bell. *Nature*, vol. 22, p. 500.

able to understand and criticise his discoveries; who are familiar with its antecedents, and know how to test the various stages through which the result has been brought about.

Professor Graham Bell is well known by his Telephone, by which we dash a message from our own lips to the ears of a friend far away. The telegraph wire is the road down which the electric current speeds "like a flash of light" we say. The symbolical language has been realized in this his latest discovery; it is no longer *like* a flash of light, it *is* a flash of light itself which carries the message. The long wire is no more needed; the light has but to be directed, and away it goes, and speaks in familiar tones to ears which drink in the well-known accents.

So we have the Photophone, the Voice of Light: and this is how the invention has been wrought out. That it is no accidental discovery, no lucky hit, adds much to the value of what has been brought about, and to the credit of Professor Bell himself. In his lecture he is careful to show this, and to trace his outcome from what others have done before him: and this he does in a simple manly way which does honor to the lecturer and no small credit to Dublin, which claims this distinguished and modest man, if not as a son, at least as a grandson. Especially worthy of commendation is it when there is so much self-assertion around.

Everyone is more or less familiar with Bell's Telephone and with the scientific principles involved in its action. We know how, when we speak into the mouthpiece of the small instrument we take in hand, a thin metal plate is set vibrating by the waves of air which our words form, and that then these vibrations bring that plate alternately nearer to and further from a permanent magnet which is fixed close in front of it. Thereby the magnetism varies in intensity, and by that variation currents of electricity are developed on an insulated wire twisted around it. Onwards the currents speed through the long wire which joins our instrument with a similar one in the hand and at the ear of our correspondent.

The currents, on their arrival, repeat, but backwards, the same operations which had been performed before: they generate varying magnetism in the permanent magnet round which they flow, whereupon the metal plate in front is made to vibrate accordingly, and this sets up corresponding waves of air which speak to the ear the self same sounds our lips uttered in the far away distance.

This is the more familiar instrument, but there is another form which has grown out of Professor Hughes' discovery of the Microphone. Who has forgotten the wonderful stories we used to hear of the tread of a fly growing in the ear to the tramp of an elephant, by means of this little apparatus? Perhaps we were as much surprised at the simplicity of the instrument as at the strangeness and greatness of its results. But, putting the fly and elephant out of consideration, let us look at the microphone as a form of telephone: talking to it as we did into one of Bell's instruments, and having our words repeated in the far distance in the second of the usual pair. Here, as the current is not generated by the speaker, it has to be provided from another source; so our circuit has now to include a small galvanic cell. The current flows from this source, is brought by a wire to the upper part of the microphone, traverses the small charcoal rod which is sustained vertically between two charcoal cups, and passing thence by another wire, reaches the telephone receiver, sets its metal plate vibrating, and so delivers the message to the ear, and then flows on once more by another wire until it returns to the galvanic cell from which it originally started on its strange errand.

Now, what is the action of the microphone in this combined operation? How can our talking affect it so, as to make it convey the action of our lips upon the air to the receiving telephone and to the ear of the listener? The upright piece of charcoal rests upon a cup of similar material and is held in its virtual position by the upper cup against which it lightly presses. Current after current flows to it from the galvanic cell, and that so rapidly indeed that all combined are commonly spoken of as one continuous current, though, of course, it is not so; and as each reaches the upper rest and passes through the centre charcoal to its support, and onwards on its way to the receiving telephone, it encounters an obstacle, a resistance to its passage dependent upon the pressure which the upright exerts upon the lower support; while that is at rest the resistance remains unchanged and the currents pass equally and produce no effect; it is like a constant current flowing to the telephone which leaves the metal plate therein unaffected. But when we speak in front of the microphone, the centre charcoal is disturbed, the waves communicated to the air by the varied motions of the mouth, and which impinging upon the ear could produce

the sounds we call words, cause that air to play upon the charcoal and to increase or diminish its pressure upon the support beneath. With every, even the most minute variation of this pressure the resistance to the passing currents varies, and so each current comes with its own special character and works its own especial work upon the permanent magnet, and its vibrating plate, and thereby generates corresponding wave motions in the adjacent air, which play upon the delicate tympanum of the ear and work those marvels which end in hearing.

The action on the passing currents thus produced by the charcoal in the microphone, is exactly the same as that which Professor Bell effects by the use of selenium in his new instrument. But while, in the former case, the varying pressure produces the varying conductive power, in the latter the action of varying light brings about the same result.

When Berzelius discovered this curious metal, selenium, in 1817, he found its resistance to a current of electricity to be so great that he classed it among the non-conductors. Subsequently Knox, in 1837, and afterwards Hiltorff, in 1852, showed that in another condition it was a conductor; but still, so great was its resistance found to be that it was used as an effectual stopper of the current, as well it may be, seeing that, as usually prepared, a single bar offers as great an impediment to the passage of a current as a telegraph wire would do if it were long enough to reach from the earth to the sun!

But when used for this purpose of impeding a current it was found to have the peculiarity of losing, when exposed to the action of light, some of the resisting power which it had in darkness. Many experiments were made to test this property. Light out of which heat had been sifted by the interposition of alum was found to lose none of its power by the loss of the heating rays; while, on the other hand, heat deprived of its light lost with it the power of diminishing the resistance. It was light and not heat which wrought the change.

All these inquiries preceded Professor Bell's investigations, and he states them fully and fairly in his lecture, giving to each one his due credit. But to him belongs the merit of carrying on the pursuit much further, and of preparing the selenium in such a way that its resistance has been reduced to a thousandth part of what it had ever been before. Thus it was that its use in the telephone became possible; and our readers will at once see how selenium can

be substituted for the charcoal microphone in the arrangement we have already described, and how the long telegraph wire is altogether dispensed with. The selenium is placed between the galvanic cell and the receiving telephone, and as the light is made to play upon it from any manageable distance, the ever-varying resistance it affords will chronicle itself through the telephone into the ear of the listener. When this had been discovered it was but a matter of detail as to the way in which the light can be flashed from a distance upon the selenium plate.

Mr. Bell has devised many forms of apparatus, but one of the simplest and best will make itself easily understood. Only one thing had to be borne in mind, of which we must not lose sight, which is this, as Mr. Bell himself italicises it. "*The fundamental idea, on which rests the possibility of producing speech by the action of light, is the conception of what may be termed an undulatory beam of light in contradistinction to a merely intermittent one;*" and he goes on to explain: "By an undulatory beam I mean a beam that shines continuously upon the selenium receiver, but the intensity of which upon that receiver is subject to rapid changes corresponding to the changes in the vibratory movements of a particle of air during the transmission of a sound of definite quality through the atmosphere."

Upon a mirror of thin microscopic glass a large beam of light is concentrated by means of a lens; this, of course, is reflected in diverging rays which are rendered parallel by another lens; onward flashes the beam to a distant station, where it is received in a parabolic reflector which brings it to a focus wherein is placed the plate of selenium. While the mirror remains at rest the light shines with unbroken steadiness upon the plate, and the electric current which is flowing through it, suffering no change of intensity in the resistance the selenium affords, has nothing to record in the receiving telephone. But let some one speak behind the mirror; at once its slender form vibrates with each varying sound. The beam is now no longer steady, it plays upon the selenium with corresponding undulations of light; the electric current in the distant circle responds to the varying resistances of the metal, and the plate of the telephone takes up the motion and turns it into audible speech to the ear of the listener.

So we see how the telegraph wire is no longer needed. The heliograph which flashed its signals during recent wars did its limited work well; but had there been a

photophone to receive its rays, guiding and cheering voices might have been heard and far more effective aid rendered in trying times. Step by step science is advancing, if we should not rather say by bounds. Each discovery leads up to another, and results, which at first seem to have nothing in common, combine ere long in a further advance. What is the use? can hardly now be asked when scientific progress makes its way amid the daily life of men, and, no longer secluded, takes its place among the great powers of the world.

Professor Bell's investigations, however, did not stop here with the use thus discovered of selenium. He found that other substances were also sensitive to light; indeed, as far as his experiments have gone, this property shows itself to be common to all matter, with the exception of charcoal and thin microscopic glass; and he gives a long list of metals and vegetable substances on which he has successfully experimented. Curious, indeed, are the results. When a vibratory beam of light falls upon any one of them the body emits a musical sound, the pitch depending upon the rate of vibrations of the beam of light itself.

This was no haphazard discovery, but one reasoned out and logically deduced. It has been long known that an iron bar, subjected to the action of intermittent currents of electricity, emits a sound which can be recognised when the ear is placed close to the bar; and this is naturally attributed to an inter-molecular action or disturbance of the particles of which the iron bar is composed. Could not the same action take place in the selenium when the play of a beam of light upon it would necessarily produce a similar molecular disturbance? For this experiment the receiving telephone and the galvanic cell can be dispensed with; and the ear has only to be applied to the selenium itself, while the beam of light, focused by a lens, is vibrating upon it. The experiment was made, and the musical sound was distinctly heard; other substances were substituted for the selenium with like results, some louder than others, but each with its own note; the pitch, of course, varying with the rate of light vibrations. The effect may be increased by using the substance experimented upon as a diaphragm in a hearing tube, but this arrangement is not essential.

As already mentioned, it is the light and not the heat of the beam which produces this result. Interpose alum in the path, the luminous rays transmitted are just as

effective as if the heat rays had gone with them; but intercept the luminous rays by sending the beam into iodized bisulphide of carbon, which we know cuts off the light and allows the heat only to pass through, and what happens—the sound ceases? No, not entirely; there is a faint musical sound which even a sheet of hard rubber cannot silence. It sings on, softly and sweetly, under the influence of a few invisible rays; but interpose the human hand, and it ceases, to be renewed again when the living impediment is removed. Mr. Bell has devised a simple but ingenious arrangement of two perforated dishes, one revolving in front of the other that is fixed, by which means the rate of the vibrations can be regulated; and so the tone produced is raised or lowered. Nor need the experiments be limited to the action of sun-light; a lamp or a candle will suffice. See what it has come to. The speaker, the galvanic cell, and the receiving telephone are all dispensed with; and as the revolving disk spins round, the substance—and well nigh every substance—sings its peculiar note under the influence of the undulating light. Thus may our ears recognise what our hearts have been taught to desire; and under the influence of the bright sunshine, or when the cold moonbeams are trembling over the earth, the exhortation of Holy Writ had its literal fulfilment in this vast harmony of nature,

“Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino.”

H. B.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.—USURY.

THE first question regarding Usury proposed by our Reverend Correspondent in the last number of the RECORD is—*What constitutes Usury properly so called?*

In answering this and the two remaining questions concerning Usury we shall avoid, as far as possible, the use of technical terms and fine-drawn distinctions, and aim at giving in popular language the replies which, though substantially found in the manuals of theology commonly in use, are not usually found in a compendious or satisfactory form.

As the chief difficulties connected with Usury arise when *money* is the object of a loan, we may, for practical

purposes, confine our attention exclusively to this case. Usury then, as commonly understood, is any interest or other valuable consideration charged for the use of money when no *extrinsic* title exists to warrant such a charge. Usury is also found in the exaction of a higher rate of interest than is warranted by the extrinsic titles which exist in any particular case. To make this definition intelligible it is necessary to add, that by an *extrinsic* title is meant one that does not enter into the idea or composition of a loan, as viewed in itself and apart from the accidental circumstances in which a loan may be given. It is a title, therefore, without which a loan of money may be supposed to exist, and in reality sometimes does take place. An *intrinsic* title on the other hand is one which arises from the nature of a loan apart from its accidental circumstances. When money is the object of a loan, the productive nature of the thing lent, or the unavoidable inconvenience caused by parting with the possession of money, &c., would be the intrinsic titles which may be supposed to exist, but none of which, according to the common opinion of theologians, constitutes a real or a valid title. The principal *extrinsic* titles which warrant the taking of interest for the use of money are, 1° the *loss* to which the lender is subjected (*damnum emergens*), or 2° the *profit* of which he is deprived by the loan (*lucrum cessans*), or 3° the danger which he incurs of not receiving back even his capital (*periculum sortis*), or 4° the consent of the borrower to pay some interest by way of penalty in case of any notable delay in the repayment of the sum lent (*poena conventionalis*).

These accidental circumstances of the loan constitute four extrinsic and substantial titles for demanding interest for the use of money, and prevent the interest so received from being regarded as Usury.

On the other hand, if there be no loss incurred by the loan—no profit diminished or suspended—no danger of losing the sum lent—and no stipulated penalty attached to delay of repayment—then there is no recognised extrinsic title for charging interest, and any interest charged in these circumstances is set down as Usury.

Such is the commonly received theory regarding Usury. According to this theory, Usury is condemned by the Natural, the Divine Positive, and the Canon Law, as being *unjust*; inasmuch as, in the absence of an extrinsic title, there can be no intrinsic title, to warrant the exaction of interest for the use of money.

But our correspondent is probably aware that many political economists, and some theologians too, maintain that in every loan of money given in modern times, an *intrinsic* title is always to be found in the productive nature of the thing given (*res frugifera*), or in the inconvenience to the lender necessarily attending such a loan, and therefore, that the three-fold condemnation of Usury to which we have referred falls not on Usury as such, but on exorbitant and oppressive Usury, or on Usury exacted from the poor. Again, some, while admitting that the condemnation falls directly on Usury as such, hold nevertheless that the condemnation is founded not on the absence of an intrinsic title, but on the danger of avarice to which Usury would infallibly lead, or else on the gratuitous nature of the contract (*Mutuum*) from which Usury is usually derived.

This, however, is a view of the question which, though most interesting in itself, does not come within the limits of our present purpose. In a future number of the *RECORD* we purpose to give a summary of two very interesting articles on Usury which appeared in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1873, and January, 1874, in which the writer, without departing from theological principles, sets up a theory regarding Usury, which seems to him more in accordance with the present recognized commercial value and purposes of money. For the present we pass on to the second question, namely:—

How is the amount of interest that may be lawfully derived from a loan to be determined?

It is to be determined by attending to the number and magnitude of the extrinsic titles which exist in each particular case. First, the number—Thus, if two or three or four extrinsic titles coexist in any particular instance, it is obvious that it will be *per se* lawful to charge more interest than if only one extrinsic title existed. Secondly, the magnitude of these titles—Thus, if by giving the loan of £100 the lender suffers a loss, or is deprived of a profit of two, three, or four per cent., it will be lawful for him to charge two, three, or four per cent. for the loan. But how are we practically to estimate the loss actually incurred, or the profit prevented by the loan?

The actual loss may be often mathematically determined, and the diminished profit may be estimated by considering what amount of interest it would be possible, at the particular time, to derive from a safe investment of the same sum, either in the public funds or in some paying specula-

tion such as trade, railway shares, &c. Thus as four or five per cent. is the amount of interest that may be ordinarily derived from a safe investment, so also it is the amount that may ordinarily be derived from a loan. When the Usury laws were in force the highest interest allowed in England was five per cent.; in Ireland six per cent. It would appear to us that six per cent. is the maximum that could be allowed in ordinary circumstances. However, there may be extraordinary risks, difficulties, expenses, or losses, in particular cases, and in such exceptional cases a higher rate of interest, up to seven, eight, nine, or perhaps in extreme cases even ten per cent. may be allowed.

This brings us to the third and last question proposed, namely:—

Is there any fixed limit which the interest derived from a loan can never exceed without being usurious?

No such fixed limit can be assigned; for, as we have seen, it must vary with the varying circumstances of the extrinsic titles on which it depends. The only general rule that can be laid down is that, if the interest be kept down to the level of the *bona fide* extrinsic titles which exist, no *injustice* will be committed. This is, however, a *materia lubrica* in which men are easily carried away by the desire of gain, and in which they may be led into injustice, or if not into injustice, at least into a grievous violation of charity.—ED. I. E. R.

II.—MAY EXTREME UNCTION BE REPEATED AFTER THE LAPSE OF A MONTH?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

It is well known that one of our greatest deceased Irish Prelates is reported to have held, and laid down as a rule for his Clergy, that after a month the sick may be re-anointed, during the course of a lingering illness; though, in the mean time, they could not be said to have recovered, nor to have escaped at any time from the probable danger of death. This opinion and this practice are grounded, I believe, on:—First, the supposition that *every* sickness undergoes such a substantial change in a month that it ceases to constitute the same danger in which the Sacrament of Extreme Unction was first administered; and secondly, on the practice in Rome. As I do not find the first reason recognised in any book of theology, nor the practice for the establishing of which it is alleged, and as I have found good authority in Rome denying that such is the practice there, may I venture to ask you to clear up a point in which uniformity, amongst Bishops and Priests, would appear to be of such consequence.

C. M.

A learned contributor, well versed in the practice observed in Rome, sends us the following reply to this question:—

There does not seem to be any room for the doubts entertained by our esteemed correspondent. The rubric of the Roman Ritual permits Extreme Unction to be repeated when the danger of death supervenes in a lengthened illness: “*in eadem infirmitate hoc Sacramentum iterari non debet, nisi diuturna sit.*” According to the usage of Rome the illness is justly considered *diuturna* when it continues for a month. This usage is conformable to the teaching of Benedict XIV. in Syn. Dioces. lib. vii. cap. 23. Of course, if no danger of death supervenes after a month, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction should not be repeated.

III.—CONDITIONAL EXTREME UNCTION.

1° A Catholic of ordinary virtue in doubtful dispositions, and without giving any signs of repentance, is suddenly deprived of consciousness and is *in periculo mortis*. The Priest, I believe, if he arrive in time, is to absolve him conditionally, and to anoint him. Is Extreme Unction to be given conditionally, *si es dispositus*, or absolutely?

2° In the event of the answer being for anointing absolutely, that the chance of reviviscence, on the patient's becoming attrite, may be given him, I beg respectfully further to ask, how is the Sacrament to be administered, when there is hardly a doubt that the unconscious person became bereft of senses in bad dispositions?

Z.

We find the general question, regarding the manner in which Extreme Unction should be administered to those who are unconscious, discussed in the number of the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, published in May, 1880.

The question was proposed to the Editor in the following terms:—

“Dans le Rituel Romain il est dit sur le Sacrament de l'Extrême-Onction: ‘Hoc Sacramentum est praebendum sensibus destitutis qui antea illud petierunt, seu verisimiliter petiissent.’ Faut-il, dans ce cas, le donner sous condition ou non?”

The writer, after stating that some authorities maintain that the condition *Si es dispositus* should be inserted, expresses his own belief that the Sacrament should be administered, without any condition, for the following reasons:

First, if the Sacrament be administered subject to the condition of the sick person being rightly disposed to receive it, and if the requisite dispositions be absent at the time, then all hope of the Sacrament producing its effect either then, or at a subsequent time, is lost. Whereas, if the Sacrament be administered without any condition, even though the subject be badly disposed at present, he may afterwards recover consciousness, supply the necessary dispositions, and then receive the *revived* effects of the Sacrament.

Secondly, should the sick person recover sufficient consciousness to be able to intimate to the Priest that the necessary dispositions were absent when the Sacrament was conditionally administered, the Extreme Unction must be repeated. But it can scarcely be repeated without giving scandal and leading to a revelation, or at least to a suspicion, of the sinful state in which the sick person was on the occasion of its first administration.

The Editor of the Review in his reply falls in with the view of his correspondent. "Il nous semble," he says, "qu'il vaut mieux administrer le Sacrement d'une manière absolue et sans condition." In addition to the reasons urged by his correspondent, he adds:—

1° That the Roman Ritual makes no reference to any condition: *Hoc Sacramentum est praebeandum sensibus destitutis qui, &c.*

2° The same is true of many eminent theologians and commentators on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual, such as Clericati (Decisiones Sacramentales, Lib. i., decis. lxxx., n. 5); Baruffaldi (Ad Rituale Romanum Commentaria, Tit. xxvii., n. 66); D'Abreu (Institutio Parochi, Lib. ix., n. 365); Diana (Resolutiones Morales, Tom. ii., tract., iv., resol. 50).

In this decision our correspondent will probably find a sufficient answer to his first question.

In reply to the second question it seems to us that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction should be administered *conditionally*:—

First, we think it should be administered. The Roman Ritual, indeed, says that the Sacrament is to be refused "*impoenitentibus, et qui in manifesto peccato mortali moriuntur*" But Coninck (De Extrem. Unct. n. 1508, Quaer. 8°) rightly remarks, "*Sub his autem comprehendi non debent moribundi qui in actu peccati mortalis sensibus*

destituuntur; neque enim omnino certum est eos in *manifesto* peccato mori."

Secondly, it should be administered *conditionally*. For, however advantageous it might be to the dying person to have the Sacrament administered absolutely, still the minister of the Sacrament is bound to consult for the reverence due to it, and not to administer it unconditionally unless there is some well-grounded presumption that the proper dispositions are present for receiving it. "His igitur," adds Coninck (*ibid.*), "data sub conditione absolutione, *conditionate* conferri potest hoc Sacramentum." Ita S. Alph., *ut probabile*, Lib. vi., n. 82.

At some future time we shall say something regarding the sufficiency of a purely *interpretative* intention for receiving Extreme Unction, which St. Alphonsus lays down in the number to which reference is here made (n. 82).

ED. I. E. R.

THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD.

THE Office of the Dead consists of First Vespers and Matins with Laudes. It wants the Small Hours, Second Vespers and Compline. Many of the older rubricists give mystical reasons, with which we are not at present concerned, for the omission of these parts. The explanation which seems to be the most probable is the following: the Second Vespers are omitted, as in the Simple Office, to denote that the *Officium Defunctorum* belongs to the less solemn rite, and the other parts are left out, because it was desirable to keep within reasonably restricted limits an Office which, whenever said, is an addition to the regular Canonical Office of the day. Besides, the Small Hours and Compline could be, in the Office of the Dead, very little else than a repetition of the same parts in the ordinary Office of the day, as they vary from Office to Office far less than the Matins, Laudes and Vespers.¹

It has been remarked that the *Officium Defunctorum*, such as it is, resembles in its arrangement the Offices of the three last days in Holy Week. Like them it begins and ends abruptly, without the usual introductory or final

¹ Meratus in Gav. Tom. ii. sec. ix. cap. ii.

prayers, and wants the Capitula, hymns, absolutions benedictions, and concluding ejaculatory prayer after the lessons.

1. *The days on which the Officium Defunctorum may be said.*

In assigning the days on which the Officium Defunctorum may be said, Bouvry¹ distinguishes between two modes of reciting it, the one when it is said in choir and joined to the Office of the day; the other when it is recited apart from the Canonical Office and as a distinct and separate Office. In the former case the *Fidelium animae*, &c., and the anthem of the Blessed Virgin, with which the Office of the day closes in choir, are omitted; but in the latter case there is no interference with the Canonical Office.

The Officium Defunctorum may be chanted even in immediate connection with the Office of the day in choir, (a) on all days when a Requiem Mass is allowed either by the general rubric or by privilege, and (b) on a double minor or major feast, in discharge of an obligation arising from a "foundation," or when asked for from a motive of piety, although a Requiem Mass is not allowed on such occasions.

"An in diebus duplicibus minoribus ac majoribus liceat cantari Vigilia defunctorum ac etiam totum Officium non quidem ex fundatione, sed ex sola piaque voluntate petentium, quin cantetur immediate post Missa, vel si postulata cantetur, dicatur de Festo vel de die occurrente?" S. R. C. respondit. "*Tolerari posse.*"²

Accordingly, the solemn singing of the Officium Defunctorum, in immediate connection with the Office of the day, in the sense explained, is not allowed (except when solemn Requiem Mass is permitted), on feasts of the first and second class, on Sundays within privileged Octaves, in Holy Week, on the Vigils of the Nativity and Pentecost, or on Ash-Wednesday.³ This restriction does not, however, apply to the Vespers of the Dead, when the rest of the Officium Defunctorum is to be solemnly recited on the following day.⁴

In the second case, according to Bouvry, not merely the private but also the public recitation of the Officium Defunctorum, as a separate function, is allowed on all days

¹ Tom. ii. p. 2. sect. vi. § ii. 3.

² 23 May, 1846. See also S. R. C. 17 December, 1828.

³ Guyetus, Lib. iv. cap. xxiii. quaes. 12. Gavantus, sec. ix. cap. ii. 20. Bouvry, Tom. i. p. 2. sec. vi.

⁴ De Herdt, Tom. iii. 127. n. ii.

of the year. He, however, remarks, and in this he quotes from Cavalieri, that it would be unsuitable to recite the *Officium Defunctorum* on the feasts of great solemnity, such as Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost Sundays, Corpus Christi, the Ascension, the Assumption, the Feast of the Titular of the Church, and also during the three last days of Holy Week. It is manifest that the dolorous Office of the Dead would ill accord with the joyous solemnity of these high festivals, or with the all-absorbing mysteries of the last days of Holy Week. “*In secundo autem casu, non solum privata et submissa recitatio, sed etiam publica, quae fit extra Officium sub Vesperam, nulla die prohibetur.*”¹

The reason of the larger concession in favour of the Office than of the Mass of the Dead is, because the former does not supplant the Office of the day, but is only added to it; while the Requiem Mass takes the place of the Mass of the day which, according to the general rule, should be in conformity with the Office. Besides, the Requiem Mass can be compensated for by applying to the relief of the deceased the Mass of the day, but the place of the *Officium Defunctorum* cannot be supplied by that of the day.²

2. How the Priest is vested at the Office of the Dead.

There is no special direction in the Roman Ritual describing the dress to be worn by the priest presiding at the *Officium Defunctorum*, when it is celebrated apart from the ceremony of bringing the corpse to the church. For this ceremony the parish priest, or the priest who officiates in his place,³ is to wear, according to the Ritual, a surplice, black stole, or even a cope of the same colour.—“*Indutus superpelliceo, et stola nigra, vel etiam pluviali ejusdem coloris.*” This rubric, as interpreted by the decision of the Sacred Congregation, (12th Aug., 1854), means that the priest is to be vested in surplice, stole, and cope, or in surplice and stole.

Now, the Ritual, as I said, has no special rubric about the celebrant's dress at the Office; it does not direct him to divest himself of any portion of the dress he wore at the function of conveying the corpse to the church, nor does it prescribe another; it simply orders the Office to be

¹ Bouvry, *loc. cit.*

² Cavalieri, Tom. iii. cap. ii. dec. xiii. Gavantus, *loc. cit.* Bouvry, *loc. cit.*

³ S. R. C., 21 June, 1855 (No. 5221).

commenced at once, as soon as the corpse has been placed in the middle of the church and the candles have been lighted. Two questions then suggest themselves. *First*, Is the priest, who assisted at the function of conveying the corpse to the church, to put off the cope and stole when the Office of the Dead, at which he is to preside, begins? *Secondly*, How is the celebrant to be vested at an Office of the Dead which is not preceded by the Exsequiae—for example, on the occasion of a Month's Mind?

In the first case, the priest may retain the stole, or the stole and cope he wore at the Exsequiae; or he may put them off and assist in his surplice alone. This, the Sacred Congregation has decided:—

“An Sacerdos, qui juxta Rituale superpelliceo et stola indutus praeftit elationi corporis, debeat retinere stolam dum praeest Matutino et Laudibus, quae immediate sequuntur? Saltem si in hac functione utatur pluviali, quum in eo casu non possit deponere stolam quin aliquantisper pluviali exuat?” S. R. C. respondit, “*In utroque casu licere.*”¹

In the other case, when the Office does not follow the ceremony of conveying the corpse, the priest who presides at it may wear the stole or the stole and cope, or only the surplice. On this question, also, we have decisions of the Congregation:—

“Utrum possit sacerdos ad Vesperas Mortuorum accipere Stolam et pluviale *ab initio* Vesperarum et quatenus negative? Utrum teneatur accipere ad Canticum “Magnificat” vel saltem pro precibus recitandis? S. R. C. respondit, “*Posse sed non teneri.*”

What is decided for Vespers holds, of course, for Matins and Laudes, as there is no reason for making a difference between them.

All are aware that it is ordered by the rubric³ to change the white cope for the black one, when the Vespers of the Dead succeed the Vespers of the day in choir, on the feast of All Saints. Martinucci adds that, where the Matins and Laudes of the day are not said in choir on the 2nd of November, but only the Officium Defunctorum, the priest, who officiates at the Office, is to be vested in stole or cope

¹ 12th August, 1854. See also S. R. C., 12th August, 1854 (No. 5208); 21st June, 1855 (No. 5221-2).

² 12th August, 1854 (ad. 8, 9).

³ Caer. Ep., Lib. ii. cap. x. n. 10

over his surplice. “Si ecclesia non tenebitur Officium peragere, et Matutinum cum Laudibus pro defunctis cantabitur mane, tunc . . . Celebrans supra superpelliceo vestietur pluviali nigro vel stola nigra.”¹

3. *Introductory Prayers omitted.*

The usual introductory prayers are omitted in beginning the Office of the Dead; that is to say, the Vespers commence with the recitation of the antiphon of the first psalm; and the Matins with the Invitatory, and, when the Invitatory is not said, with the first antiphon. The older rubricists raise the question whether the Pater Noster, which is usually said on bended knees before the commencement of any portion of the Office recited in choir, is also to be omitted. Gavantus² tells us that it is the practice of the papal chapel to say the Pater Noster. The older editions of the “Caeremoniale Episcoporum” also enjoined it,³ but it is a remarkable fact that this is one of the particulars which are changed in later editions. Gavantus, Guyetus, and nearly all the old rubricists decide that the Pater Noster is not to be said, and they rely chiefly on the silence of the Roman Ritual with respect to it, though the Ritual treats of the Officium Defunctorum as a separate and independent function.

4. *Choir Salutations to be observed.*

In the course of the Officium Defunctorum the usual choir salutations are to be observed:—

“Utrum in Officiis luctuosis Hebdomadae Sanctae et in Officiis Mortuorum omitti debeant, 1° salutatio Chori a quocunque adveniente post inceptum Officium et opportuna resalutatio? 2° Salutatio Chori a Celebrante in accessu et recessu? 3° Salutatio Chori a Celebrante a sede sua ad altare pergente? 4° Salutatio Chori a quocunque cantaturo Lectionem vel a Subdiacono Epistolam cantaturo?”

Resp. S. R. C.—“*Negative in omnibus, excepto Officio Ferae Sextae ab adoratione Crucis usque ad Nonam Sabbati Sancti.*”⁴

We will now proceed to make some remarks on particular parts of the Office.

5. *The Vespers.*

The Vespers of the Office of the Dead, being *first* Vespers, must be said in the evening of the day on

¹ Lib. ii. cap. ix. 47.

² Gavantus, *loc. cit.* n. 5.

³ Guyetus, *loc. cit.* quæst. xxii. De Herdt, *Praxis Pontif.* n. 169. (a).

⁴ 12 Sept., 1857.

which the Matins and Laudes are recited, and if not said then they should be omitted altogether.¹ Take, for example, the “*dies depositionis*,” or the “*dies anniversarius* ;” the Vespers, if recited, should be recited on the previous evening.

6. *The Matins : three Nocturns, or only one.*

The complete Matins consist of three Nocturns and nine Lessons. Sometimes, however, but one Nocturn and three Lessons, followed by Laudes, are said, and sometimes the one Nocturn and three Lessons even without the Laudes. This practice the Roman Ritual sanctions “*ob causam rationabilem*,” even on the day of burial; and for other occasions than the “*dies depositionis*” it assigns the particular Nocturn to be said on the different days of the week. It has been decided by the Congregation of Rites, that one who is bound even “*ex fundatione*” to say the Office of the Dead, discharges his obligation by chanting one Nocturn with Lauds, unless it has been expressly stipulated that the whole Office is to be said.²

When only one Nocturn is said, it is necessary to select the particular Nocturn assigned to the day by the Rubric. “*Non licet*,” says the Congregation of Rites, “*in tumultu cadaveribus et Anniversariis celebrandis recitare ad libitum unum ex nocturnis defunctorum in qualibet feria*.”³ The first Nocturn is assigned to Monday and Thursday; the second to Tuesday and Friday, and the third to Wednesday and Saturday.⁴ When the Office is said in the evening, the Nocturn of the following day is to be taken; that of Monday on Sunday evening; that of Tuesday on Monday evening, and so on.⁵

There is one exception to this rule. It is the “*dies depositionis*,” on which, when only one Nocturn is said, *the first* must always be selected.⁶

7. *The Invitatory.*

The Invitatory is to be said on all occasions on which the three Nocturns are recited. The rubric in the Breviary is—“*Hoc Invitatorium dicitur tantum in die Commemora-*

¹ Gavantus, *loc. cit.* n. 6. Guyetus, *loc. cit.* De Herdt, Tom. iii. p. 5. n. 127.

² S. R. C. 21 July, 1855 (No. 8,212).

³ May 16, 1842. ⁴ Rub. Brev. *in loc.*

⁵ De Herdt, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Rub. Rit. Rom. *in fine.* De Herdt, *loc. cit.*

tionis omnium Fidelium Defunctorum et in die depositionis Defuncti, quibus diebus dicuntur tres infrascripti Nocturni et Antiphonae duplicantur.” Gardellini¹ makes the following comment on this rubric:—“Quae Breviarii rubrica ad duos tantum casus limitata, concordi scriptorum sententia et omnium Ecclesiarum usu, extenditur ad casus omnes in quibus tres Nocturni recitantur.”

When three Nocturns are not said, the Invitatory should be omitted,² except on the day of burial, when it precedes the recital of even one Nocturn.³ “Invitatorium cum Psalmo ‘Venite’ legi duntaxat debet ex rubricarum Breviarii prae-scripto, dum Officium integrum est . . . Si unum tantum Nocturnum recitetur, servanda est regula de non recitando Invitatorio.” Gardellini, in this place, is speaking specially against the practice of saying the Invitatory on an Anniversary when only one Nocturn is chanted. He allows but one exception, and that is the “dies depositionis.”⁴

8. The Antiphons.

The Antiphons are to be doubled on All Souls’ Day, on the day of burial, even “*absente cadavere*,” on the 3rd, 7th, 30th, and the anniversary, even though but one Nocturn is recited on these days.

On all other occasions, whether one, two, or three Nocturns are said, the Antiphons should be only intoned.

¹ Note on decree of S. R. C., 4 June, 1817.

² S. R. C. 2 May, 1801. 20 Sept., 1806. 4 June, 1817. Gardellini, *loc. cit.*

³ Gard. *loc. cit.* Rub. Rit. Rom. Meratus, Tom. ii. sect. ix., cap. 2. Guyetus, Lib. iv. cap. xii. Q. xvi. de Herdt, Tom. iii., p. 5. n. 127.

⁴ “Si unum tantum Nocturnum recitetur (in anniversario), servanda est regula de non recitando Invitatorio. Equidem non ignoro Ritualis rubricam titulo de Exequiis, quae praecipit, quod si, ob temporis angustiam . . . Officium Mortuorum cum tribus Nocturnis et Laudibus dici non potest . . . dicatur saltem primum Nocturnum cum Laudibus, maxime ubi ejusmodi viget consuetudo incipiendo, ab Invitatorio, *Regem cui omnia vivunt. Venite*, &c. Sed haec rubrica taxative disponit de officio recitando in depositione defuncti, si rationabilis causa interveniat, ne integrum officium peragatur. Quod tamen pro uno casu, moderando regulam generalem, statutum est ne defuncti corpus sine officio terrae tradetur, trahi nequit ad alios casus longe diversos, veluti est Anniversarium, in quo proinde, si Invitatorum dici velit aut debeat ex voluntate Testatorum vel petentium, omnes tres Nocturni cum duplicatis antiphonis erunt recitandi. Sed si in Anniversario . . . spontanea et libera sit vel ex more inducta recitatio unius duntaxat Nocturni, huic praetermittendum non erit Invitatorium.”—GARDELLINI. Note on decree of S. R. C. 4th June, 1817, (1536).

In eply to a question on this matter the Congregation of Rites answered:—

“*Serventur rubricae ritualis Romani, et duplicatio antiphonarum, praeter diem Commemorationis Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum et diem depositionis defuncti, fiat in diebus 3^{ti}o, 7^o, 30^{mo} et anniversario tantum.*”

Neither the Roman Ritual, nor the Breviary, nor the Sacred Congregation, puts the restriction of requiring the three Nocturns to be said on these days, as a condition for the doubling of the Antiphons. Accordingly, the rubricists generally lay down the rule absolutely, as stated above.

The decree just quoted decides that the Antiphons are not to be doubled except on the days we have enumerated. To bring this point out clearly we have italicized the word “*tantum.*”

9. The Ninth Lesson.

It is the common opinion of rubricists that the celebrant need not read the Ninth Lesson. “*Non opus est,*” writes De Herdt, “*ut celebrans dicat nonam lectionem, et si eam dicat, acolythi cum candalabris non assistant, . . . et chorus non assurgit.*”¹ Bauldry also writes,² “*nec opus est ut celebrans dicat nonam lectionem.*” Martinucci seems even to forbid this practice. He writes, “*Nonam lectionem non canet celebrans sed aliquis seniorum de choro et clerus in choro non assurget.*”³

10. The Ninth “*Responsorium.*”

The “*Response,*” after the 9th Lesson, is sometimes said incorrectly. In order to describe clearly how it should be read, we will print in full the *Responsorium*, stating before each part by whom, whether by the clergy or the reader of the 9th Lesson, it is recited.

The clergy say:—“*Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, in die illa tremenda. Quando coeli movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem.*”

The reader of the 9th Lesson says:—“*Tremens factus sum ego et timeo, dum discussio venerit atque ventura ira.*”

The clergy reply:—“*Quando coeli movendi sunt et terra.*”

Then the reader follows with:—“*Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae, dies magna et amara valde.*”

¹ Praxis Pontif. n. 199.

² Pars iv. cap. xviii. n. 14.

³ Lib. ii cap ix. n. 38.

The clergy reply :—"Dum veneris judicare sacculum per ignem."

Again the reader says :—"Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis."

And finally the clergy repeat :—"Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, in die illa tremenda. Quando coeli movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare sacculum per ignem."

What causes the danger of mistake in reading this "responsorium" is the presence of the two asterisks.¹ In the first "responsorium" of the first Sunday in Advent as many as three asterisks occur. Accordingly, to teach us the use of the asterisks in the "responsoria," and to serve as a model for all similar ones, this responsorium is printed in full, with its repetitions, in the Breviary.

This response is said in the Office of the Dead only when the three Nocturns are recited. When the third Nocturn alone is said, there is another response, beginning with the words—"Libera me, Domine, de viis inferni," &c.

11. *The Psalms "Lauda Anima" and "De Profundis."*

The psalms "Lauda Anima" in Vespers, and "De Profundis" in Laudes, are omitted on All Souls' Day and on the day of burial. De Herdt adds that this holds even when only one Nocturn is said on these days.² We find, however, a decision of the Congregation declaring it to be a better practice to say the "De Profundis" when only one Nocturn without Laudes is recited.³

On all other occasions,⁴ except All Souls' and the "dies depositionis," they are to be said, not even excepting the Office held by a religious community on receiving the announcement of the death of one of its members.⁵

12. *The Parts of the Office which are changeable.*

The only parts of the Office of the Dead which are changeable (except certain prayers), according as it is said for one or more than one, for men or women, are the verses in Vespers and Laudes, that follow immediately the

¹ De Herdt expresses clearly the rule for reading "responsoria," in which two or three asterisks occur, "sive duo sive tres dentur asterisci, repetitiones tamen tantum fieri debent ab uno ad alterum asteriscum, non autem usque ad versum; ita ut, si duo ponantur asterisci, prima repetitio post versum fiat a primo ad secundum asteriscum, servatis verbis a secundo asterisco ad versum pro secunda repetitione." Praxis S. Liturg.—Tom ii. n. 349.

² Praxis Litur. Tom. iii., n. 127-7.

³ 28 July, 1855, (n. 8221).

⁴ De Herdt, loc cit.

⁵ S. R. C., 27 March, 1779

“*Lauda anima,*” and the “*De Profundis.*” We say at this place—“*A porta inferi, erue, Domine, animam ejus (eorum, for more than one). Requiescat (or, Requiescant) in pace.*”¹

All the other versicles and responses remain unaltered, as they are found in the ritual or breviary, no matter for whom the Office is offered. Hence, we always say at the termination of the psalms—“*Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis:*” in the versicles before the Lessons, we say: “*Erue, Domine, animas eorum.*”—“*Collocet eos Dominus cum principibus.*”—“*Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi;*” and after the prayers in Vespers and Laudes, “*Requiescant in pace.*”

¹ Rubricists *passim*.

NOTES TO FORMER ANSWERS.

1. The Turin Breviary.

In referring to this Breviary in our last number, a correspondent stated that it had not received the “*Approbatio Ordinarii.*” Considering that the Breviary was published at Turin by a Catholic bookseller, the statement seemed to us surprising, and accordingly, as we had not the Breviary by us then, we were careful to answer the question proposed in a conditional form—namely, “If the Breviary in question has not the *Approbatio Ordinarii*, it cannot be legitimately used.”

Since then, we have received for examination a copy, and we find, as might be expected, that it has the approbation of the Ordinary. This approbation is not printed in the book itself, but is to be found on the first page of the first of the supplemental parts, which contains the “*Rubricae Breviarii.*” The fact of not seeing it in the usual place for the “*Approbatio Ordinarii*” supplies, probably, the explanation of the not unnatural mistake of our correspondent.

We cannot withhold a word of warm commendation for this edition of the Breviary. Its chief aim is to supply a “*Totum*” in so small a form that it can be carried without any inconvenience in the hand or pocket. This purpose the present edition admirably serves.

The “*Proprium de tempore*” is divided into ten little separate parts: the “*Proprium Sanctorum*” into eight, and the Homilies of the Sundays form one, whilst the rest of the Breviary makes up the book itself, which is no larger than a “*Diurnal.*” It is, in fact, a

pocket edition of the Breviary, which will be particularly useful to priests when travelling. It is printed in small, but clear and well-defined type, on toned paper, and is neatly bound.

The agents for Ireland for the sale of this Turin edition of the Breviary are Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin.

2. *The Prayer "A Cunctis."*

It may be well to mention here—though the point was so obvious that little danger of error could arise—that, in replying to a Liturgical Question in the September number (page 493, lines 15, &c.), a slight diversity occurs between the order of names as given in the illustration, and the general principle which is there laid down as regulating the position of the Patron of the Church in the prayer "*A Cunctis*."

The general principle, as stated in the September number, is that *the order of the Litanies should be observed*. To prevent any possible misconception, we give this order in full, so far as regards the names in reference to which any difficulty could occur.

Sancta Maria,	}	Ora pro nobis.
Sancte Michael,		
Sancte Gabriel,		
Sancte Raphael,		
Omnes sancti Angeli et Archangeli,	}	Orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti beatorum Spirituum Ordines,		
Sancte Joannes Baptista,	}	Ora pro nobis.
Sancte Joseph,		
Omnes Sancti Patriarchae et Prophetæ—		Orate.
Sancte Petre—		Ora pro nobis.
&c., &c., &c.		

Hence, if a church is dedicated to St. Michael, for instance, the prayer, *A Cunctis*, should run thus:—Intercedente B.... Maria, cum B. Michael, B. Joseph, beatis Apostolis," &c. So also for any other of the Archangels or Angels.

In a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist it would be:—"Intercedente B.... Maria, cum B. Joanne Baptista, B. Joseph," &c.

In a church dedicated to any of the other saints, as, for instance, to St. Patrick:—"Intercedente B.... Maria, cum B. Joseph, beatis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, atque B. Patricio," &c.

R. B.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Alzog's History of the Church, translated.—3 vols., 8vo. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Co.

THE author of the work of which this is a translation, Dr. John Alzog, filled the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau for twenty-five years. Before his elevation, in 1853, to that high position, he had, whilst holding a similar place in the Ecclesiastical College of Posen, published a Manual of Church History in 1840. His reputation was at once established, and the highest post which a Catholic Priest could fill in any German University, was now open to him, and was at length secured to him at the date already named.

The work we are bringing under brief notice is an English translation of Dr. Alzog's Manual, not as that Manual appeared in the first edition, but in the enlarged and improved form it has assumed in the *ninth* edition, published in 1872. The most careless will observe that a crowning success attended the labours of Dr. Alzog as an author. It is seldom that a writer has to congratulate himself upon seeing his works run through nine editions. Indeed, when this happens, it will be commonly found that the secret of his popularity lies in an appeal to the passions or prejudices of his readers. There was little in the subject of which Dr. Alzog treats to enlist such sympathies. His theme, no doubt, is one of the very highest order in point of interest and instruction, but it had become familiar by the handling of many in the field before him. Compendiums of Church History without number had long been in circulation. Dr. Alzog has, however, shown how important topics, with which every one has some acquaintance, may, when touched by a master-hand, gain freshness, and come before us with new attractions.

His Manual was quickly circulated among those who spoke the language—the German—in which it was written. This range, though wide, was yet too narrow for the fame of the author and for the usefulness of his work. It was soon translated into French, Italian, Polish, and Bohemian. Of its translation into English we are now to speak. We have before us what might seem to be two such translations—the American, and the Dublin now under review. These can hardly be called two editions, much less two independent translations. The Dublin is nothing more, nor is it claimed for it to be anything more, than a reprint of the American, with a correction of some typographical errors, and an alteration of some peculiarities of spelling, and of a few modes of expression common in the United States. The first volume of the American translation was published in 1874; the second in 1876; and the third and last in 1878. These volumes, all published at Cincinnati, Ohio, are the fruits of the joint labours of Dr. Pabisch and Rev. Thomas

S. Byrne ; the former, the lately deceased President of St. Mary's Seminary, the latter, a Professor in the same Institution. Dr. Pabisch's knowledge of German, and Rev. T. Byrne's knowledge of English, and the use made by both through their acquaintance with French of the translation by Goeschler and Audley into that tongue, are justly to be accepted as fair securities that they have supplied us with a faithful and not inelegant translation of the original. In a certain sense the American translators merit the praise of authorship. For, whilst reproducing the work of Dr. Alzog very faithfully under a new garb, they have made some additions to the text and to the foot notes, and have acknowledged, by an intimation to their readers, the contributions by which they alone are responsible. The American translators and editors inform us that, "whilst the revered German author, the late Dr. Alzog, was followed with scrupulous fidelity throughout the work, and his own amendments down to our own day faithfully embodied in this volume (third), a due regard to the ninety millions of English-speaking Christians required a fuller and more independent treatment of our own ecclesiastical affairs, and hence the Church History of America, Great Britain and Ireland, and the History of the Vatican Council, and of Christian Missions, both Catholic and Protestant, had to be re-written. As in the two preceding volumes, so also in this, synoptical tables of the leading events and of Councils were added to the original." Much aid to the student of Church History is afforded by some additional ecclesiastical maps and statistics, for which we are entirely indebted to the American editors.

It is hardly necessary to say that any Church History, designed for the purposes which Dr. Alzog had in view, requires some authoritative approval to insure it a frank reception. The original work of the Freiburg Professor comes before the public with the sanction of his Ordinary. The American translation has received not only the Imprimatur but the high commendations of the Archbishops of Cincinnati and Baltimore—the Most Reverend Drs. Purcell and Bayley.

When, then, the well-known firm of Gill & Son, in that spirit of enterprise and of zeal for promoting the growth of literature, for which their house is noted, decided upon reprinting the American translation of Dr. Alzog's "Church History," at a lower price, and in a more convenient, and it is to be added, more elegant form, they must have felt assured that they had adopted the best means to supply a want long felt in this country. As it is our sincere wish, so is it our confident hope, that a success proportionate to the boldness of the project and the excellence of the work now made accessible to so many, shall secure to these eminent publishers results of which they are so well deserving,

It strikes us that short as this notice must be, room should be found for some reference to the grounds on which Dr. Alzog's

Manual of Church History has deserved and won so wide a popularity. The secret seems to lie :—1. In the clear and just division into which he has distributed his whole subject. 2. In his comprehensiveness of treatment, omitting nothing required for a full and sufficiently detailed view of the largest and most important field of historical investigation that can engage the attention of any student. 3. In providing his readers with a good compendium—not the least difficult of literary tasks—to serve as a Text-book for the Class-hall and a Manual for the general reader—a compendium in which the results of his own long and laborious researches and vast erudition are set forth, and the rich and varied sources, whence he drew his stores of knowledge, are made known to all, that they too, if they list, may find their way to each fountain-head. 4. In the confidence inspired by the guidance of a confessedly able, accurate, learned and impartial writer, whose careful research, freedom of thought and breadth of view are not more conspicuous than his instinctive and ready submission to the Supreme Authority of the Church. The tribute paid to his erudition and soundness of principle, in being called to Rome in 1869, to share in the work of preparation for the Vatican Council, by taking a place on the Commission of Dogmatic Theology over which Cardinal Bilio presided, and in being associated with such fellow-commissioners as Mgrs. Cardoni, Perrone, S.J.; Schrader, S.J.; Martinelli, O.S.A.; and other eminent divines, is an additional assurance of the very highest value that, whilst we explore history in Dr. Alzog's company, we are not likely to miss our way in the search of truth.

We have indicated the rich, and not often combined, qualities for which Dr. Alzog is distinguished above so many writers on Church History. To these gifts of his are we indebted for a truly classic Manual of Ecclesiastical History. By these has he mastered the difficulty of the task to which, with much anxiety as to the result, he addressed himself—the task of providing our Catholic literature with a work, at once elementary and scientific, on the history of the Christian Church.

We should wish to draw out the plan adopted by Dr. Alzog in his structure of Church History. But, as we approach the limits allotted to this notice, our remarks on this head must be of the briefest. All that we can now do is to ask the intelligent reader to give attention, 1. To the introductory chapters, the one literary, the other historical, in which he will find much information that is indispensable for all serious students of the History of the Church of God. 2. To the grand, simple, and by no means arbitrary, divisions of Church History into three periods—ancient, mediæval, and modern. 3. To the method adopted for giving a vivid picture of the past, by observing what is so well known as the “Order of events.”

This is not the place to lay down the conditions to be observed by a writer of Church History, that the award of excellence be

recorded in his favour. That Dr. Alzog has not overlooked them is the unanimous verdict of a host of competent judges. When he passed away, on the 28th of February, 1878, he left a legacy to his pupils at Freiburg, and to the innumerable readers of his history, which, it is hoped, shall awaken in them, as he, with the vivid power of genius and profound sympathy with his subject, eloquently pleaded, "an ardent and energetic love of truth," and a keen sense of the dignity, splendour, and majesty of the Church of Christ. Many of the slight exceptions which might be taken to the manner in which some subjects are treated by Dr. Alzog, will be felt to have no force, when it is borne in mind that his Manual was designed as a Text-book. The aid of fuller exposition on many points was, in his plan, to be derived by the student in the Class-hall from his Professor, by the private reader from the sources of fuller information which Dr. Alzog is so careful to make known.

The English translation supplies us with a faithful rendering of the original, with the addition of much valuable matter. For having placed within easy reach a work so important and so much needed, we feel bound to make our acknowledgments to the eminent firm of Messrs. Gill and Son.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Essentials of History and Literature. By FR. GALLERY, S.J.

The Girl's Spiritual Calendar. Translated by JOSEPHINE M. BLACK.

The Catholic Family Annual for 1881. By the Catholic Publication Society, New York.

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES, London—

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin. By LE PÈRE DE GALLIFET (translated).

Devotions for the Way of the Cross. By FR. RAWES, D.D.

From A. E. CHAMNEY—

Gaelic Union Publications: Laoidh Oisín air Thír Na N-og.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1880.

THE MODERN THEORY OF HEAT, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE PHENOMENA OF LATENT HEAT.¹

II.—THE LATENT HEAT OF VAPOURS.

THE common domestic operation of boiling water is one with which you are all, no doubt, familiar, though perhaps you have not all observed it with the attention it deserves, or adverted to its full significance. It is an interesting and instructive operation under many different aspects; but I mean to refer to it to-day only in so far as it will help us to get a further insight into the laws of Latent Heat.

On the table before you is a flask, containing about a pound weight of water, which has been brought to boiling point by means of the gas burner you see underneath it. Twenty minutes ago, the water was at the temperature of the air in this hall, which is 12°C .; but, as it received heat from the gas burner, it got hotter and hotter, and the thermometer, which you see resting in it, rose high and higher, until at last the water began to boil, and the thermometer then indicated 100°C . From that moment, though heat has been passing into the vessel, as before, the water has got no hotter, and the thermometer still stands at 100°C . And so matters would remain, if I left the gas burning under the flask, until all the water had been boiled away, and diffused through the atmosphere in the form of vapour. Further, let it be observed, that when I lift up the ther-

¹Two Lectures delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society, April 14 and 16, 1880, by the Rev. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D.

mometer, and hold the bulb in the steam that passes off from the surface of the water, the mercury still stands $100^{\circ}\text{C}.$; showing that the temperature of the steam, into which the water has been converted, is no higher than that of the boiling water itself.

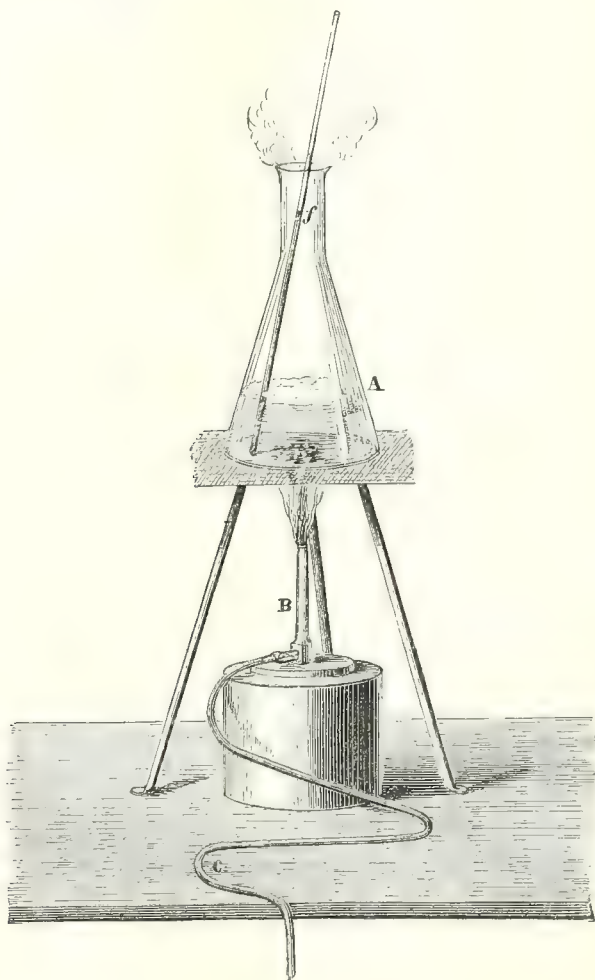


FIG. 5.—THE LATENT HEAT OF STEAM.

A Flask of Boiling Water. B Bunsen's Burner.
c Flexible Tube coming from Gas-pipe. f Thermometer standing steadily at $100^{\circ}\text{C}.$

From the consideration of these facts the question naturally arises, what becomes of the heat that is thus poured into this boiling water, and that leaves the water no hotter than it was before? This question, you will see at once, is analogous to that which we discussed on Wednesday last, in relation to the melting of ice; and we are

naturally led to account for the heat that disappears when water is boiled, according to the same principles by which we account for the heat that disappears when ice is melted. Dr. Black, of Edinburgh, a hundred and twenty years ago, resting on the old theory, which regarded heat as a kind of matter, said that the missing heat lies concealed between the particles of the vapour into which the water has been converted; and that, when the vapour is changed back to water again, the heat is squeezed out from its hiding place, and forced to make itself sensible. But according to the modern theory, which regards heat as a kind of energy, all the heat that is added to boiling water is simply expended in doing work, that is, in converting the water from the state of a liquid to the state of a vapour.

Let us try to bring home clearly to our minds the nature of this work. Here is a large glass bulb with a long stem attached to it. The bulb has been filled with water, coloured with a crimson dye to make it more plainly visible, and this coloured water stands, as you see, at a height of two or three inches in the stem. I now plunge the bulb, so prepared, into a large beaker of warm water. The water within the bulb soon becomes heated by the mass around it, and, at the same time, it expands in volume, for you see the coloured liquid is now slowly rising in the stem.

From this experiment we learn that, when water exists at a temperature below boiling point, the heat that is added to it produces two effects; it raises the temperature, and it increases the volume. The increase of temperature consists, according to the modern theory, in the increased energy with which the molecules swing about through indefinitely small spaces. The increase of volume is a consequence of this increased energy of vibration: for when the molecules are swinging about with greater energy than before, they naturally require more room to swing in; they get farther away from one another, and so they come, in the aggregate, to occupy a greater space. But this second effect, though a consequence of the first, implies, in itself, a two-fold work, which cannot be done without a corresponding expenditure of energy. First, the particles of water have to be pulled asunder against the resistance of those molecular forces which tend to keep them locked together; and secondly, as the water expands, it must, of necessity, push back the atmosphere before it, which is practically equivalent to lifting a weight of fifteen pounds on every square inch of surface.

Thus, when the water within this bulb is heated, a portion of the heat imparted to it goes to make it hotter, and a portion goes to do the work I have described. The portion that goes to make it hotter continues to exist as heat; the portion that goes to do the work ceases to exist as heat, and is represented, in fact, by so much work done. But when the boiling point is reached, the water, supposing it always to exist in an open vessel, is incapable of being raised to a higher temperature. Instead of getting hotter, it now begins to pass rapidly into the form of vapour, in which its volume, which before had been increasing by slow degrees, is now increased, at once, seventeen-hundred fold. From this moment, then, all the heat that is poured into the mass is expended in doing the two-fold work I have described; that is, in pulling asunder the molecules against the forces that tend to keep them locked together, and in pushing back the weight of the atmosphere.

The heat that is thus expended in converting a pound weight of water, at boiling point, into vapour, or steam, at the same temperature, is called the Latent Heat of the vapour; and we have now to consider how much heat is required to produce this change. As before, we will take, for our unit of measurement, the quantity of heat that is necessary to raise a pound weight of water through one degree of the Centigrade scale; and we will call it a Pound-Centigrade unit of heat. The problem before us is to determine how many such units of heat must be added to a pound weight of boiling water, before the whole of the water will have been converted into vapour.

Here is a very simple experiment, which every one can repeat for himself, without any expensive apparatus, and which is amply sufficient for a rough approximation. Yesterday I took a pound weight of water and put it into that flask before you: the temperature of the water at the time was 20° C. I then put this spirit lamp under the flask, and, marking the time, I found that in half an hour the water began to boil. This observation gave me a rough measure of the quantity of heat that passed, in half an hour, from the spirit lamp into the flask; for to raise a pound weight of water from 20° C. to 100° C. requires just 80 Pound-Centigrade units of heat. Leaving the flask of boiling water and the spirit lamp in the same relative positions, I now waited until all the water was boiled away, and I found that this process took just three hours and a half. Now, since 80 units of heat passed from the spirit lamp into the

flask, in each half hour, it follows that 80 units multiplied by 7, or 560 units, must have passed in three hours and a half: and consequently, this enormous quantity of heat, according to the experiment, must be added to a pound weight of boiling water, in order to convert it into steam at the same temperature.

You will easily understand that an experiment such as this can only give a rough approximation to the truth; and, I need hardly say, that the elaborate methods of investigation which are necessary for exact measurement, are unsuited to an occasion like the present. It will be interesting however to know that, according to the most careful researches, recently made, in which every source of error has been, as far as possible, excluded or allowed for, the Latent Heat of the vapour of water, at 100°C ., is 536; that is to say, it takes 536 Pound-Centigrade units of heat to convert a pound weight of boiling water into vapour.

We saw, on Wednesday last, that when a liquid is converted into a solid, as much heat is given out, and made sensible, as would be expended in converting the solid back again into a liquid; and I explained, at some length, how this fact is accounted for in the modern theory of heat. Now we find a phenomenon exactly analogous to this in the case of a vapour and a liquid. Five hundred and thirty-six units of heat must be expended to convert a pound of boiling water into steam at the same temperature; and when the steam is converted back into water, 536 units of heat will be again made sensible. This may be roughly shown by an experiment which would be much too tedious to perform here, but which I may be allowed briefly to explain.

Suppose I put a pound weight of water, at 0°C ., into this glass beaker, and then, surrounding the vessel with a good non-conducting material, allow the steam from a flask of boiling water to pass into it by means of a bent glass tube, the steam, as it passes in, will be condensed into the liquid state, and the heat it gives up will be imparted to the pound of cold water. At the end of some time the water will begin to boil: it will then have received just 100 units of heat from the condensation of the steam. To appreciate this experiment fully you must observe that the steam itself, which came into the vessel at 100°C ., now exists there as water, at the same temperature; it is therefore neither hotter nor colder than it was before. We are consequently justified in concluding that the hundred units of heat which

which it gave up in passing back to the liquid state, and then 70 units more, which it lost in falling from 100° C. to 30° C., making in all 606 units of heat. Whereas if a pound of hot water goes out from the boiler, at 100° C., and comes back at 30° C., it gives up, in its passage through the building, only 70 units of heat in all. Observe I do not mean to pronounce any opinion upon the comparative merits of the two systems of heating. That is a much larger question, and it involves considerations outside of our present subject. I only mean to say that, considered merely as a carrier of heat, steam is far more efficient than hot water, and for this simple reason, that it can carry a great deal more.

When water is boiling it is converted into vapour with great rapidity: bubbles of steam are formed within the mass of the liquid itself, force their way to the surface, and escape into the air with a certain explosive force. But water may be converted into vapour at lower temperatures, though much less rapidly, and only at the free surface where the water is in contact with the air. In this case the process is usually known under the name of evaporation. Whenever water is exposed to the air, evaporation goes on more or less rapidly; and the point I want to insist on just now is this, that the conversion of water into vapour, by the slow process of evaporation, is due to the expenditure of heat just as truly as when it is effected by the more rapid process of boiling. Nay more, the amount of heat that must be expended to convert a given weight of water into vapour increases as the temperature gets lower. We have seen that the Latent Heat of the vapour of water, at 100° C., is 536. At 12° C., which is about the temperature of this hall, it is 600; that is to say, it takes 600 units of heat to convert a pound weight of water, at 12° C., into vapour at the same temperature.

All other liquids—alcohol, for example, ether, bisulphide of carbon—may, like water, be converted into vapour, and the quantity of heat required to convert a given weight of the liquid, at its own boiling point, into vapour, at the same temperature, is called, in each case, the Latent Heat of that particular vapour. Thus the Latent Heat of the vapour of alcohol is 200; the Latent Heat of the vapour of ether is 90. It is worth remembering that water holds a very remarkable position with regard to this phenomenon of Latent Heat. The Latent Heat of water, in the liquid state, is greater than that of any other liquid; and the Latent Heat of water, in the state of vapour, is greater than

that of any other vapour. In other words, it takes more heat to convert a pound of melting ice into water than to convert a pound of any other solid, already existing at its melting temperature, into its corresponding liquid; and it takes more heat to convert a pound of boiling water into vapour than to convert a pound of any other liquid, already boiling, into its corresponding vapour.

Let me now give you some practical illustrations of the Latent Heat of vapours. It is a familiar fact that if you get a wetting, and remain in wet clothes, you soon begin to feel intensely cold; but perhaps the reason of this fact is not quite so familiar. It is not the coldness of the water that produces this effect, for the water is no colder than the surrounding air: it is the evaporation of the water, a process that goes on very rapidly, as the water is spread over a large surface. This evaporation, as we have seen, is effected by the expenditure of heat; and the greater part of the heat required is taken from your body, which may be regarded as a storehouse of heat, ready at hand for the purpose. It may be roughly stated that for every drop of water, converted into vapour, you expend of your own heat as much as would raise, at least, 500 drops through one degree Centigrade, or, say, 5 drops through 100 degrees Centigrade, that is, from freezing to boiling point. Nor will you mend matters much by standing near a fire, because the heat of the fire only tends to make the evaporation more rapid; and, as it expends itself in doing so, it fails to make you warm.

I may illustrate these considerations by a very simple experiment. On the table before you, supported by a retort stand, is a large air thermometer, the bulb of which is covered with a muslin bag. In the stem of the thermometer you see a coloured liquid, which stands out in relief against the slip of white cardboard behind it. This coloured liquid rises in the stem when the air in the bulb expands, and falls in the stem when the air in the bulb contracts; and since the air expands with heat and contracts with cold, the movement of the coloured liquid will indicate to us any change of temperature that takes place within the bulb. Taking a small beaker of water, at the same temperature as the surrounding air, I pour out a thin stream over the muslin bag. The bulb of the thermometer is now practically sitting in wet clothes, and you can see for yourselves the effect produced. The water begins

to evaporate; the process of evaporation involves the expenditure of the heat; the heat is furnished, in great part, by the bulb itself and the air within it; the air losing its

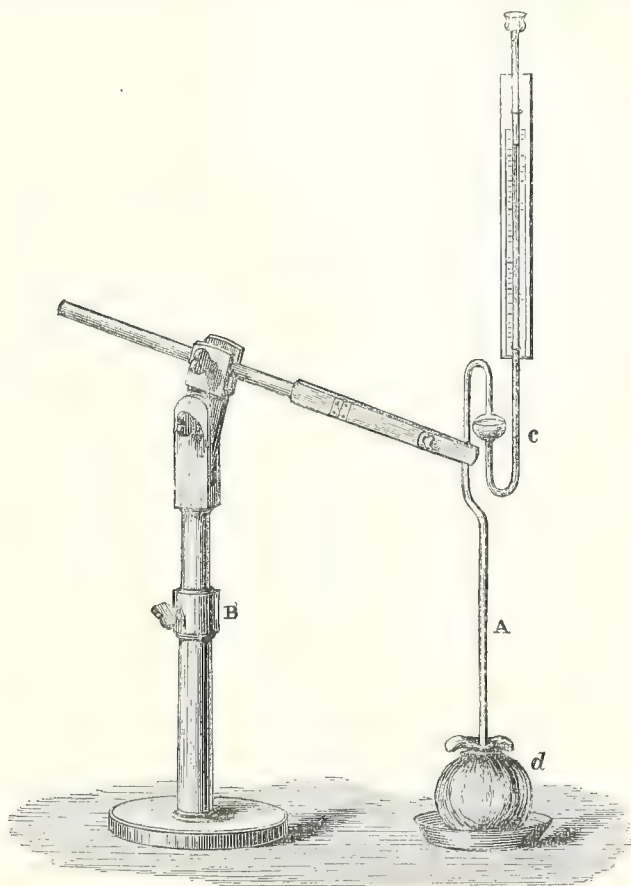


FIG. 7.—HEAT EXPENDED IN THE PROCESS OF EVAPORATION.

- A Large Air Thermometer. B Retort Stand.
c Coloured Liquid in Stem.
d Muslin Bag covering Bulb of Thermometer.

heat contracts; and now the coloured liquid, falling in the stem, plainly reveals to the eye the chilling effect produced by the evaporation. I place a jet of burning gas within a few inches of the bulb, but the coloured liquid remains stationary at the point to which it had fallen. The heat that comes from the flame hastens the process of evaporation, but has no sensible effect in heating the air within the bulb.

Sulphuric ether is a liquid much more volatile than water, that is, much more rapidly converted into vapour

and cover them with a receiver. My assistant will now proceed to exhaust the air. As the pressure is removed from the surface of the ether, the process of evaporation is greatly accelerated, and now you can see the ether boiling violently in the partial vacuum that has been created. This rapid evaporation implies the rapid expenditure of heat, which must come, of course, from the ether itself, from the test tube that is plunged in it, and from the water within the test tube. Hence a rapid fall in the temperature of the water, which now begins to freeze. At the end of four minutes I remove the receiver, and take out the test tube; you see that the water has been converted into a solid block of ice.

In the experiment I have just shown you, water is frozen by the evaporation of ether. About the beginning of the present century, Sir John Leslie, then Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, conceived the idea of freezing water by its own evaporation. You all know, I dare say, that the temperature at which water boils, depends on the pressure under which it exists. At the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere, water boils at 100°C .; but when the pressure is reduced, it will boil at a much lower temperature. On the top of Mount Blanc, for example, the pressure is not quite three-fifths of what it is at the sea level, and water boils at 85°C . At Quito, in South America, which is 9,500 feet above the sea level, the pressure of the atmosphere is little more than two-thirds of what it is with us here, in Dublin; and water boils there at about 90°C . I have been told by a person who travelled in that country, that he found it impossible to boil potatoes at Quito; and he thought there must have been something wrong with the potatoes. But the true explanation would seem to be furnished by the fact we are now considering. Water placed in an open vessel, that is, a vessel from which the steam has free escape, at the altitude of Quito, begins to boil at 90°C . After this point has been reached the water can get no hotter; for all the heat that is added, is expended in converting the water into steam: and it would seem, from the experience of my friend, that this temperature is not sufficiently high for the proper cooking of potatoes.

Under the receiver of an air pump, the pressure can be reduced very readily to the one-sixtieth part of an atmosphere; and at such a pressure, water will boil at a very low temperature indeed. Now, even in these

conditions, the conversion of water into vapour is still effected by the expenditure of heat ; and as that heat must be taken from the bodies that are nearest at hand, it is taken in great part from the water itself. Hence water placed in an air pump vacuum must be quickly chilled, owing to the loss of heat, due to the very rapid evaporation that takes place under the diminished pressure.

But the process of evaporation would, under ordinary circumstances, cease altogether, after a few minutes ; because the space within the receiver would become fully charged, or, as it is usually expressed, saturated with vapour, and could receive no more. To meet this difficulty, Sir John Leslie placed on the plate of an air pump, a shallow vessel filled with sulphuric acid, which has an extraordinary power of absorbing the vapour of water. By this means he succeeded in clearing away the vapour, as fast as it was produced, and so, keeping up a good vacuum with the air pump, he was able to continue the process of rapid evaporation until the water fell below freezing point, and then gradually passed into ice.

This experiment was successfully performed, for the first time, before the Royal Society, in the year 1810. It may be shown on a larger scale, and with greater facility, by means of the apparatus before you, which has been invented and constructed by the ingenious M. Carré, of Paris. This apparatus consists essentially of an air pump, with which is connected a leaden chamber half filled with sulphuric acid. The leaden chamber communicates with a brass nozzle, to which I now attach, by an air tight joint, a flask containing water at the temperature of this hall, 12°C . When the pump is worked, by means of this long lever, the first effect is to produce a partial vacuum in the flask. The process of evaporation goes on more rapidly under the diminished pressure, and the temperature of the water falls. Meanwhile, as the air and the vapour continue to be drawn away from the flask, by the action of the pump, they pass over the surface of the sulphuric acid, in the leaden chamber ; the vapour is absorbed rapidly by the sulphuric acid, and the air is expelled through the barrel of the pump. After thirty or forty strokes the water begins to boil ; and here we have a phenomenon which is, at the same time, very striking and very instructive. We are accustomed to associate the idea of boiling water with hot water : because we commonly see water boiling under the pressure of the atmosphere ; and under that pressure it will not boil, unless

it is hot. But, in the experiment now before us, we have removed this pressure, and the water begins to boil while it is actually falling from 12°C ., to freezing point. Nay

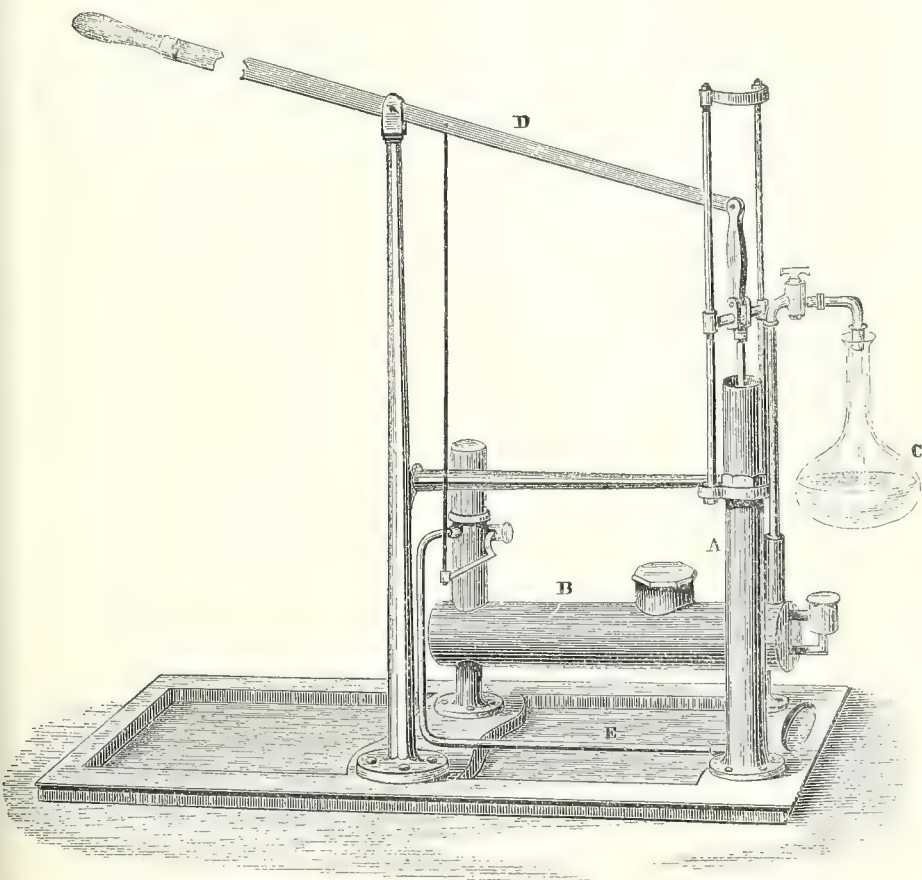


FIG. 9.—CARRE'S MACHINE FOR FREEZING WATER BY ITS OWN EVAPORATION.

- A Barrel of Air Pump.
- B Leaden Chamber containing Sulphuric Acid.
- C. Flask of Water attached to Brass Nozzle, and communicating with Leaden Chamber.
- D Lever to work Piston of Air Pump.
- E Copper Tube through which the Air is withdrawn.

more: it is the very process of boiling that makes the water colder. For here there is no fire to furnish the heat that must be expended in boiling the water; that heat must come from the water itself; and the water gets cold, simply because the heat that before kept it warm, is now expended in changing it into vapour.

And now we have at last reached freezing point. By the aid of a beam of light, which my assistant has projected from the oxy-hydrogen lamp, you can all see, I trust,

that little group of ice crystals that has suddenly sprung into existence on the surface of the water. It is growing rapidly in all directions; and even while I speak it has developed into a thin sheet of ice, which will now get gradually thicker until it becomes a solid block. But, what has become, meanwhile, of the heat that has been taken away from the water within this flask? The answer to this question may be easily deduced from the principles already established. In the first place, it ceased to exist as heat because it was expended in converting the water into vapour. But, then, this vapour having been absorbed by the sulphuric acid, and thus brought back to the liquid state, the heat that was expended before, again re-appears. In proof of this, I need only put my hand on the surface of the leaden chamber, and I can feel that it has got sensibly hot while the water was getting cold. A portion of this heat is, no doubt, produced by the chemical action of the sulphuric acid on the water, but the greater part is due simply to the condensation of the vapour.

One experiment yet remains, which exhibits, in a very interesting way, the Latent Heat of vapours. Carbonic acid, as I dare say you know, commonly exists in the form of a gas. It has a large share in the functions of animal and vegetable life, and is familiar to us in the phenomena of every day experience. When we breathe we take into our lungs the oxygen of the atmosphere, and we send forth carbonic acid; whereas plants and trees take in carbonic acid, and send forth oxygen. Every candle flame and gas flame, and every fire, whether of coal or turf or wood, is maintained by the combustion of carbon, and carbonic acid is one of the products of combustion. It is known to us also as the gas that sparkles so brightly in soda water and in champagne. Now this gas can be reduced to a liquid state under the influence of great pressure, or of great cold, or of both. Not less than 200 gallons of it have been condensed in this iron bottle into about a pint of liquid. It exists here, at present, under a pressure of five or six hundred pounds to the square inch. But when the screw is turned, that closes the neck of the iron bottle, the liquid is put at once into communication with the air; the pressure of five or six hundred pounds is changed into a pressure of fifteen pounds to the square inch; and the liquid suddenly flashes out into vapour. This change involves, as we have seen, the expenditure of heat, and the cold produced, in consequence, is so intense

that the carbonic acid, which comes forth as a vapour is quickly frozen into a solid, and falls down in the form of snow.

My assistant will now turn the screw, and allow the vapour to escape. See with what force it streams through the air; and observe those white particles of solid matter floating in the stream and marking its path. These are minute scraps of carbonic acid snow. I may collect them as they form, by attaching this brass box to the nozzle of the iron bottle. The jet of vapour plays against the sides of the box; the scraps of snow are gathered together, and in a few moments I have quite a large mass of it accumulated. It is not unlike ordinary snow in appearance, but it is very much colder than any snow ever seen in these latitudes. The temperature has not been exactly determined, but it is estimated at from eighty to ninety degrees Centigrade below the freezing point of water. You may take it lightly in your hand without suffering any inconvenience; but if you press it between your fingers, it will blister you like a hot iron.

This carbonic acid snow may be made still colder by pouring ether on it, for the ether dissolves the solid, and heat is given up in the process. In fact, solid carbonic acid and ether combined constitute a powerful freezing mixture on the principles already explained. In this mixture a large quantity of mercury can be frozen, though its freezing point is about forty degrees below zero Centigrade. Let us make the experiment. I put this snow ball of solid carbonic acid into a porcelain saucer, having first taken care to protect the saucer from the intense cold, by interposing a leaf of paper; next, I add a small quantity of ether to the solid mass, and then into the mixture I pour a couple of pounds' weight of mercury. It is frozen at once, and I can lift it up in a solid block, by means of this little tray of wire gauze, previously laid on the paper in the porcelain saucer, to receive the mercury, and now firmly frozen into it. I transfer the whole mass into this tall glass vessel full of water; the mercury soon begins to melt, and passing through the meshes of the wire gauze, falls down in liquid jets through the water. But observe what a curious phenomenon is presented to us, and made visible, as I hope, to all, by the beam of the oxy-hydrogen lamp, which is now projected by my assistant on the tall glass vessel. The falling mercury, though in a liquid state, is still many degrees below the freezing point of water; and so each

jet of mercury, as it falls, freezes the water around it, and you can see near the surface, a number of little funnels of ice, through which the liquid mercury streams down to the bottom of the vessel.

The Latent Heat of vapours plays an important part in the great operations of Nature, and before coming to an end, I should like to give you one remarkable illustration of its influence. We have seen that steam, or the vapour of water, is a very efficient agent as a carrier of heat; and that, in this capacity, it is now used to distribute through our private dwellings and our public buildings, the heat that is generated in a central furnace. Now, it is a very interesting fact, that a process of essentially the same kind has been employed for countless ages, to distribute over our globe the heat that is poured down into the waters of the torrid zone from the great furnace of the sun. This heat is largely expended in converting the waters into vapour. The vapour rising up into the atmosphere, is borne, by the Trade Winds, north and south; as it passes into the colder regions of the temperate zones, it is again condensed into the liquid state, and appears in the form of minute particles of water, which gathering together in large masses, float as clouds over our heads, and then, blending into drops, fall down as rain to the ground. For every pound weight of water that is thus produced about 600 units of heat are given up to our atmosphere; and thus, through the unseen, and almost unnoticed action of the principles we have been considering to-day, this universal element of water, so wonderful in all its various aspects, is turned to account by Nature to temper the inclemency of our northern climate with the heat it has carried off from the distant storehouse of the tropics.

And now, in conclusion, let me sum up briefly the doctrine of Latent Heat, as I have tried to set it before you in these two lectures. When heat is given to a body and makes it hotter, it is called Sensible Heat: when it is given to a body and does not make it hotter, it is called Latent Heat. The name of Latent Heat was founded originally on a wrong conception. Heat was considered to be a kind of matter, and when this matter was poured into a body and did not make it hotter, it was supposed to lie hidden, somehow, between the molecules of the body, and so it was said to be Latent. But now we know that heat is a kind of energy, and that, like other other kinds of energy, it is

capable of doing work. When it is imparted to a body it may stir up its molecules, so as to make them swing about with a more intense activity than before: in this case it makes the body hotter. But it may do other kinds of work; such as pulling asunder the particles of the body, against the molecular forces that tend to keep them locked together, or pushing back the pressure of the atmosphere, which resists the expansion of the body; and in so far as it is thus expended it does not make the body hotter, and ceases, in fact, to exist as heat.

Hence, according to the modern theory, when heat is imparted to a body, we must conceive, under the name of *Sensible Heat*, that portion which goes to intensify the vibration of its molecules, and consequently to make it hotter; while under the name of *Latent Heat*, we must conceive that portion which goes to do other work such as I have described, and to produce thereby some change in the constitution of the body. The heat that is called *Sensible* continues still to exist as heat; the heat that is called *Latent* ceases to exist as heat. In certain conditions of a body *all* the heat that is given to it goes to produce a change in its constitution, and no part goes to make it hotter. This occurs when it is passing from the solid to the liquid state, or from the liquid state to the state of vapour. In these circumstances, therefore, the phenomenon of *Latent Heat* is brought before us, in its most simple and striking form; and, consequently, these changes in the condition of matter are usually selected for the purpose of investigating and illustrating the laws that govern the phenomenon.

Lastly, it is important to remember that whenever a vapour is converted back into a liquid, or a liquid into a solid, the molecules of the body, which had been pulled asunder by the expenditure of heat, clash together again, and, by the force of the collision, generate just the same amount of heat that had been expended in pulling them asunder. Hence the name of *Latent Heat*, which, in the first instance, was founded on an error, is not altogether inappropriate, and may well be retained for want of a better. It is true that the heat so called has in reality ceased to exist as heat; but it has imparted to the body, in which it was formerly supposed to lie concealed, a capacity for producing an equal amount of heat at some future time.

“CELTIC” IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION PROGRAMME: THE OSSIANIC TALES.

PART I.—CONCLUSION.

NOW that we have made ourselves somewhat acquainted with the story of Dermot and Grania, we can use it as a kind of standard to estimate and compare other productions of Irish literature. The reader has now some idea of high excellence attained in Celtic composition. It remains for us to show him that this is no solitary example, that excellence more or less of the kind we have seen is widespread in the remains of our ancient writers. We have just seen a romantic story, containing lengthy passages of stirring eloquence and deep pathos, abounding in varied invention, strongly imaginative, according to the superstitions of the Irish Druid Magic World, and yet delicate and consistent in its delineation of human characters ;—remarkable for increasing interest as the narration proceeds, and for grand and astonishing crowning strokes towards the end ;—but nevertheless all clearly the development of one settled plan, simple in itself, yet bearing unmistakably the marks of a true satirist’s insight into life. Let us see how such qualities as these are found in other productions of the half-forgotten old Irish time which is itself called barbarous, and whose literature generally is anonymous.

The piece appointed last year by the Intermediate Education Commissioners for reading for honour marks in the lower grades, presents in subject and matter a great contrast to the tale we have been considering. The new piece has nothing to do with Ossianic times, though it is published by the Ossianic Society. Instead of the pagan period of Finn, we find ourselves in the Christian epoch at which St. Columkille flourished ; instead of the warlike pursuit and rare hunting and wild life to which we have been accustomed, we have the peaceful and prosperous expedition of a great company of bards, arrogant and covetous, irritable and malicious, beyond even anything that is told of modern poets, yet received with submissive and boundless hospitality by the munificent and charitable King Guaire of Connaught. We have some wizard-power still, but instead of fairy-men, we have the wonder-working

saints, and, instead of the catastrophe of Inscrutable Destiny, we have the correction of a Fatherly Providence in the deep humiliation and sufferings, and the complete cure, both physical and mental, of the leader of the audacious minstrel company. Yet, with all this great divergence in subject and matter, we have clear marks of what we suppose we may call the Irish Ossianic Manner. There are no such fine passages as those which crown the story of Dermot and Grania, but, after progressing for some time rather quietly, and indeed monotonously, the tale suddenly begins to develop new interest, and an unwonted charm is spread over the narrative till it reaches its climax at what we call the winding-up, and the French, more pleasingly, the unravelment; all through, character is in the chief personages strongly marked and carefully kept up; the whole has a fine unity of action, and what is important too, a grand unity of intention, a moral as well as a plan successfully developed, and in a way that reveals the satirist of the nobler order; not by using broad caricature,—though that is employed in the early part of the story, even as we have said to monotony, in showing up the ceaseless and shameless demands of arrogant bards,—but by suddenly rousing the love of the truly noble for its own sake, for its fair appearance in the midst of vulgar life, and making us look upon the meaner world with contempt and pity rather than with hate.

We are most ready to acknowledge what appear to us the great drawbacks of the story, the broad caricature and monotony of the never-ending “modest petitions” of the bards in its early part, which we think, in a purely literary point of view, are nothing short of dreary reading. Nay, if what appears tiresome can ever be called revolting too, we think both epithets will generally seem to be applicable here. But we must not forget that this very portion of the tale possessed, doubtless, a most vivid interest for the people for whose ears it was composed. It was doubtless imagined and brought out amongst our forefathers, at a time when complaints were rife about the greed and insolence of strolling poet-companies; and when public complaint is rife, broad caricature is welcome, repeated accusation is listened to with pleasure, even in the midst of the most refined and enlightened nations. This must never be lost sight of, if we would justly estimate the genius displayed in literature.

Gibbon tells us that to enjoy truly the masterpieces of great writers, we ought to enter into the feelings of their

times and countries, know the events and circumstances around them, be thoroughly at home in all their views and manners, their principles and prejudices, and daily life. Lord Brougham tells us it is impossible for us to do all this, and therefore impossible to enjoy even the Verrine orations of Cicero, as those immortal productions were once deservedly enjoyed in Ancient Rome. It is, indeed, very hard for anyone at the present day to conjure up within himself that keen sense of satisfaction and relief, that glow of exultant hostility and triumph, with which a man who had suffered from the extortion and insolence of the bardic companies, wondered at the broad bold caricature presented to him of those dreaded associations, followed with interest the renewed assaults made upon them with their own bitter literary arms, hailed, perhaps even boisterously, every new mark of repetition which, like the regular sigh prefixed in the story to the avowal of a bard's fancied wants, gave notice that the champion was not yet tired, and was going to begin again his work of mocking and vilifying guilds of bards. We know but too well that we cannot even enjoy the caricatures and tirades of the era of Reform as we do those that have reference to public men of the present day, of whom we may happen to disapprove. Those now neglected tirades and caricatures had a great interest for men not long ago, and the exaggerated repetitions of the audacious begging of the bards, which now appear so dreary, once stirred up lively emotions in the gatherings of many households round the hearths of Ancient Erin. The man who produced them was doubtless one of those able men who do not lag behind or live apart from their age, but who unite the instinct of the popular to a superior power, that of treating worthily the grander subjects whose charms are everlasting. There is abundantly enough in the further development of the work to please in all times and countries a refined and noble nature.

The work appointed by the Intermediate Education Commissioners as the main Celtic subject of study in the Senior Grade, is the "Boyish Exploits of Finn." This work appears to have been selected on account of the archaic nature of its Irish, it is extremely short, a fragment certainly, perhaps only an introduction. Much will not be expected from it in the way of great literary development. In it however as in other Irish prose tales, passages of verse are carefully introduced from time to time. They are not

brought in as the production of the author of the prose ; such a thing would have been a strange irregularity indeed in masters of the art of composition, the art of producing a homogeneous whole from various parts. They come in as illustrations of what is mentioned in the prose and are not so long as to be possibly mistaken for anything more. They cannot obscure the clear progress of the tale. It so happens that the verses, in the middle of one line of which the archaic tract on Finn's boyish exploits breaks off abruptly, are those selected by Mr. Standish O'Grady the historian, to praise most specially in his essay on Irish "Early Bardic Literature." He there calls them a "poem by Fionn upon the spring-time, made, as the old unknown historian says, to prove his poetic powers—a poem whose antique language relegates it to a period long prior to the tales of Leabhar na Huidhré, one which if we were to meet side by side with the 'Ode to Night' by Alcman, in the Greek anthology, we would not be surprised." The reader will probably be pleased by seeing Dr. O'Donovan's literal translation of these so highly praised lines, and we therefore append it here—

"May-day delightful time ! how beautiful the color !
The blackbirds sing their full lay, would that Laighaig were here
The cuckoos sing in constant strains, how welcome is the noble
Brilliance of the seasons ever : on the margin of the branchy woods
The summer suaill [*gl.* swallows] skim the stream, the swift horses
seek the pool
The heath spreads out its long hair, the weak fair bog down grows,
Sudden consternation attacks the signs, the planets in their courses
running exert an influence,
The sea is lulled to rest, flowers cover the earth."

We may, if we will, suppose that after this the tract grew more interesting, and that the prose that remains is only a quiet introduction to grander passages. Unfortunately in the now remaining fragment there is little literary merit, beyond the unquestionably picturesque and pathetic view presented by Finn's being brought up in the woods away from the haunts of men, to save his life from his father's enemies, and by the visit of his mother, when he was six years old, to the forest huntresses who were his nurses. The mother indeed is here described in a way that seems to show not only insight into nature but graphic power in the author. "She came at the end of six years," "for it was told to her that he was at the place, and she feared the sons of Morna for him." "She passed from one

solitude to another until she reached the forest of Slieve Bloom, and she found the hunting hut and the boy asleep within, and thereupon she lifted him up and pressed him to her bosom." "And then she composed these quatrains caressing her son

‘Sleep with gentle pleasant slumber, etc.’”

In these quotations we have followed the literal translation of Dr. O'Donovan, making no change except with regard to adverbs, as, for example, writing "within" instead of "therein." Dr. O'Donovan remarks with regard to the "quatrains" of which one line is given that "the rest of this lullaby is lost." He adds, "Indeed it would appear from the shortness of the sentences and the abrupt and flighty nature of the composition that the whole story has been very much condensed, and in some places mutilated."

This certainly is explanation sufficient why there should not be much literary merit in this fragment. And yet this explanation is not even needed. The boyish exploits which Finn performs as he is growing up, his grand shot at the widgeon, his astounding strength in hurling, his drowning nine of the unfortunate youths who challenged him to a swimming match, are really not fit subjects for fine description, and we believe the old Irish story-tellers at one time understood this well,—we were on the point of saying better than critics of the nineteenth century. In the grand tale of Dermot and Grania there is no attempt made at any fine ornament to deck out the astonishing gymnastic feats by which Dermot lures many enemies to ruin. Yet the same story is magnificent in places where the immediate subject admits of magnificent treatment. We know all that. And we may well be right in thinking that the author who described so touchingly the visit of the mother who travelled from solitude to solitude that she might be able to set eyes for a few hours on her child, the author who thought of making the mother find the boy asleep in the rude hut of his forest home, and who represents her as unwilling to disturb his slumbers, and cradling him on her bosom, the author who makes her pour forth her feelings in a lullaby to the unconscious child, was one too rich in real sentiment to be showily or gaudily extravagant in speech; was a man who would scorn to strive to make grand passages out of the direct recital of Finn's boyish feats.

With the fine description of the mother's visit we believe we may venture to do a very bold thing. We are going

to set beside it a parallel passage from one of the greatest poets that ever lived, and to compare or rather to contrast the two. Spenser, as well as our anonymous ancient Irish writer, puts before us a child of extraordinary strength and prowess, brought up in the woods and visited one day by its mother. He writes as follows, in the Sixth Canto of the First Book of the *Faerie Queene* :—

XXVII.

“ His loving mother came upon a day
Unto the woods to see her little sonne
And chaunst unwares to meet him on the way
After his sportes and cruell pastime donne ;
When after him a Lyonnesse did runne,
That roaring all with rage did lowd requere
Her children deare, whom he away had wonne :
The Lyon whelpes she saw how he did beare
And lull in rugged armes withouten childish feare.”

XXVIII.

“ The fearefull Dame all quaked at the sight,
And turning backe gan fast to fly away ;
Untill with love revokt from vaine affright,
She hardly yet perswaded was to stay,
And then to him these womanish words gan say :
‘ Ah Satyrane, my darling and my joy,
For love of me leave off this dreadfull play ;
To dally thus with death is no fit toy ;
Go find some other playfellows, mine own sweet boy.”

For wonderful exploits we must admit that little Satyrane beats young Finn hollow. For touching beauty in the mother's visit we must look to the work of our unknown Irish artist, not to that of the most justly world-famous Edmund Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene*, the mother who comes “to see her little sonne,” is affrighted at his youthful prodigies, runs away “fast,” and is “hardly” brought back “by love.” When at last she speaks, she has nothing to say but ordinary “womanish words ;” she merely begs of the daring young urchin to find out some other, some safer species of amusement. Really to do all this, it is not necessary to be a mother. A grandmother, a grand-aunt, some venerable “friend of the family,” some one of those who had dearly loved some members of a bygone generation, and now keep up intimacy with those that remain, for the sake of those that are no more, would positively have done as much. As for a nurse, if she had

been found out behaving like Satyrane's mother, she would of course have lost her situation.

But in our Irish tale Finn's mother is one that would have been recognised by Solomon. She does not merely come—

“upon a day

Unto the woods to see her little sonne.”

But as we have noted, travels from solitude to solitude, conquering fear, to find him; when found, instead of interfering with him in his play, she shrinks from disturbing his childish slumbers; but her heart and thoughts are full of him, and she pours forth a flood, not of “womanish words” but of gentle welcome, singing, as he sleeps, to the boy who is destined to be so great, the chaunt of the early spring. All this is no mere outburst of sudden feeling, no natural outcome of necessary circumstances; it is a scene most delicately chosen, most carefully contrived; it is in truth one of the intelligible cases of Selection of the Fittest.

We conceive quite wrongly of the composers of our old Irish tales, if we imagine that their excellences were only those of an undisciplined imagination, that judgment and even sobriety of thought were charms that had no power to guide them, and over which they had no command. It is true that loud complaints have been justly made of the wild and injurious exuberance of epithet in some old Irish compositions. The *Battle of Moy Lana*, edited by O'Curry for the Celtic Society, is in this respect a monstrosity. Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady correctly quotes Dr. O'Donovan, as giving it as his opinion in his introduction to the *Battle of Magh Rath*, edited by him for the Irish Archaeological Society, that the turgid style of writing was introduced into Ireland in the ninth or the tenth century. It is curious to notice that M. Rénan in his essay on Hariri, mentions the tenth century as the time when Arabic literature began to be similarly disgraced. But when Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady goes so far as to say of the Irish romantic tales in general, “It is to be hoped that no educated Irishman will be found so enthusiastic as to set them up for models of composition,” we feel ourselves compelled to differ reluctantly with Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady, and to hope that educated Irishmen will soon come to understand, that though neither the Irish romantic tales, nor any other works of man can be looked on as faultless models, still there is much to be found in them worthy of our

imitation in this present century, not merely with respect to thought, but even in regard of literary form. Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady himself confesses, that epithets "are very sparingly used in the story of Diarmuid compared to some others;" and it appears from the very form of his confession, that this tale is not singular in its good taste. We are told epithets are "very sparingly used" in it "compared to *some* others," not in comparison with *all* others. As for the more sweeping denunciatory statements in Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's able preface, such as "that the taste of the Irish writers should never have refined itself," and that "the writings of Keating are the only specimens we have of Irish composition," where the Irish "peculiar qualifications of ear and mind, joined to the mastery over such a copious and sonorous language as the Gaelic," have "been guided by a correct taste;" it seems to us that these charges in their universality may be quietly passed by, as erroneous and wholly unsupported views, clearly at variance, in their wild generality, with what has been already plainly proved. But though these broad accusations cannot stand, we must examine later how far the contrary praise is due. We must inquire finally whether there is really a considerable amount of Irish literature worthy of such admiration as the few selections from it of the Intermediate Education Commissioners can certainly justly claim.

J. J. O'C.

A CRUISE ON LOUGH LURGAN.

PART II.

LOCAL traditions, legends, and authentic history connect the name of Guaire Aidhne with Kinvara and its vicinity. He was king of Connaught in the early part of the seventh century, and is one of the most remarkable of our early Irish kings. No other Irish sovereign reminds us so strongly of King Arthur of Cymbrian notoriety. His name connects itself as well with the lives and labours of contemporary saints as with the battle-field and border fray. But whether mentioned by historian, hagiographer, or bard, he is always styled "the charitable" and "hospitable." Indeed his name became a proverb for expressing lavish generosity. Even adversity could prove no obstacle to the

exercise of this his favourite virtue. Being a prisoner¹ at one time in the hands of the King of Munster, he was asked for alms by a poor leper. Having nothing else available, Guaire gave him the silver bodkin which he wore in his vest. But having been robbed of his valuable gift, the leper soon after returned renewing his entreaties for alms. The good king, instead of yielding to irritation at this irrational importunity, immediately bestowed upon him his golden girdle.

We see him again sending timely and necessary aid to St. Fechin in the remote island of Inagh, where that holy man was in danger of perishing of want. The cup which he sent to Fechin² on the occasion was long preserved as a precious relic. He was in truth the patron and personal friend of many of the most remarkable of the contemporary holy men in the west and south of Ireland, and his generous patronage was repaid by a sincere and faithful friendship on their part.

Ascertaining that Guaire was suffering a severe attack of illness, St. Maidoc of Ferns left his distant See to visit him, and rendered his visit memorable by miraculously restoring the king to health.

St. Cainim of Inis Cealtra, and St. Cummian the "Tall," two of the most remarkable saints of the period, were among his dearest friends. Nor is it to be wondered at in this case when we remember that Guaire and Cummian were half³ brothers, and that Guaire and Cainim were somewhat similarly connected.⁴ There is an account of a meeting represented to have taken place between them in St. Cainim's great church at Inis Cealtra. The passage is quoted by Dr. Moran:⁵ and while illustrating strikingly the character of each, it shows also the very intimate friendship by which they were united.

St. Colman MacDuagh, first Bishop of Kilmacduagh, was also closely allied by blood to the king. For years indeed St. Colman had been living in a hermitage in Burren without the knowledge of his clansmen. But from the time that the marvellous transfer of the savoury dishes from the royal board at Dun Guaire to St. Colman in his hermitage brought that holy man under public notice, the king continued ever after his friend and patron.

¹ Keating's Hist. Ireland.

² Balysidare and Kilvarnet, p. 467.

³ AA. SS., p. 148.

⁴ AA. SS., p. 747. Donovan's Notes to the Four Masters.

⁵ Essays on the Early Irish Church.

Accepting the episcopal charge of Hy Fiachragh Aidhne, the Saint constructed his monastery and cathedral church at Kilmacduagh A.D. 610,¹ while men and means for the holy work were generously supplied by Guaire. And as the cathedral and monastery were not more than five miles distant from the Dun Guaire, there can be little doubt that communication between the Saint and his royal relative was close and constant. It is true that the pomp and pageants of royalty had no attractions for Colman. Yet the imperative demand of duty must have made such intercourse necessary.

There is a holy well dedicated to St. Colman on the seashore, and close to the castle. It is still overshadowed by a cluster of ancient hawthorns, as it was when sketched many years ago by Petrie for the *Irish Penny Journal*. It has been long a place of pilgrimage, and even to the present day poor peasant women, in the picturesque costume of the district, may occasionally be seen making the "rounds of the well," and invoking there the powerful patronage of St. Colman MacDuagh. Perhaps the holy bishop on the occasions of his visits to the king, used to retire from the bustle and distraction of the royal residence to spend the long watches of the night in prayer by that lonely well, and refresh himself by its pure waters. He could see from there the cliff on one of the boldest of the Burren hills, beneath which was the grotto which for seven years had served him as a dwelling; and he might perhaps watch the early sunbeams flooding with their rich light those mountains where he spent so many years in uninterrupted communion with God. It was a solitude such as Antony or Hilarion might have chosen. The rugged sides of the mountains were then clad with dense² primeval forests, though the forests have long since disappeared, and not even a tree remains to cast its leafy shadow on the limestone crags.

This interesting grotto is only about four miles from Kinvara. Close to the grotto may be seen another holy well, dedicated to his name, and also the ruins of a stone oratory occupying, probably, the site of the wooden oratory which St. Colman erected. And there too may be seen sheets of lime-stone which at a distance look like tranquil water, and which legends tell us bear the impressions of the footprints of multitudes of men and animals. Colgan, speaking of the

¹ AA. SS., Hib.

² Colgan.

strange phenomenon, refers to it as a lasting testimony of the miraculous manner in which Providence led forth his servant Colman from his solitude to found a diocese, and bless it by his holy labours.

It was Easter Day,¹ and the king was holding high festival in Dun Guaire: so says the legend. The royal tables were groaning under a rich and plentiful repast; when the eager courtiers saw with amazement, and no doubt with disappointment, the savoury dishes yet untasted, taken from before them, and borne through the air by invisible hands. The king arose to follow in pursuit and investigate the portent; and so did bards and chieftains, soldiers and servitors, some on horseback and some on foot, all anxious to see the solution or outcome of the marvel. "They rode and they ran," keeping the retreating dishes still in sight 'till they entered the mountain gorge and forest fastness; and lo! in an open glade they behold the lonely oratory. A venerable hermit is seen seated on the grass, attended by one disciple; and the dishes are laid before them by invisible ministers. The king and his wondering followers would at once surround them. But the holy man, not quite satisfied of their peaceful intentions, forbade them to approach; and behold!² "*Haerent pedites, haerent equites,*" they are rooted to the very rocks on which they stood. And when after satisfactory explanations they were liberated, by the efficacy of the Saint's prayers, from their disagreeable positions, the footprints of men and animals remained indelibly impressed upon the solid rocks, and are pointed out at the present day, as well as in Colgan's time, as a testimony to the truth of the alleged miracle. And from this event the entrance to the mountain gorge is called to this day, "*Boher na Maes,*" *i.e.* the road of the dishes. King Guaire rejoiced to find that the hermit was none other than his own dear and esteemed kinsman, Colman the son of Duagh.

Not only does Guaire seem to have assiduously cultivated the friendship of the saints of his time; but he also seems to have with a rare good fortune conciliated the poets of the period. When Seanchan was elected to the distinguished position of Chief Poet of Ireland,³ he honoured Guaire with his first or inaugural visit. Taking with him a large retinue, according to custom, of poets, pupils, and servants, they

¹ See Colgan, AA., SS.

² Colgan.

³ Ancient Erin, O'Curry, vol. 1, p. 87.

were hospitably entertained by the king for a year and three months. On his departure after this protracted stay he gave expression in a short poem still extant, to his appreciation of the king's hospitality :

“ We depart from thee O stainless Guaire !
We leave with thee our blessing,
A year, a quarter, and a month
Have we sojourned with thee, O high king !”

And as if to place his appreciation beyond all doubt the poet declares his determination to renew his visit.

But I should remember that those pages do not purport to give a lengthened sketch of either St. Colman or his royal relative Guaire. So I am bound in consistency to tell my readers that with the favouring breeze of the morning we hoisted sail to continue our “cruise” along the southern shore of “Lough Lurgan.”

The town, the ancient church, and the dismantled castle, were quickly lost to view. The plantations of Duras past which we were sailing, formed a pleasing picture, as their green shade on bay and promontory offered an agreeable contrast to the dull gray of the rocky landscape. Rounding a little headland, there was a sandy beach before us curving inland. The billows there, seem to form into far stretching lines, and, rushing in upon the shore, sink with a hoarse murmur upon the sand, as if seeking rest. It is St. Kyran's Bay. The holy founder of Clonmacnoise, when journeying to, or from his master, St. Enda, of Aranmore, must have sojourned here for some time. Traces of his ruined oratory may still be seen, and is still reputed sacred to St. Kyran. Even as late as a few years ago, the Saint's “patron” day attracted multitudes from the surrounding districts to that remote little bay, most of whom however were much more anxious to seek amusement there, than the Saint's intercession. The abuses usually attending such celebrations (abuses, which were but too well calculated to bring ridicule and discredit on the religious observances of our people), made it necessary for the guardians of morality in the district, to interpose and prohibit the holding of the “pattern” at “Traighe Kyrane.”

On an adjoining hill is an old church, in many respects worthy of a passing notice. Like most of our ecclesiastical ruins, its masonry is of different periods. Portions of its eastern gable belong to our early cyclopean architecture.

At its western extremity stands a castle communicating with the church by a low Norman doorway. It is a strongly built square tower, identical in its stone spiral staircase, its loopholed windows, and massive walls, with the ordinary castles with which the country was thickly studded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Though we frequently find that the western end of some of our ancient churches served as dwellings for the priests, it is seldom that we find a tower like this to which I here refer in immediate communication with any of our churches. Possibly one of the O'Hynes, chiefs of the district, might have built the tower there for the purpose of taking the church under his own immediate protection. And if we assume, as I think we may, that the church had been originally that of St. Coman, we can understand why St. Kyran was a visitor here, and why the church should have been very dear to the O'Hynes.

"St. Coman's church by Galway Bay,
Was not the house, your hearts should say,
To leave a ruin to the last."

The valley beneath the church is "Neptune Vale," the residence of Baron D. Basterott, the representative of a noble French family, whose connection with Galway began in the troubled period of the first French Revolution. As favourably known for high attainments in literature and art, as for noble birth, this family have always cultivated kindly relations with their tenantry and with the people of this entire district, and have also proved themselves the consistent and uncompromising supporters of Catholic interests among them. The vale is a pleasant little spot when Neptune sometimes steals up at high tide to rest upon the wild flowers of the lawn and under the shadow of its trees.

Continuing our sail from St. Kyran's bay, the coast scenery grows more attractive as the rugged peaks of the Burren Hills seen beyond the green plantings which skirt the sea seem to frown grimly down upon us. Rounding the next promontory, on which stands one of those modern Anglo-Irish puzzles, a Martello tower, we entered the little bay of Finevara, more generally known by its modern name of New Quay.

The village looked its best, and seemed to me in its pleasing quietude to possess attractions which would be sought for in vain in our fashionable watering places. On

the gleaming whitewashed cottages the honeysuckle hung in fragrant wreaths, and the blue and purple bells of the fuchsias seemed struggling to peep through the open casements. Grass-grown plots in front of the more pretentious lodges showed to some advantage the simple shrubs cultivated there. A steep hill, girt to the top with alternate ledges of limestone and stripes of dark green fir, forms a pleasing background to the picture, while the bright blue waters are usually at rest in the sheltered bay.

It was not our purpose, however, to linger in this secluded haunt of health-seekers. We landed here merely that we might visit the district where the "Princes of Burren" held sway for centuries, where the Cistercians of Our Lady's Abbey of Corcomroe honoured their Creator and benefited their fellow-man, where the Ollaves of Corcomroe sang in ringing stanzas of the chivalry of their generous patrons.

A short walk inland enabled us to have a fair view of this interesting district. Sheltered bays appear there as narrow inland lakelets, on which the ancient castles of the O'Loughlins still cast their shadows. But those once strong fortresses are now dismantled ruins. A weird solitude seems to have settled down on those rugged hills and sheltered bays and frowning ruins. Even the peasant's cottage seems an intrusion there.

It was here in Finevara that one of the most remarkable of our Irish bardic families had their home, and drew from the Irish harp its sweetest melodies. It was the residence of the O'Dalys, Ollaves of Corcomroe. Donogh More O'Daly,¹ great grandson of "O'Daly of the Schools," was founder of the Finevara branch of the family. Like his famous ancestor, he gave special attention to the honourable and learned bardic profession, and ultimately became distinguished among the most remarkable of Irish poets. O'Reily states he was called the "Ovid of Ireland." His poems, which are principally of a moral character, are not unworthy of the seemingly exaggerated terms of praise in which they are mentioned by our annalists, especially if we consider the early² period to which they belong. It is flattering to Irish feeling to find him described as a poet "*who³ never was and never will be surpassed,*" though belonging to a generation that had passed away even before Dante's birth. He

¹ Jar Connaught, p. 246. Tribes of Ireland, p. 68.

² He died A.D. 1244.

³ Four Masters, A.D. 1244.

founded a college at Finevara, near the site of the present residence of the Skeritt family. O'Donovan¹ describes this establishment as a college for finishing the literati of Ireland in history and poetry. It is referred to in the following suggestive lines by Aengus O'Daly :—

“ Great is its wealth,
Bestowing without folly at a white house.
It were a sufficiently loud organ to hear his pupils
Reciting the melodies of the ancient schools.”

But the “ White House ” at Finevara, knows the O'Dalys no longer. I have searched in vain for the site of the house or college, which O'Donovan says is still pointed out there. However, the monument³ raised to the memory of Donogh More, still remains in fair preservation. It is a simple hexagonal pillar, about seven feet in height, resting on an elevated plinth of the same form. It crowns a mound on the sea-shore, close to the residence of the present estimable proprietor of Finerara.

Such memorials of the past proud intellectual position of our Country are strangely interesting. Belonging to a remote period, when the oldest European Universities were merely struggling into prominence, they show that Ireland was, even then a brilliant centre of learning as in a brighter past. Under the munificent patronage of the Chieftains of Burren, we find the College of Finevara early in the thirteenth century, crowded with pupils anxiously engaged in acquiring the knowledge which gained for O'Daly enviable fame, and made Ireland famous in Western Europe.

The poetic talents of Donogh More were transmitted to his descendants. Indeed, the O'Dalys of Finevara continued to maintain an honourable position among Irish bards. Our annalists chronicle the death of eminent members of the family for two centuries later ; and in terms which reflect clearly the high favour in which they were held by their countrymen. Aengus Roe O'Daly, who died in the middle of the fourteenth century, is referred to as “ The most learned of the poets of Ireland.” Towards the close of the same century, we find that Geoffrey O'Daly had attained the high position of Chief Poet of Ireland.³ Carol O'Daly

¹ Tribes of Ireland.

² Jar Connaught, p. 246. Four Masters, A.D. 1244.

³ Inter. of Julius, p. 9.

is not unknown to the public of our own day, as the author of a well known Irish air "Eileen a Roon," which, as an echo of his muse, haunts, to our own time, the minds of our music-loving peasantry. Nor does the fame of this remarkable family stand higher for literary attainments, than for virtue and hospitality. A flattering tribute to the sanctity of Louis O'Daly, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, in the fourteenth century, is recorded by the Four Masters. In A.D. 1514, their hospitality is thus referred to: "O'Daly of Corcomroe, a professor of poetry, who had kept a house of general hospitality, died at Finevara, and was buried in the Abbey at Corcomroe." A similar tribute is paid to the hospitality of Aenghus O'Daly, nearly three centuries earlier.

At the opposite side of the little bay of "Poul Doody" —a name widely known to those who appreciate oysters of rare flavour—are the two Castles of Mucnish, once occupied by the O'Loughlins, the generous patrons of the Bards of Finevara. One is called Old Mucnish, and is well preserved. It is not more than 120 years since this stronghold of his ancestors was in the possession of Uaithne Mor O'Loughlin. The other Castle, called New Mucnish, is sadly ruined, and has only one side wall remaining.

The O'Loughlins retained considerable territorial influence in Burren from an early period to the close of the 16th century, when their influence and power were ruthlessly crushed. In A.D. 1584, the Lord of Mucnish was arrested by Donnell O'Brien, and executed at Ennis¹ by Captain Brabazon. Like many other territorial chiefs in Ireland, the Princes of Burren ambitioned the title of "King." As late as the close of the sixteenth century, Charles O'Loughlin of Newtown Castle, chief of his name, was commonly called in the district² "King of Burren." Indeed, the haughty spirit of the O'Loughlins, which caused them to regard lightly their allegiance to the O'Briens, urged them to affect the state and title of petty kings.

Within the venerable Abbey of Corcomroe, repose the ashes of the O'Loughlins and O'Dalys. The generous territorial princes, and the gifted poets who faithfully chronicled their history, and sung their deeds of prowess, rest within the peaceful shelter of its hallowed walls.

As was the case in the vicinity of many other Irish abbeys, the thunders of the battle-field more than once

¹ Jar Connaught. Four Masters.
VOL. I.

² Jar Connaught.
2 X

rudely broke the stillness of the cloisters at Corcomroe. It was so in the year 1267, when Connor O'Brien was slain, with his numerous well trained soldiers, in an engagement close to the abbey walls.

The Lords of Burren, being of the Rudrician race of Ulster, and not a branch of the Dalgais, yielded but a doubtful allegiance to the Munster kings. In their disloyalty, they often received active encouragement from ambitious pretenders to the crown of Munster. At the instigation of the uncle of the reigning king, the O'Laughlins refused the usual tributes to Connor O'Brien, who was then recognised as a distinguished and successful military leader. His victory over the English at Feakle, County Clare, was decisive, though they were led by an able soldier, Maurice Fitzgerald. He soon after reduced to subjection his refractory relatives of Ormond. Elated by his victories, O'Brien marched into the wilds of Burren, and in the neighbourhood of the abbey encountered the muster of the daring mountain-chiefs. He fell with many of his followers in the fierce engagement which ensued.

It was no wonder that the remains of this brave young prince should have been treated with respect by the monks of Corcomroe; especially when it is remembered that he was the son of the generous and charitable founder of their house. He was accordingly interred within the church. His tomb may still be seen in the northern wall of the chancel; and resembles an ordinary altar tomb. His effigy, almost life-size, is carved in full relief on the monument; but is unfortunately somewhat mutilated by thoughtless visitors. Dutton naively refers to the mutilation of the figure in the following words:—"some giddy young gentlemen amused themselves with mutilating some part of this ancient monument."

The unpatriotic rivalry of the O'Briens for the crown of Munster occasioned another fierce struggle A.D. 1317, in the same battle-field. Dermot and Donogh O'Brien were the rival pretenders. Dermot's claim was supported by the MacNamaras, the most powerful of the septs of Thomond. The claims of Donogh, the ill-fated ally of De Clare, were supported by the O'Connors, princes of Western Corcomroe. But the O'Connors betrayed the cause they pretended to support; and through their treachery Donogh suffered a crushing defeat, leaving nearly all his followers dead upon the field. It is gratifying to find a sense of humanity asserting itself in the bosoms of those turbulent Irish

chieftains in that unsettled age. The victorious Dermot had the remains of the brave and noble, slain on either side, "honourably interred within the abbey in separate graves, with distinguishing marks over each."

The Abbey of Corcomroe is so inclosed within the folds of the mountain, that it cannot be seen from Finevara, though in its immediate vicinity. A short walk takes one to the summit of the intervening mountain-ridge, from whence a view may be had of the venerable pile, sheltered within those rugged heights from the storms of the Atlantic. Solitude and barrenness are the prevailing features of the valley in which it stands. The rocky soil, once made fertile by the labour of the monks, has deteriorated into its original unproductiveness. Along the hill sides may be noticed the same unequal terraces already referred to, but broken into myriad fragments. There is hardly a tree to break the monotony of the barren waste. Save a few cottages in the valley, there is little there to recall one's thoughts from the distant past, when the prayers and penances of the good Cistercians of the abbey did a holy violence to Heaven.

Our Lady's Abbey at Corcomroe, is still an imposing ruin after centuries of neglect. It is true that most of the remains, scattered around in crumbling masses, or forming moss-grown mounds, merely help to indicate the abbey's great extent. But the church, fortunately, remains in fair preservation; and, in its solidity, and graceful architecture, is perhaps one of the finest remains extant, in our country, of the period when our Irish Romanesque was being superseded by Gothic. The chancel, with its groined roof, is nearly perfect; and measures twenty-three feet by nineteen. It is lighted by a tripple lancet, delicately moulded and widely splayed on the inside. The clustering columns and richly sculptured capitals which support the chancel arch, are highly ornate. The sedilia also are well worthy of attention. I do not think they are surpassed, in any of our ancient abbeys, in delicacy of design and finish. On either side of the chancel are arched recesses, with columns and capitals similar in design and execution to those already described. On the exterior of the chancel, the gable quoins are sculptured into semi-columns, with well wrought capitals and bases.

Though there are many who attribute the erection of our Lady's Abbey at Corcomroe to Donald O'Brien, A.D. 1194, I think O'Curry more correctly ascribes its erection to

Donogh (Cairbreach) O'Brien, A.D. 1200. It was originally a branch of the Cistercian Monastery on the Suir; but was soon after connected with Furness Abbey, Lancashire. Shortly after this union, the monks of Corcomroe extended the sphere of their useful labours by establishing a branch house at Kilshany; a sheltered valley on the western coast of Clare; and Diocese of Kilfenora. Their ruined church may still be seen there in fair preservation.

Little is known of the history of the monks of Corcomroe; Tongelius mentions Abbot Patrick, who was sent from Furness to govern the abbey after its affiliation. In the beginning of the fifteenth century (23 Oct., 1419), Abbot John was promoted to the See of Kilmacduagh by Pope Martin the Third. The appointment is dated from Florence. We seek in vain for the names and history of those who, within this remote mountain solitude, copied the virtues of St. Bernard, their spiritual father. We can barely learn that the abbey lands were confiscated, and that its unoffending inmates were soon after driven for ever from the beloved cloisters of their peaceful home.

Sir Turlogh O'Brien, of Ennistymon, inherited from his father the confiscated abbey lands of Corcomroe. But, lest the validity of his tenure might be questioned, the grant was renewed A.D. 1585, by her Gracious Majesty Elizabeth. There can be no doubt that the object of such marks of royal favours was a member of the State Church. A Papist was not likely to receive, or accept, from her Majesty such a gift as "Corcomroe in Clare with its rents, bonaght, bona, subsidies, tributary lands and also its church livings." This antiquated jargon seems at least to indicate, that the property thus sacrilegiously appropriated was of considerable value.

The monks, though thus robbed of their lands, still clung to their beloved valley "*de petra fertili.*" On the occasion of the O'Donnell's memorable raid on Thomond, A.D. 1600, he encamped close to the abbey. Its character as a religious house, and the presence of the monks there, seem to have formed the most intelligible motive, which could induce the brave northern prince to recruit the strength of his booty-laden troops beneath its shadow.

Fifty-one years after, Ludlow took possession of the neighbouring Castle of Leimenegh, and established there a strong garrison. There can be little doubt that the expulsion of the monks from Corcomroe, and the ruin of the abbey was the work of those fanatics.

Leaving this interesting spot, and treasuring the sad memories it recalled, we proceeded to Oughtmama. The ruins at Oughtmama are situated in a valley, within the valley in which Our Lady's Abbey stands; and, though only about a quarter of an hour's walk distant, are entirely hidden from view. The verdure of the little valley is made doubly pleasing, by the contrast which it offers to the gray of the rocky amphitheatre which surrounds it. The two churches there, which are but little larger than our ancient oratories, are excellently preserved; and seem to belong to the transition period, when the old Cyclopean was being gradually superseded by the more ornate Romanesque of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Each has its little chancel, and the chancel arches rest on simple pilasters. Neither the chancel nor arches seem however to belong to the original buildings. They were added at a somewhat later period. It is not improbable, that when Cormac O'Killeen rendered his name memorable at Tomgrainy, by his virtues and zeal for the construction of churches, some admirer of his zeal and virtues, in his native Diocese of Kilmacduagh, may have been influenced by his example to restore a shrine sacred to St. Colman's memory. The ecclesiastical establishment at Oughtmama,¹ was the work of St. Colman MacDuagh; and it is probable that the holy man spent there the closing days of his holy life. It has, however, still stronger claims to the character of a holy shrine. It has other saints buried there, in unknown graves: St. Aengus invokes the intercession of the "Seven Holy Bishops," who are interred there.

We have few more perfect and interesting specimens of our Archaic architecture than those two churches. They are touching memorials of a faith that was Ireland's glory over a thousand years ago, as it is to-day. They are also regarded, both by Petrie and Brash, as good specimens of the architecture of the period to which they belong. Truly the blessings of St. Benignus effected a wondrous change on the² "Infidels of Corcomroe." We seek in vain for the smallest trace of the infidelity to which those mountain tribes seem to have clung so persistently. But we find instead the most touching memorials of the sanctity and beauty of Ireland's early Christian life.

Having noticed with some surprise that evening was upon us, we were reluctantly compelled to defer our in-

¹ Petrie.

² Voyage of St. Brendan.

tended visit to such interesting places in the neighbourhood as St. Columba's Valley and St. Fechin's Church.

"The sun was low ; the winds were hushed ;
And rippling with a thousand smiles,
The bright-faced ocean glowed and blushed.
To where, in purple shadows flushed,
High towered the holy Aran Isles."

Our little boat had in the meantime rounded Finevara Point, and lay moored under the shelter of Mucnish Castle awaiting our return. Leaving the "awful¹ cliffs of Corcomroe" behind us, we entered the little harbour of Ballyvaughan, after a short sail. It was the goal of our "cruise."

The little seaport owes little to time,

"The beautifier of the dead ;
The adorning of the ruin."

But the beautiful new church which rises there, an abiding source of joy to priests and people, shows that it owes much to the active energy of our own time. Contenting ourselves with a look at the dismantled castle of the "King of Burren," at Newtown, we arranged for an early and expeditious return to Galway.

Our readers will, we hope, agree with us in thinking, that the comparatively unknown coasts, along which our "cruise" had led us, are by no means among the least interesting of the shores of "Lough Lurgan."

J. A. F.

A QUESTION IN PROBABILISM.—II.

IN the November number of the RECORD, I remarked that if we would accurately ascertain the teaching of St. Alphonsus on this, as on many other questions of deep practical moment, we must not lose sight of the various changes of view that have found expression in successive editions of his works, published during his lifetime, and under his personal superintendence and revision.

3. The following Table, then, may form a useful introduction to the remaining portion of this discussion. I shall notice only the various editions of his *Moral Theology*, and the more important of the many *Dissertations* and other *Opuscula* which he published in exposition or in defence of his System of Probabilism. As will be observed, I have

¹ D. F. MacCarthy.

also inserted a statement of the date of the elevation of St. Alphonsus to the Episcopacy, and of the year of his death.

A.D.

1748. MORAL THEOLOGY: 1st edition: published under the title, "Medulla R. P. Busembaum S.J., cum Adnotationibus."
1748. PRAXIS CONFESSARII: 1st edition (Italian).
1749. *Dissertation* (Latin):—"Pro Usu Moderato Opinionis Probabilis in Concursu Probabilioris."
- 1753-55. MORAL THEOLOGY: 2nd edition.
1755. *Dissertation* (Latin), with same title as that of 1749.
1756. *Dissertation* (Italian), in reply to criticisms on the second edition of his Moral Theology.
1757. MORAL THEOLOGY: 3rd edition.
1757. HOMO APOSTOLICUS: 1st edition (Italian).
1759. HOMO APOSTOLICUS: 2nd edition (1st in Latin).
1760. MORAL THEOLOGY: 4th edition.
[*St. Alphonsus appointed Bishop.*]
1762. *Dissertation* (Italian):—"Dell' uso moderato dell' Opinione Probabile."
1763. MORAL THEOLOGY: 5th edition.
1764. *Dissertation* (Italian), in defence of his system as propounded in the *Dissertation* of 1762.
1764. COMPENDIUM of Moral Theology (Italian), with title, "Il Confessore diretto per le confessioni della gente di campagna."
1764. *Dissertation* (Italian), in defence of the *Dissertation* of 1762.
1765. PRAXIS CONFESSARII: 2nd edition (Italian).
1765. *Dissertation* (Italian), appendix to the (first) *Dissertation* of 1764.
1765. *Dissertation* (Italian):—"Dell' uso moderato dell' Opinione Probabile." An Opusculum containing the *Dissertation* of 1762, and the (second) *Dissertation* published in defence of it in 1764.
1767. MORAL THEOLOGY: 6th edition.
1769. *Dissertation* (Italian), vindicating his Moral Theology against the charge of laxity.
1769. *Dissertation* (Italian), in proof of the obligation of adopting the *pars tutior* when it is the more probable.
1770. HOMO APOSTOLICUS: 3rd edition.
1773. MORAL THEOLOGY: 7th edition.
1774. *Dissertation* (Italian), in exposition of his System.
1777. HOMO APOSTOLICUS: 4th edition.
1777. *Dissertation* (apparently in Latin), in defence of his System.
1779. MORAL THEOLOGY: 8th edition.
1785. MORAL THEOLOGY: 9th edition.
1787. [*Death of St. Alphonsus.*]

4. It will be remembered that the special question I have undertaken to discuss in this paper is, whether the notable change of view, recorded in the sixth edition of St. Alphonsus' Moral Theology (*De Conscientia*, n. 29), is to be understood, as F. Ballerini contends, merely in reference to the special case of *Vows*, which is there expressly mentioned, or whether it should not rather be taken in a much wider sense—as indeed it has hitherto been understood, almost without exception, by those theologians who profess to follow the teaching of St. Alphonsus—so as to refer to *all cases* in which it is merely probable that an obligation has been fulfilled.

It may not be superfluous once more to transcribe the passage in question. It is as follows:—

“Si quis probabiliter judicat jam voto satisfecisse, an teneatur hoc non obstante illud implere? Negant plures AA., nempe Roncaglia, Salmanticenses, cum Laymann, Lugo, et alii; quia, *ut aiunt*, cum obligatio legis eo casu sit *dubia*, fit *dubia* etiam legis *possessio*.

“Olim probabilem hanc opinionem putavi, ductus magis a probabilitate extrinseca, quam intrinseca; sed re melius perpensa, nunc minime illam probabilem censeo.

“Hinc oppositam dico tenendam cum Concina, Antoine, Filliucio, Leandro, et aliis. Ratio, quia, cum votum est *dubie emissum*, recte dicitur non adesse obligationem illud implendi; tunc enim *possidet libertas*; cum tamen votum est *certum*, libertas haec *ligata remanet* ab obligatione voti, donec votum *certe* non sit *impletum*.”

5. Before proceeding more closely to examine this passage and its context, with the view of accurately ascertaining its significance and the extent of the change of view which it records, it is useful to note some few points concerning certain other very important modifications, dating from about the same time, in St. Alphonsus' views regarding the system of Probabilism, or at all events regarding the forms of expression employed by him in setting forth those views, and in the arguments by which he sustained them.

The first point to which I think it well thus to call attention, involves, I regret, a reference to a discussion, of which I am anxious to keep altogether clear, the discussion, namely, so warmly carried on between F. Ballerini and the authors of the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*, as to whether the system of St. Alphonsus, as set forth in the sixth (A.D. 1767) and subsequent editions (A.D. 1773, 1779, 1785), of his Moral Theology, is a system of Probabilism or of Equiprobabilism.

It is, I need hardly explain, the contention of F. Ballerini, that St. Alphonsus, from the publication of the first edition of his Moral Theology down to that of his latest work, never wavered in defending the system of Probabilism, then commonly accepted in the schools. "Auctorem," he says, "systematis [*Æquiprobabilismi*] quidam dixerunt S. Alphonsum de Ligorio. At non ita intelligi id debet nec potest, quasi a *communi systemate Probabilismi*, quod ipse acerrime defendit, aliquando vir sanctus recesserit."

On the other hand, the authors of the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*, endorsing the concurrent view of the theologians who have undertaken to set forth the opinions of St. Alphonsus, no less strenuously maintain that the system adopted, at all events, in the later writings of the Saint is unquestionably the system of Equiprobabilism. It may be well to add, in further elucidation of the discussion thus referred to, that the authors of the *Vindiciae* do not undertake to show that Equiprobabilism was *explicitly* taught by St. Alphonsus in his earliest writings, or, indeed in any of those that he published previous to the Dissertation of 1762. They do, indeed, maintain that even in those earlier writings it was taught *implicitly*, inasmuch as principles were even then laid down by St. Alphonsus, and forms of expression were employed by him, which, by logical necessity, should lead to the acceptance of those restrictions by which Probabilism, strictly so called, is distinguished from Equiprobabilism. But, as I have stated, the question at issue between the authors of the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae* and F. Ballerini, almost exclusively regards the system propounded by St. Alphonsus in his later writings.

Now, whichever view we may be inclined to adopt as regards this question, we cannot fail to regard it as a significant fact, that, whereas previous to the year 1762, St. Alphonsus had adopted, as the title of his Dissertations, a form of expression at all events capable of being understood as an enunciation of Probabilism *as distinguished from Equiprobabilism*, he was careful, from the year 1762 onwards, to adopt another form of title, not capable of being thus understood. Thus, the Dissertations published in the years 1749 and 1755, bear the title, "Dissertatio . . . pro usu moderato opinionis probabilis in concursu probabilioris." The title of the Dissertation of 1762 is simply:—"Breve Dissertazione dell' uso moderato dell' opinione probabile."

Again, it is obviously not unworthy of notice that this Dissertation of 1762—commonly regarded, as it is, by subsequent writers, as the work in which St. Alphonsus first propounded in express terms his system of Equiprobabilism, but considered by F. Ballerini as in no way differing in its thesis from the earlier writings of the Saint—should seem to have been looked upon by St. Alphonsus himself as indicating a turning point, or beginning of a new period, in regard to his views on Probabilism. Thus, to take one of many instances collected by the authors of the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*, we find the following significant declaration in an Italian Dissertation published in 1764, “In Reply to the Letter of a Critic, concerning the Use of *Equally Probable* Opinions:”—“Sentio systema meum de Probabilismo, *juxta id quod scripsi in ultima mea Dissertatione typis mandata* [A.D. 1762], esse tutissimum et certum. Ibidem jam mentem meam aperui, nempe illicitum esse uti opinione minusprobabili et minus tuta, quando contraria quae stat pro lege est notabiliter et certo probabilior.”

Not less noteworthy, and, as we shall see, still more directly bearing on the point to be discussed in this paper, is the fact that the abandonment by St. Alphonsus of the purely “Probabilist” form of expression, and his adoption of the “Equiprobabilist” form, in the period 1762-1764, is coincident with another change of no little importance, in regard to the principles on which he based the defence of his system of moral teaching.

For, previous to 1762, he had, at least to some extent, made use of two principles, on which the earlier Probabilists generally had placed special reliance. Of these, “Qui probabiliter agit, prudenter agit,” was one; the other was this:—“Quum duae sunt opiniones probabiles, voluntas circa opinionem tutiorem judicium sine culpa suspendere potest, et probabilitati opinionis libertate faventis innixa, operari.”

Obviously, principles such as these, if followed up to their logical consequences, could scarcely fail to lead to the adoption of “Probabilism” in its most unrestricted form. Take, for instance, the case dealt with by St. Alphonsus in the passage chiefly under discussion in these papers. I have made, let us suppose, a vow to recite daily the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. Some short time afterwards, when about to say my prayers at night, I am unable to make up my mind as to whether I have that day discharged the obligation of the vow. Motives which,

though weighty, do not suffice to constitute moral certainty, incline me to the belief that I have done so. But, on the other hand, other considerations, substantially equal in importance, point with no less distinctness to the opposite conclusion. Here we have a conflict of probabilities as to the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the vow in question. What practical decision then is a moral theologian to give? St. Alphonsus, as we have seen, in his sixth edition, contrary to his earlier teaching on the point, decides that, notwithstanding the probability of its fulfilment, the obligation still remains in force—"cum votum est certum, libertas ligata remanet ab obligatione voti, donec votum certe non sit impletum." But it is obvious that a theologian guided by the two "Probabilist" principles above quoted should almost of necessity adopt the opposite view. If, in the case proposed, I may "suspend" my "judgment" as to the considerations which lead me to think that the vow has not been fulfilled, and then, relying on the probability of the opposite opinion, "prudently" adopt it as my rule of action, it would manifestly be difficult to stop short of the conclusion that I am for that day free from all further obligation as to the vow in question.

So, too, it was but natural that, so long as the two principles to which I am referring were generally relied on by theologians, the system of "Equiprobabilism,"—though, no doubt, held, at all events from an early period in the last century, by theologians of high authority,¹—should have numbered comparatively few supporters, and that "Probabilism," in the strict sense of the term, should, for the time, have been the more common teaching of the schools.²

Thus, then, it cannot be regarded as matter for surprise that the period of St. Alphonsus' change of view as to the

¹ "Omnium fusissime ac clarissime," ait A. Mayr (Ibid. n. 356), "hac de re egit P. Christophorus Rassler, in *Norma Recti*, qui, quum prius sententiam omnino benignam [Probabilismum] acriter defendisset, re per multos annos maturius considerata, hanc *mediam* [Aequiprobabilismum] amplexus est, ac integro tomo illustravit.

"Sed et alios magnos viros, praesertim in Oenipontana et Ingolstadiensi Universitate [the Universities of Innsbrück in the Tyrol, and of Ingoldstadt in Bavaria] haec sententia habuit patronos: et quamvis saepius ac diutius tradita fuerit in hisce Universitatibus, a maximis etiam viris, sententia omnino benigna, tamen posterioribus hisce annis Ingolstadii, quatuor saltem vicibus, praelecta est sententia media; quare nihil insoliti facit, qui tanta vestigia sequitur."

² "Quod possit quis licite sequi opinionem etiam minus probabilem pro libertate, licet opinio pro lege sit certe *probabilior* . . . Hanc opinionem elapsi saeculi Auctores *quasi communiter* tenuere." S. Alphonsus, *Apologia* (A.D. 1769.)

question before us, and of his change, whether of view or of phraseology, as to the systems of Probabilism and Equiprobabilism, should have so closely coincided with his gradual abandonment of the two principles referred to.

We find him no doubt, so early as 1755, in the Dissertation published in that year, abandoning the principle, "Qui probabiliter agit, prudenter agit,"—which, as "commune," and "communiter receptum," he had set down among the fundamental principles of his Moral System in the earlier Dissertation of 1749. But even in the Dissertation of 1755, he continues, at least by implication, to make use of the second principle, as to the possibility of "assenting," in all cases, to a probable opinion which affirms the cessation of an obligation, and the lawfulness of adopting, as a rule of action, the opinion to which assent has thus been given. This principle also, however, is abandoned in the Dissertation of 1762. And in the Dissertation inserted in the sixth edition of his Moral Theology (A.D. 1767)—the edition with which we are chiefly concerned,—we find both principles distinctly repudiated as follows:—

"Minime ad usum opinionis aequae probabilis cohonestandum valent duo principia a pluribus auctoribus adoptata, nimirum quod, "qui probabiliter agit, prudenter agit;" alterum quod, "cum opiniones ambae sunt probabiles, potest homo opinione minus tuta uti, iudicium suspendendo circa oppositam tutiorem . . .

"Et dico (idque pro comperto habeo) quod horum duorum principiorum insubsistentia plures hac tempestate scriptores ad tam mordicus Probabilismum oppugnandum impulit; et sic, haec ipsa principia confutando (sicut ea confutare facillimum erat), plures deinde sequaces sibi traxerunt."

As St. Alphonsus most clearly points out in more than one passage of this Dissertation, over and above the probability of an opinion, it is necessary, for the lawfulness of an action based upon it, that some "reflex principle," not merely probable, but certain, should be available, as a means of forming a "certain conscience." As an illustration of his meaning he quotes, with obvious appropriateness, the doctrine of St. Augustine as to the unquestionable lawfulness of obeying the commands of a lawful superior in all matters where the thing commanded is not certainly sinful. "Vir justus . . . sub rege etiam sacrilego . . . recte potest illo iubente bellare, si . . . quod sibi iubetur vel non esse contra Dei praeceptum certum est, vel utrum sit, certum non est; ita ut fortasse reum faciat regem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem

militem ostendat ordo serviendi."¹ And since the reflex principles thus to be relied on, may be, as in the case just cited, available *not for all cases* of probability, but only for *certain classes* of these, more or less numerous, it is obvious that the result of St. Alphonsus' thus bestowing special attention upon this aspect of the question, might naturally be expected to result in his adoption of views recognising the existence of obligations in many cases, in which previously, while relying on the purely "Probabilist" principles now formally and finally discarded, he had maintained more "liberal" views.

6. I have thus, perhaps at needless length, called attention to those aspects of St. Alphonsus' treatment of Probabilism which, it should seem, go far to rebut the *a priori* argument suggested by F. Ballerini as to the extent of St. Alphonsus' change of opinion in regard to the *close* or *extinction* of an obligation. It may be indeed a fair subject for inquiry, whether the change of opinion recorded in the sixth edition of the Moral Theology, regards, as F. Ballerini supposes, the one special question *De Voto*, or is not rather, as has most commonly been considered to be the case, an indication of a change of opinion as to the general question of obligations but probably discharged. But, on whatever grounds this point is to be decided, it is manifest, from the considerations on which I have thus far dwelt, that the inquiry cannot be closed by a statement, such as that on which F. Ballerini relies, that in the Moral System of St. Alphonsus a probable opinion forms in all cases a sufficient basis for the lawfulness of an action. "Centies, immo et millies," is the statement of F. Ballerini, "S. Alphonsus inculcat tutissimum in conscientia eum esse qui quoad obligationes *probabile judicium sequatur*, quum *totum ejus opus Morale huic innitatur principio.*" It is hardly necessary to point out that the unquestionable expression of St. Alphonsus' opinion in the passage chiefly under examination in those papers—unquestionable, at all events, so far as regards the insufficiency of a merely probable fulfilment in the case of a Vow—is in itself sufficient to deprive such an argument as this of all conclusive force. But, without dwelling longer upon the investigation of *a priori* considerations, let us look rather to the plain facts of the case before us.

¹ St. Augustine, quoted in the Canon Law, *Can. 4. Quid culpatur, caus. 23, quaest. 1.*

No doubt in this, as in many similar instances, it would in some respects have lightened the labour of theologians in ascertaining the opinions of St. Alphonsus, if he had been at leisure, as the various editions of his work issued from the press, to re-construct and re-write his expositions of those questions in which his views had undergone any notable change. Instead of this, however, the changes of opinion, substantial as many of them were, have resulted merely in the amendment of the text by modifications or additions, and the insertion of a statement of his change of view, in the lists of *Quaestiones Reformatae* at the end of the work. But, instead of complaining of the difficulty which no doubt has thus been created, we should rather express surprise that, especially after his elevation to the Episcopacy, amid the incessant labours of his pastoral and missionary life, St. Alphonsus was able to find leisure for the responsible and wearying labour of so carefully re-considering the reasoning of theologians on so many intricate questions, and of so frequently revising, to the extent which he succeeded in doing, the text of his great work. And, indeed, in many cases, as in the one before us, we shall find that, notwithstanding the involved controversies that have grown up around the expression of his opinions on so many points of practical importance, and the emphatic statements of contending disputants as to the accuracy of their respective views, the difficulty of ascertaining the matured judgment of St. Alphonsus on questions such as that before us, in great measure disappears on a careful examination of the passage in dispute, or at least on a careful comparison of the various passages bearing upon the point in question.

To avoid the necessity of referring back to the page on which the passage now under examination is printed in the earlier portion of this paper, I shall once more transcribe it:—

“ Si quis probabiliter judicat jam voto satisfecisse, an teneatur hoc non obstante illud implere? Negant plures AA., nempe Roncaglia, Salmanticenses, cum Laymann, Lugo, et alii; quia, *ut aiunt*, cum *obligatio* legis eo casu sit *dubia*, fit *dubia* etiam legis *possessio*.

“ Olim probabilem hanc opinionem putavi, ductus magis a probabilitate extrinseca, quam intrinseca; sed re melius perpensa, nunc minime illam probabilem censeo.

“ Hinc oppositam dico tenendam cum Concina, Antoine, Filliucio, Leandro, et aliis. Ratio, quia, cum votum est *dubie*

emissum, recte dicitur non adesse obligationem illud implendi; tunc enim *possidet libertas*; cum tamen votum est *certum*, libertas haec *ligata remanet* ab obligatione voti, donec votum *certe* non sit impletum."

7. The first point to which I would here call attention is that St. Alphonsus, in accordance with his usual method of treatment, not merely (1) states his own views, but (2) sets forth the arguments on which he relies, as well as (3) the arguments in defence of the opposite opinion. It will naturally be asked then, are those arguments in any way *special* to the question regarding the obligation of vows, or are they *general* in their application, so as to have equal reference to all obligations whatsoever?

To answer this question it is really necessary only to transcribe the words of St. Alphonsus: "Obligationem," he says, "negant plures auctores . . quia quum *obligatio legis* eo casu sit *dubia*, fit *dubia* etiam legis *possessio* . . . Hanc opinionem, re melius perpensa, nunc minime probabilem censeo . . Ratio quia, quum votum est *dubie emissum*, recte dicitur non esse obligationem illud implendi; TUNC enim *possidet libertas*; quum tamen votum est *certum*, *libertas* haec *ligata remanet* ab obligatione voti, donec votum *certe* non sit impletum."

What can be more obvious than that in this passage, St. Alphonsus, in dealing with the question before him regarding the continuance of the obligation of a vow, discusses it, not on any narrow grounds peculiar to this special class of obligations, but as an ordinary case, to be decided by the application of the general principle, as to whether the "possession" which establishes the binding force of an obligation, continues even after a probability has arisen that the obligation has been discharged?

8. Even then if we had no further reason for the conclusion that St. Alphonsus had abandoned the more common doctrine of the "Probabilist" theologians as to the case in which it is merely probable that a law, previously certainly binding, has been fulfilled, we should be fully justified in the view that the passage in the Treatise *De Legibus*, on which F. Ballerini relies in defence of his somewhat singular theory, is to be regarded as a passage overlooked—as might most easily have been the case—by St. Alphonsus, in the revision of his work. "Quid in dubio an legem impleveris?" are the words of the passage in question: "In dubio negativo teneris implere, secus in

positivo.”¹ Surely it is not in view of a brief and passing statement such as this, which has simply kept its place as in the earlier editions, unaltered by St. Alphonsus in the fragmentary revisions of his work, that we are to abandon the plain teaching of the passage which we find for the first time in the edition of 1767, where it is inserted as a formal withdrawal of the teaching of the earlier editions, and of the principle on which alone that teaching, and the opinion enunciated in the sentence relied on by F. Ballerini from the Treatise *De Legibus*, could be maintained.

9. But, as I have already implied, the evidence still to be adduced as to St. Alphonsus’ change of opinion, is much more explicit even than that which I have so far set forth.

Having stated his dissent from the opinion and the reasoning of Roncaglia, De Lugo, and the other writers whom he names, in regard to the question *De Voto*, then immediately under discussion, St. Alphonsus (*De Conscientia*, n. 29) adds the important statement:—“*Quod autem diximus de Voto, intelligendum est etiam de satisfactione Poenitentiae sacramentalis.*”

It will not, I assume, be denied that this unqualified statement, no explanation of which has been suggested by F. Ballerini—who, in fact, makes no reference whatever to the passage—very notably increases the difficulty of reconciling his exposition of the extent of St. Alphonsus’ change of view, with the text of the passage before us.

From this statement it is, in fact, plainly undeniable that St. Alphonsus’ change of view did extend beyond the “special question *De Voto.*” From it also it is equally undeniable that the grounds on which St. Alphonsus relied in discussing the special question *De Voto*, were, in his view, no less applicable to the case of the other obligation to which he thus refers. All this, of course, is in strict accordance with the sense in which I have throughout shown that the passage ought to be, as it commonly is, understood. And it is no less plainly at variance with any other sense that it seems possible to suggest.

10. It may however occur to some of my readers as a difficulty, requiring at least explanation, that St. Alphonsus

¹ S. Alphons. Tract. *De Legibus*, n. 99. I do not of course overlook the fact that an explanation of this passage, suggested as a means of harmonising it with the general doctrine of St. Alphonsus in his sixth edition, has been put forward by the authors of the *Vindiciae* (Part. I. cap. iv. sect. 2. art. 2).

should have singled out *those two cases* of obligation, recording his change of view with regard to these alone, if, as his reasoning seems so plainly to indicate, the change in question extended generally to *all cases* of obligation. No doubt the line thus separating these two cases from all others would be a somewhat arbitrary line to draw; but how are we to explain this circumstance, so as to show that it was not, as a matter of fact, drawn by St. Alphonsus?

The answer fortunately is easy and conclusive. But, as in so many other cases, there is but one way to reach it—a comparison of the sixth (A.D. 1767), with the fifth (A.D. 1767) and earlier editions of the Moral Theology. St. Alphonsus, in the passage before us, is not engaged in a formal exposition of his view regarding this entire class of cases. *He is merely withdrawing the opinions he had previously expressed in the corresponding paragraphs of his Treatise in the earlier editions.* Now it so happened that he had selected those two examples in illustration of his thesis, when holding, with Roncaglia, De Lugo, and others, that an obligation was practically discharged by a probability of its having been fulfilled. Naturally, therefore, it is in reference to these that his change of opinion is expressly set forth.

To bring out more fully the force of this explanation, I shall set down the corresponding passages of the fifth and sixth editions in parallel columns:—

5TH EDITION OF 1762.

“Si quis probabiliter iudicet implevisse votum, sive poenitentiam, aut officium, et similia, ad nil aliud tenetur; tum quia Deus contentus est de probabili legum satisfactione; tum quia, quum obligatio legis est dubia, fit dubia etiam possessio legis.

“Ita communiter Roncaglia, Salmant., cum Laymann, Diana, Viva, Lugo,” &c , &c.

6TH EDITION OF 1767.

“Si quis probabiliter iudicat jam voto satisfecisse, an teneatur hoc non obstante illud implere?

“Negant plures AA. nempe Roncaglia . . . ; quia, *ut aiunt*, quum obligatio legis eo casu sit dubia, fit dubia etiam legis possessio.

“Olim probabilem hanc opinionem putavi . . . sed . . . [Vid. antea, p.687.]

“Hinc oppositam dico tenendam . . . Ratio, quia (*ibid.*)

“Quod autem diximus de voto, intelligendum est etiam de satisfactione *Poenitentiae sacramentalis.*”

11. As I am anxious to do the fullest justice to the interpretation of F. Ballerini, I will suggest another point which perhaps may be regarded as to some extent a plausible plea in defence of it. It may be urged, then, that even the explanation thus set forth does not fully account for the selection of the *two cases* of obligation expressly mentioned, supposing that St. Alphonsus had modified his view with regard to *all cases* of the class under consideration. For, in his earlier edition he had spoken not only of these two cases, but also of a *third*—the obligation of the *Divine Office*. Does not the absence of all reference to this important obligation go to show that the change of opinion did not regard it, and, that consequently, it should not be understood as referring to the general question, but, at most, the two special cases specially singled out?

In reply to this line of reasoning, which, indeed, I hardly think of suggesting as likely to be seriously put forward, it might fairly be regarded as sufficient, to recall to mind what I have already stated in regard to the fragmentary character of the revision of his works, with which St. Alphonsus, amid his countless labours, was forced to content himself. In such a revision, a point like this might easily have escaped through inadvertence.

But we are by no means obliged to content ourselves with this conjectural answer, satisfactory though it be. As a matter of fact, St. Alphonsus, in recording his change of view, has elsewhere in this same sixth edition—and, indeed, in the very place where it should most naturally be looked for—expressly set down the *three cases* of obligation, in connection with which he had, in his earlier editions, laid down the opinion which he now retracts.

12. The passage to which I thus refer will be found in the *Elenchus Quaestionum Reformatarum* added by St. Alphonsus at the end of the last volume of his sixth edition.¹ In transcribing it I will only remark (1) that here St. Alphonsus distinctly specifies the three cases in connection with which alone he had laid down, in his earlier editions, the opinion which he now retracts; (2) that in thus withdrawing that opinion, not only “with regard to the special question *De Voto*,” but also with regard to the other cases thus brought under consideration, he plainly shows that

¹ This *Elenchus* is of course printed also in the subsequent editions, and consequently in those now generally in use.

the grounds on which his matured opinion rests are not in any way special to that question, but are common to all three; and (3) that, while we know of no grounds—and none have been even suggested—on which those three cases should be treated as in any way differing from those of any other obligations, it is specially to be noted (4) that in this passage we find him explicitly stating—what, however plainly implied, was still but implied, in the Treatise *de Conscientia*—that the grounds on which he abandoned his previous opinion, and adopted that which he thus set forth, were no other than the broad and general principle, obviously *common to all other cases of obligation* as well as to these, that *an obligation once contracted* maintains its possession *until the fact of its fulfilment* is not merely probable but *certain*.

The passage is as follows. It occupies the first place in the list of changes of opinion inserted in the sixth edition, under the title, “Adduntur aliae recentes Retractationes Opinionum quae in praecedenti [*i.e.* quinta] Editione recensentur:”—

“QUAER. 1° Si quis probabiliter judicet se implevisse *votum, horas canonicas, sive poenitentiam*, an teneatur eam satisfacere, si adhuc probabile sit, vel dubium, non implevisse?”

“Negant plures auctores, Lib. 1. n. 76 [editionis quintae.]

“Sed oppositum est tenendum; quia *possidet obligatio jam contracta, donec certe non fuerit impleta.*”

I venture then to claim that—although I fear, at too great length.—I have shown that in the system of St. Alphonsus, as set forth in its modified form in the sixth and subsequent editions of his Moral Theology, a merely *probable fulfilment* cannot be regarded as a sufficient discharge of an obligation once existing as *certain*.

In another Paper I trust to bring my treatment of this Question in Probabilism to a close, by briefly setting forth, as far as possible in systematic form, the principles embodied in the teaching of St. Alphonsus as to the various groups of cases regarding the cessation or restriction of obligations, cases which occur so numerous, and in regard to questions of the deepest practical moment, in almost every Treatise throughout the course of Moral Theology.

W. J. W

MIXED MARRIAGES.

AT the request of an esteemed Correspondent we give a summary of the conditions required for the due celebration of a mixed marriage by the Canon Law and by the Law of the Land.

A mixed marriage here means a marriage between a Roman Catholic and a baptized person who is not a Roman Catholic. The difference of religion is, in this case, certainly not a diriment, but only a prohibent, impediment; and the marriage is always valid, according to the unanimous opinion of theologians, if no other impediment makes it invalid. But such a marriage is strictly forbidden by the Natural, Divine, and Human or Canon Law.

It is forbidden by the Natural Law on account of the danger to the faith and morals of the Catholic party, and of his or her offspring, which generally exists in marriages of this kind. For there is a danger lest the Catholic contracting party, either through fear, blandishments, threats, or violence may not be allowed the free exercise of the Catholic religion, or even be seduced therefrom; and there is a danger that the non-Catholic parent may insist on training up some or all of the offspring in heresy.

The Divine Law, too, forbids communication with heretics where it is at all likely to prove dangerous to the children of the Church. "Shun an heretical man," says the Apostle, *Titus* iii. 10. And, if even civil intercourse, when dangerous to the faithful, is forbidden by the Gospel and by right reason, *a fortiori*, we may infer that communication in divine things with heretics is strictly forbidden by the Law of God. The Church also has "always condemned and interdicted" mixed marriages, as Benedict XIV. expressly declares, and he himself calls them *detestable*.

In order to remove these prohibitions, the first thing is to remove the danger of perversion. In no case can a mixed marriage become lawful while this danger remains proximate, or even probable. Hence the first condition always required is, that the non-Catholic party be strictly bound to allow all the children to be brought up in the Catholic faith, and to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion to the Catholic party. When the danger is thus removed, the prohibition of the Natural Law ceases to apply. The communication in divine worship with a heretic, which is forbidden by the law of the Gospel, is, in this case, the administration of a Sacrament to a heretic,

and the reception of a Sacrament, at least partially, from a heretic. But this *communicatio in divinis* is manifestly not evil in itself, otherwise it could *never* be lawful to administer a Sacrament to an unworthy recipient. Hence it becomes lawful whenever there is a justifying cause of gravity proportioned to the circumstances of the case. Lastly, the ecclesiastical prohibition is removed only by a dispensation granted by competent authority.

The conditions necessary for obtaining this dispensation we now proceed to examine.

It must always be borne in mind that the first duty of the Bishop, Parish Priest, and Confessor, in reference to a mixed marriage, is to use their best exertions to prevent it.

Benedict XIV., in his well known declaration regarding marriages in Holland, issued on the 4th November, 1741, "exhorts and admonishes," in the most solemn language, all Bishops, Vicars Apostolic, Parish Priests, and Missionaries, as well as all other ministers of the Church, to labour, by every means in their power, to prevent marriages of this kind, which bring ruin on the souls of those committed to their care.¹ Pius VI., in his Rescript to Cardinal de Frankenberg, permits the Parish Priest to give his *material* assistance on the usual conditions only *when he cannot, by any means in his power, prevent the marriage*—*Si matrimonium nulla ratione impedire valeat*—and Pius IX., in his Instruction of the 15th November, 1858, uses similar language. Hence both Parish Priest and Confessor are bound *sub gravi* to do what they can to dissuade from their purpose a Catholic parishioner, or penitent, who seems inclined to contract marriage with a Protestant. But, if the marriage cannot be prevented, then a dispensation may be applied for, and, if good cause is shown, will probably be granted, but only on the following conditions. They are laid down in the Rescript to Cardinal de Frankenberg:—

- (1) The marriage must be celebrated before the Parish Priest and two witnesses; but the Parish Priest must not assist thereat (a) in a sacred place, (b) nor clothed in any sacred vestment, (c) nor is he allowed to read any prayers of the Church, (d) nor in any way to bless the contracting parties.

¹ "Sanctitas sua . . . Episcopos omnes, vicarios Apostolicos, Parochos, Missionarios, et alios quoscumque Dei et Ecclesiae fideles ministros in iis partibus degentes *serio graviterque* hortatur et monet ut Catholicos utriusque sexus ab hujusmodi nuptiis in propriarum animarum perniciem ineundis quantum possint absterreant, &c., &c."

- (2) The non-Catholic party must give a *written* promise, *on oath, before witnesses*, to allow the Catholic party to exercise her or his religion freely, and to bring up in that faith all their offspring.
- (3) The Catholic party must, in like manner, promise to labour efficaciously in order to bring about the conversion of the other party.¹

The first condition is required to show how much the Church disapproves of mixed marriages; in the words of the Pope, that she neither can nor will approve of them; she only tolerates them to prevent greater evils. It is, however, by no means the most essential of the conditions, and, as we shall see hereafter, the Bishop is under certain circumstances allowed to relax one or more of the very stringent clauses here laid down. But the Parish Priest cannot, without the authority of the Bishop, make any change himself; he must observe these clauses to the letter, and bear in mind that there shall be no vestment used, not even the stole, no prayer said, or benediction given, and that the ceremony do not take place either in the church or sacristy. But he is bound to see that the contracting parties give their mutual consent *per verba de presenti*. What form of words is then to be used? We think the contracting parties may either use the legal form, as used before the Registrar—"I call upon these persons here present to witness that I, A. B., do take thee, C. D., to be my lawful wedded wife (or husband)." Or, we think, the Priest might use the forms in the Ritual, to ascertain, and to express the consent of the contracting parties. But, in that case, when reciting the first form, the words, "According to the rite of our Holy Mother the Church," should be omitted, and the clause, "If Holy Church will it permit," should be omitted from the second form. If the priest do not choose to read

¹ Pontifex "declarat Parochum Catholicum, si matrimonium nulla ratione impedire valeat, eidem materialem suam exhibere posse presentiam modo sequentes observet cautelas. (1) Ut tali matrimonio non assistat in loco sacro nec aliqua sacra veste indutus; ut nullas Ecclesiae preces recitet, neque ullo modo conjugibus benedicat. (2) Ut pars heretica scripto et juramento corum testibus promittat se permissuram ut pars Catholica religionem suam libere exerceat, prolesque omnes in ea instituat. (3) Ut similiter pars Catholica eodem modo promittat se hoc praestitutam ut compartis conversionem efficaciter procuret."

the words himself, either the clerk may recite them, or the contracting parties themselves may read them from the Ritual.

The second condition is essential. The natural law requires some condition of that kind to remove the danger, and make the marriage lawful; if the danger remains, even the papal dispensation cannot make it a lawful marriage. The promise must be written, on oath, before witnesses. The object which the Church has in view may be sufficiently obtained in either of two ways. First, by the execution of a deed at the time of the marriage, which is the most efficacious way of procuring the desired result. For the parent cannot afterwards in any circumstances claim the right to educate his children as non-Catholics, when by marriage deed he authorised them to be educated in the Catholic faith. On the other hand the *Agar-Ellis* case conclusively proves the danger of trusting to a mere promise, which may afterwards either be broken or denied. The second way in which the condition can be fulfilled is to give a written promise, in the presence of God, before two witnesses, for, although it is illegal to administer an oath by private authority, it does not appear illegal to take one; hence this condition can, and ought to be complied with, when the deed is not executed.

The third condition requires the Catholic party to promise *eodem in modo*, to use his or her best exertions for the conversion of the non-Catholic party. This is an obligation resulting from the law of charity, and subject to most of the conditions required by the law of charity before it can be of urgent obligation.

We now come to the conditions required by the Law of the Land for the due celebration of mixed marriages. By the 33 and 34 of Victoria, the statute of the nineteenth of George II. was repealed, which made it penal for a priest to celebrate a marriage "between a Papist and any person who hath been, or hath professed himself or herself, to be a Protestant at any time within the twelve months before such celebration of marriage, which, if solemnized before a Popish Priest, is to be void, &c., &c."

The new statute, however, which permits a marriage "to be lawfully solemnized by a Roman Catholic clergyman between a person who is a Roman Catholic and a

person who is not a Roman Catholic," requires that the following conditions be complied with.¹

- (1) That due² notice be given either to the person duly authorized by the Bishop, in writing under his hand, to issue licenses, or to the Registrar of the district in which one of the parties shall have resided for fourteen days previous. This due notice must be given at least seven days before the license, or certificate, shall issue; and
- (2) The person receiving such notice, whether Licenser, or Registrar, shall forthwith send by post a copy thereof to the clergymen officiating at the places of worship, where the parties intending marriage shall have been in the habit of attending.
- (3) The license, or certificate, is to be delivered to the clergyman solemnizing marriage at the time of the solemnization of the marriage.
- (4) Such marriage must be solemnized in a building set apart for the celebration of divine service, according to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the clergyman solemnizing such marriage, and situated in the district for which the license or certificate is issued.
- (5) It must take place with open doors between the hours of eight in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses.

Regarding the question whether all these conditions are required under penalty of the marriage being legally void, we think the 39th section of the Act of the 33 & 34 Victoria is conclusive. "Any marriage solemnized . . . by a Roman Catholic Clergyman, between a person who is a Roman Catholic, and a person who is not a Roman Catholic, *shall be void to all intents* in cases *where* the parties *knowingly and wilfully intermarried* without due notice to the Registrar (or in lieu thereof to the Licenser); *or* without certificate of notice duly issued; *or* without the presence of two or more credible witnesses; *or* in a building not set apart for the celebration of divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the clergyman celebrating such marriage."

¹ 33 and 34 Vict. ch. 110, sec. 38.; also 34 and 35 Vict. ch. 49, secs. 25, 26, 27.

² That is, notice in writing given seven days before the license shall issue, and accompanied by certain declarations to be noticed hereafter.

On this clause we may observe that it would seem from the words, "*knowingly and wilfully*," that a mistake made in good faith, or in ignorance, would not make the marriage void in law. Secondly, in this voiding clause there is no mention of the hours eight and two o'clock, as necessary limits, whence it would seem that this condition is to be regarded not as mandatory but directory. Thirdly, as to the Licensor, it may be asked if it is necessary that the Bishop of each diocese appoint one or more persons, by writing under his hand, to issue the necessary license and give the necessary notice; or, would the Parish Priest of one of the contracting parties be *ipso facto* authorized to issue such notice and license? We speak under correction, but we venture to think that the Parish Priest of the Catholic party is *ipso facto* sufficiently authorized to issue the necessary license and notice. This we infer from the 25th section of the 34 & 35 Victoria, c. 49:—

"Every Bishop of the Catholic Church may, by writing under his hand, nominate persons to issue licenses for marriages in cases where both or either of the parties is a Roman Catholic; provided that, when only one of the persons is a Roman Catholic, *notice in writing* shall be given by one of the parties to the person empowered to issue such licenses seven days before the license shall issue; and the person receiving such notice shall forthwith send by post a copy thereof to the clergymen officiating at the places of worship where the parties intending marriage have been in the habit of attending."

As the Parish Priest is then the person who either marries or issues a license for the marriage of the parties, when both are Roman Catholics, we think it is clear that without further authorization he is also the person to issue a license for the marriage, when one only of the parties is a Roman Catholic. But, in that case it is certainly necessary to send the legal notice to the Clergyman of the place of worship where the non-Catholic party usually attended.

As we have seen, the Pope requires that a mixed marriage do not take place in the church or sacristy; and the law requires that it do take place in a church, where a priest is the celebrant. What is then to be done in this conflict of authority? We think that the instruction of Pius IX., dated November 15th, 1858, and addressed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and Ordinaries of places, may be here applied. In this instruction the Pope leaves the Bishops to judge where the conditions cannot be fulfilled without giving rise to graver losses and evils—"quia graviora exinde oriantur damna ac mala." In these circumstances he per-

mits the Bishop to allow the marriage to be celebrated in the church, and even according to the usual form prescribed in the Diocesan Ritual, provided always the Mass is not said, and the other essential conditions are duly complied with.¹ As the legal voiding of the marriage is certainly a *grave damnum ac malum*, the Bishop may, in these circumstances, permit the mixed marriage to be celebrated in the church. The party giving notice to the Licensor or Registrar of the future marriage, is required to declare that there is no lawful impediment, that one of the parties has resided for fifteen days in the district of the Licensor or Registrar; on whom notice is served, and in case of parents or guardians of minors, that the necessary consent has been obtained. These conditions are not opposed to the Canon Law, and hence no difficulty can arise in regard to them.

To sum up therefore, the law requires:—

- (1) Due notice, *i.e.* in writing, seven days before the marriage to the aforesaid effect, served on the Licensor.
- (2) Due notice of the future marriage to be served by the Licensor through the post, on clergymen of the places of worship, *usually* attended by the contracting parties (usually means at least for the previous month).
- (3) This license is to be delivered to the officiating clergyman at the time of marriage.
- (4) It must take place in the church, with open doors, between the hours of eight o'clock in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon.

If not celebrated within three calendar months from date of issue, the license becomes void. J. H.

¹ Quod si in aliquibus locis Sacrorum Antistites cognoverint easdem conditiones impleri haud posse, quin graviora exinde oriantur damna et mala; in hoc casu *tantum* Sanctitas sua ad hujusmodi majora damna ac mala vitanda prudenti eorumdem Sacrorum Antistitum arbitrio committit, ut ipsi, salvis firmisque semper ac perdiligenter servatis canonibus de perversionis periculo amovendo a conjugē Catholico, de conversione conjugis acatholici ab ipso conjugē Catholico pro viribus procuranda deque universa utriusque sexus prole in sanctitate Catholicae Religionis omnino educanda judicent quando commemoratae conditiones de contrahendis mixtis hisce nuptiis extra Ecclesiam, et absque Prochi benedictione impleri minime possint, et quando in promiscuis hisce conjugiiis ineundis tolerari queat mos adhiberi ritum pro matrimoniis contrahendis in Diocesano Rituali legitime praescriptum exclusa tamen semper Missae celebratione. *Instructio* 15 November, 1858, jussu SS. D.N. Pii PP. IX. ad omnes Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et locorum ordinariis, de mixtis matrimoniis data.

DOCUMENTS.

FEAST OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

THE following Brief of his Holiness Leo XIII., by which the Feast of the Immaculate Conception is raised to the dignity of a Festival of the First Class, will be read with special interest just at the present time, as we approach the 26th Anniversary of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception.

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Annus jam quintus et vicesimus expletur, postquam Pius IX, Pontifex Maximus, magni nominis et felicis recordationis Decessor Noster, Virginis Deiparae Immaculatum Conceptum supremo atque irreformabili iudicio definivit. Cujus eventus auspicatissimi memoria causam Nobis affert non levem, cur in Domino laetemur; jucundum est enim recordari quibus studiis et quam prona atque obsequente voluntate Catholici homines certatim exceperint immortale illud Summi Pontificis oraculum, quo Virginis Augustae nativa dignitas asseritur, et singularis incremento laudis illustratur. Enimvero ex illo die fidem et pietatem erga magnam Dei Genitricem primaevalis labis expertem augeri ubique perspeximus; unde spes gentibus christianis firma ostenditur fore ut sicut olim immanissimam inferorum potestatem Maria victrix contrivit, ita in praesens, qua gratia apud Deum pollet, et qua est benignitate in suos, prementium malorum horribilem tempestatem depellat, triumphatisque religionis hostibus obtatae tranquillitati Ecclesiam restituat.

Itaque cum sacer Virgini Immaculae dies praecipuo jam populi cultu et honore agatur, cumque Nobis compertum sit publicae fidelium pietati provehendae plurimum conducere memoriam mysteriorum Redemptionis augustiore ritu celebratam, ideo statim sollemnitatem immaculati Beatae Virginis Conceptus magnificentius per universam Ecclesiam peragendam esse censuimus; qua re etiam singulari pietati Nostrae erga magnam Dei Matrem et plurimum Episcoporum desiderio erit satisfactum. Igitur Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica mandamus ut juxta Nostrae Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum peculiare decretum die XXX Novembris mensis nuper elapsi, festum et officium Immaculae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis Deiparae duplici ritu primae classis, una cum Missa vigiliae, celebretur, servatis rubricis aliisque de jure servandis. Haec volumus et praecipimus, decernentes has Litteras esse perpetuo valituras, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die V Decembris MDCCCLXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Secundo.

TH. CARD. MERTEL.

NOTES ON THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE "DIOCESAN SYNOD."

COMMUNICATIONS have reached us from more than one correspondent regarding a reference to the "*Diocesan Synod*" of Benedict XIV., which is given in our last number, page 624, line 11. Our correspondents seem to take for granted, that there must be some mistake in giving a reference to the twenty-third chapter of a book which (in their editions) contains only sixteen chapters. But we beg to remind our readers, that the different editions of the "*Diocesan Synod*" vary very much in the divisions both of the books and of the chapters. It is well known, that this admirable work was begun by its author while he was still Archbishop of Bologna. Before it could be prepared for publication, the Archbishop, who had been created Cardinal in 1728, was called to Rome, to assist at the conclave which was summoned to elect a successor to Clement XII.

On the 17th of August, 1740, after long deliberation, the Archbishop of Bologna was, with rare unanimity, elected Pope, and took the name of Benedict XIV. During the first seven years of his Pontificate, he was unable, as he mentions in the Preface to the edition of his works, in which the "*Synod*" first appears, to complete this useful work. "Verum," he says, "inter haec ad supremum Ecclesiae regimen . . . evecti, eam [Commentationem hanc de Synodo Diocesana] per diu nec attingere licuit: tam multis, tam variis, tamque gravibus districti fuimus curis toto hoc praeterito tempore nostri Pontificatus." At length he found time to finish, or rather, as he himself says, to re-write the whole work.

"Nacti aliquid vacui temporis idque raptim Commentationi nostrae impendentes, eam aliquando tandem coeperimus, seu verius fere ex integro elaboravimus: adeo multa sunt de novo addita partim ex libris nostrae Bibliothecae, partim ex nostris Bononensibus Litteris, et Edictis, partim denique ex iis quae toto nostri Pontificatus septennio decreta a nobis et constituta sunt."

In this first edition of the "*Diocesan Synod*," published in Rome, 1748, there were only *eight* books. The seventh book contained 72 chapters; a number out of proportion with the number of chapters contained in any of the other books.

In preparing a subsequent edition, Benedict XIV.

determined, amongst other changes, to divide the seventh book, and to distribute the matter it contained, over the additional books which were added to the original number, and which go to make up the *thirteen* books found in the later editions of the "*Synod*."

"Jamvero, ut de nova hac editione dicamus aliquid, hoc primum monebimus mutatas tantummodo voluimus Operis sectiones: divisas nimirum in plures libros materiis, et argumentis, quae in prioris editionis libro *septimo* continenter tractata, unum illum librum longiorem ceteris, et plus aequo prolixum effecerant. At vero multis in locis, prout occasio se obtulit, opportuna aptavimus additamenta, quibus ea confirmarem, quae in priore editione asserta per nos fuerant. Insuper non pauca ex integro capitula elaboravimus, quibus plures rerum notitias, easque non levis momenti, in prioribus editionibus omissas, complexi sumus; quibusque editio haec revera auctior et cumulator prodibit."

In consequence of this change, it will be found that the twenty-third chapter, of the seventh book of the earlier editions of the "*Diocesan Synod*," corresponds with the eighth chapter of the eighth book of the later editions.

ED. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

In the last number of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, the reply given to C. M. who in substance made this case, viz.: B on the 1st September, being in the probable danger of death, was anointed by C. Though no observable substantial change takes place in B up to the 2nd October, C anoints him again. Has C acted rightly, and on what grounds?

What reply is given by your correspondent? He is referred to the Rubric of the Roman Ritual "In eadem infirmitate hoc Sacramentum iterari non debet, nisi diuturna sit." I beg to give the remaining part of that Rubric, which appears to explain "diuturna." Observe there is only a comma after "diuturna sit," and then the sentence runs on, "ut cum infirmus convalescit, iterum in periculum mortis incidit." This latter part of the Rubric appears to remove from "diuturna" the force given to it by your learned contributor.

Baruffaldi (our most approved commentator on the Roman Ritual) lays down distinctly on this very Rubric that the party must get out of that probable danger of death, in which he was first anointed, and relapse into danger again, before he can be anointed in the same sickness—"non tamen durante eodem morbi periculo sive statu." Baruff. Tit. xxvii. § xiv.

Your correspondent again refers C. M. to "Benedict XIV. in Syn. Dioc. lib. vii., cap. 23." I venture to remark that I can find only 16 chapters in the lib. vii., but in lib. viii., chap. viii., I find the subject treated, and I cannot discover that even Benedict XIV. will go further with your respected correspondent, than to approve of Pastors, not being *scrupulous in doubts* whether the sick man has rallied or not, whether the disease has really changed or not, but to lean in their *doubts* to the side of reiterating Extreme Unction, when the sickness is tedious. The difficulties of C. M. appear to remain. The whole tenor of Benedict XIV. and his quotations, particularly that from S. Thomas, would evidently prove that C did not act rightly in re-anointing B., simply because a month had elapsed since the previous anointing.

The words of Laymann are worth quoting :—

"Communis est sententia S. Thomae . . . Suarez etc. Extremam Unctionem non posse iterum conferri, durante eodem periculo morbi ; secus si aliud novum sit periculum, quia videlicet infirmus, postquam semel inunctus fuerat, melius habere coepit, ut medicorum judicio extra probabile seu propinquum mortis periculum constitutus esset, mutata corporis constitutione recidit ; tunc iterum ungi potest, licet intervallum temporis non longum sed paucarum tantum hebdomadarum intercesserit, dummodo prudenter practica consideratione censeantur diversa pericula quibus homo constituatur in distinctis statibus seu dispositionibus ad moriendum sicuti Zambranus, et Suarez notavit. Ratio hujus doctrinae est quam S. Thomas dat : Quia hoc Sacramentum ex propria institutione conferri debet infirmo non cuicunque, sed qui secundum humanam aestimationem est in probabile statu moriendi teste etiam Trident. Sess. 14. can. 3. *Ergo cum idem status, quamvis diuturno tempore durat non est repetendum Sacramentum*, secus si uno periculo remoto, diversus moriendi status incidat." Laymann. Lib. v. Tract viii. cap. iv. n. 5 C. M.

[The reply given to the letter of C. M., in the November RECORD, appears not to have been fully understood by that esteemed correspondent. I need scarcely remark, that I did not propose to myself to examine in detail the many interesting questions which may arise, connected with the administration of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. My task was a much easier one, viz : to reply to C. M.'s query as to the usage of Rome in re-administering that Sacrament in the same sickness after a month's interval. If C. M. imagines that it is the custom in Rome to re-administer Extreme Unction to all patients, after the interval of a month, he is mistaken. It is only re-administered when, after a month's interval, the danger of death again supervenes. Perhaps an example will best explain what I mean to say. Let us take the case of a patient who shows all the symptoms of a dangerous illness, and to whom the last Sacra-

ments have been administered. The malady, however, assumes the type of a low fever, and continues for a month with its usual alternatives of better and worse. After the month's interval a severe crisis comes on, and the physician pronounces the patient to be in immediate danger of death. The priest in that case, resting on the usage of Rome, and on the teaching of Benedict XIV., may re-administer the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. As regards the words, *dummodo sit diuturna*, these alone were cited from the Rubric, because these alone receive some illustration from the Roman usage, whilst the readers of the RECORD are supposed to be familiar with the complete text.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. By W. J. FITZPATRICK, LL.D., &c. 2 vols. New edition, greatly enlarged and enriched. Duffy & Sons, Dublin, 1880.

THE reputation Mr. Fitzpatrick has obtained as a writer of Irish biography is not confined to his own country, but it has extended especially to great Britain and the British Colonies, while in the United States of America his name is a household word among Irish and American Catholic readers. The Life of Dr. Doyle, the first edition of which appeared many years ago, contributed largely to increase the popularity of a writer whose Lives of Lord Cloncurry and of Lady Morgan were already familiar to lovers of Irish biography. As the Preface to the present edition states, the Dublin edition of Dr. Doyle's Life had been re-published by Mr. Donohoe, of Boston, U. S., in 1869, but after it attained a wide public circulation, the remaining copies and the stereotype plates were destroyed in that calamitous fire, which laid his premises waste, and which created so great a sympathy for the much-respected publisher. The earlier edition of Messrs. Duffy has been long out of print, and hence the obvious necessity for a new and greatly enlarged one, enriched by the indefatigable researches of the author; for original and interesting materials have been procured, and now for the first time are they published.

With deep interest and pleasure we read through the biography of Dr. Doyle by Mr. Fitzpatrick, when it first appeared; yet, we are compelled to state that, as compared with the present edition, it was in a measure incomplete. The work has been very carefully revised throughout; further elucidations have been made; the arrangement of chapters and of headings has been recast; and, while nothing of any special importance has been omitted, we at once find that additions and improvements have

been introduced, so as greatly to enhance the value of the present issue. It leads us to a better study of the motives and actions of the saintly and patriotic prelate of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, so long familiarly known by his initials of J. K. L.—cabalistic letters of power in their day, when Ireland was seething in the throes of political ferment. Several confidential letters to the friends of his earlier years, and to influential persons, who figured on the stage of public life, are now for the first time published. These are, indeed, in many cases, only filled with the private details of a great man's ordinary pursuits; yet, for the most part, they abound in the religious and high vein of thought in which his conceptions were moulded. Various letters are addressed to eminent statesmen, and doubtless these had an effect in reference to measures of public policy and utility, at a time when great reforms were required in the laws and customs that swayed the destinies of the people. Hence, this biography has a peculiar worth and interest for all students of Ireland's history, during the eventful period of O'Connell's political agitation; when dividing public attention with the immortal Liberator's peculiar scope of action, Dr. Doyle had more than his share in the stormy discussions of the time.

It is quite needless to dwell, at greater length, on the merits of this work. We have simply to state that the Messrs. Duffy & Sons have produced it in a style becoming the established character of their house, and at a greatly reduced price, which should give it a place in the library of every good Catholic and patriotic Irishman. Ever in the history of our country the name of Dr. Doyle shall be well remembered; and no more complete record of his Life, Times, and Correspondence, is likely to appear, than that which has been furnished by the biographer, associated for all future time with the fame of his illustrious subject.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From MESSRS. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Tractatus de Actibus Humanis. Auctore GULIELMO J. WALSH, S.T.D.

The Intermediate Education History of England. Part I., to A.D. 1485. By EDMOND WREN, M.A., London.

Life of Sister Rosalie, of the Order of Charity. Translated by F. T. PORTER, Esq., A.M.

Catechism of First Communion. Suitable for Children.

Keating's History of Ireland. Translated by J. W. JOYCE, Esq. Book I. Part I.

From MESSRS. BURNS & OATES, London—

Anglican Ritualism, as seen by a Catholic and Foreigner. By ABBÉ P. MARTIN, D.D.

Organ School. By R. OBERHAFFER.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SUPPLEMENTARY] *DECEMBER*, 1880.

[NUMBER.

SEVENTH CENTENARY OF ST. LAURENCE O'TOOLE.

ON Sunday, November 14th, 1880, the Seventh Centenary of the festival of St. Laurence O'Toole, was celebrated, with fitting ceremonial, and all due solemnity, in the Pro-Cathedral, Marlboro'-street, Dublin. The panegyric of the Saint was preached on the occasion by the learned Bishop of Ossory. Although we do not regard sermons, as a rule, suitable matter for publication in the Record, still, owing to its historical interest, we have determined to give such selections from this sermon as will suffice to illustrate the different phases of the eventful career of St. Laurence.

Our first selection regards the birth, parentage, and early life of the Saint:—

“ St. Laurence O'Toole was born about the year, 1125. His father was chieftain of the Hy-Murray territory, which embraced all those fertile and picturesque districts now comprised in the southern half of the County Kildare. St. Bridget was the patron of the family, and her protecting mantle, and her blessing, were in a particular manner extended to the whole of that rich territory. The infant was sent to St. Bridget's shrine at Kildare to receive the waters of Baptism. Many signs and wonders foreshadowed his future greatness. The holy man who baptized him gave him the name of Lorcan, that is to say, one valiant and renowned, foretelling at the same time, that he would one day be magnified on earth and glorified in heaven. From his early years St. Laurence was trained in the school of adversity. He was given as a hostage to Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, who threw him into a dreary dungeon and subjected him to the greatest hardships.”

“From the fortress of Dermot, St. Laurence in his twelfth year passed to the monastery of Glendalough, and within its hallowed walls he every day advanced in piety as in years. It would seem as if nature itself had destined the singularly interesting valley of Glendalough, to be a tranquil retreat for religious seclusion and for prayer. The high mountains that arise to the North and West and South, present impassable barriers against the intrusion of the world on its solitude. Towards the East alone the valley expands to welcome the first rays of the rising sun. The still waters of its lakes mirror the glory of the Creator, and the varied beauty of nature and the grandeur of the surrounding scenery raise up the mind to the contemplation of heavenly things. No wonder that as far back as the sixth century St. Kevin and so many other saints should have loved to dwell there. No wonder that it should be known to our early Fathers as the valley of God, the Rome of the isles of the west. Glendalough has long lain desolate. To the sight-seeing visitor of the present day it looks little better than a dreary and deserted solitude. And yet who is there not dead to the spiritual life, whose piety will not grow warm as he meditates amid its ruins. What must it have been when the lamp of Faith shone brightly before its shrines, when the spirit of God dwelt there, and the incense of prayer ascended from its altars, and its cloisters resounded with the joyous anthems of piety, and its hills echoed to the praises of God. The affections of the youthful Laurence were at once fixed on that hallowed spot and full of joy he chose it for his lasting dwelling place. His father would wish to have lots cast to see which of his sons he would devote to the service of God. But Laurence would allow no such hazard to decide his choice. My resolution is already formed, he said, the voice of God calls me to serve Him, and it is my only desire to abide here in His holy love. For twenty years Glendalough was the constant abode of our Saint. As student and religious, and priest and abbot, he lived there, advancing from virtue to virtue, till he attained the sublimest perfection of the Saints.”

But St. Laurence was not destined to end his days in the “rocky, wild retreat” of Glendalough. In 1162 he was appointed to succeed Greine, or Gregory, the Danish Archbishop of Dublin. The following extract tells how zealously, and with what happy results, he laboured in the discharge of his episcopal duties:—

“Thus St. Laurence was a great saint. But he was also a great and illustrious prelate of the Church, full of zeal for the cause of God, and for the interests of all who were entrusted to his care. In season and out of season he laboured to remedy abuses, to promote peace, to strengthen the bonds of charity, to heal the wounds of past disorders, to revive piety and renew the ancient splendour of Ireland’s sanctity. He convened or took part

in several Synods, not only in his own diocese, but at Athboy, and Clane, and Clonfert, and Cashel and Lismore, the better to revive the vigour of discipline throughout the whole Irish Church. Of him it may be truly said that he loved the beauty of God's house. He added the choir and the chapel of Our Lady to the Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity, and he left nothing undone to perfect the comeliness of that sacred edifice. The outward form of that venerable church has been renovated in latter times. Its inner life has long since departed, its altar and its sacrifice are gone; but its aisles and its arches, its rood screen and its Lady Chapel remain to attest the faith and the munificence of him who seven centuries ago merited to be styled its second founder.

“His care extended also to the churches and other religious buildings in Glendalough. The ruins of that venerable spot still excite the admiration of men of cultivated taste. Its Cathedral and Round Tower, the Lady Chapel, and Teampull-na-Skellig, and the Ivy Church, and St. Kevin's cell, and its other monuments, form a group of sacred ruins unsurpassed in Great Britain. Many of these monuments, indeed, belong to an earlier period of Irish art, but the crowning beauty of them all was added by the munificence of St. Laurence. Under his care religious institutions were multiplied. He introduced into his cathedral the Arosian Canons, whose fame for religious discipline and whose fragrance of virtue had in a few years spread throughout the whole church. He built for them the monastery of St. Patrick adjoining the cathedral, and he wished himself to live with them, to wear their habit, to be numbered among the brethren, and to be foremost in all their religious observances.

“During a period of famine, which lasted for four years, he was untiring in his exertions to assist his people. Throughout the whole of that time he took to himself the care of five hundred sufferers, and every day at least fifty persons received their food at his hands. The orphans he regarded as his special charge. No matter how many of them presented themselves, he took to himself the burden of providing for them all, and when his resources were exhausted he sent some of the orphans into the country parts, bearing aloft a crucifix, and soliciting aid for the little children who were so dear to our Blessed Lord.

But this awakening of the olden glories of the Irish Church, as a skilful historian of the period remarks, contrasted sadly with the ruin that was even then impending over the nation. What part St. Laurence bore in resisting the invaders of his country, the following extract will tell:—

“At the invitation of Dermot MacMurrough, the worthless King of Leinster, who for his crimes had been driven from his sovereignty, a number of Anglo-Norman adventurers, brave but unscrupulous and reckless men, landed upon our shores, and with

their advent began a long series of oppressions, and cruelties, and miseries, which have no parallel in the history of the Christian States. The military skill of the invaders, their armour, their method of warfare, gave them many advantages in the battle-field, and yet, all this, when confronting Irish bravery, often failed to secure them the victory. There were other arms, however, which seldom failed of success. These were craft and treachery and deceit, for where interest was at stake the Normans allowed no usages of civilized states, no principles of justice, or integrity, or honour, to stand in their way.

"The troops of Dermot and the Anglo-Normans laid siege to Dublin. St. Laurence was deputed by the citizens to negotiate terms of peace, but whilst the negotiations were being carried on, some of the Anglo-Norman Knights crept into the city unobserved. The Danish garrison at once sought safety in their ships, and then ensued a merciless slaughter of the defenceless citizens. St. Laurence as a good shepherd fearlessly braved every danger when the safety of his flock was imperilled. He threw himself into the midst of the carnage, he snatched the bleeding victims from the hands of their murderers, and himself bandaged their wounds. To the dying he imparted the consolations of religion. Even the slain were not forsaken by him. When there were none to inter them, he did not hesitate to bear them to the cemetery on his own shoulders, and to dig their graves, that in their repose they might not be deprived of Christian burial.

"During the following years we find him making repeated journeys between the contending parties to secure peace for his suffering people. But when his efforts at times proved unavailing, he with true patriotism endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to arms and to combine their united strength against the merciless enemy. Some seem to imagine that love of country and true patriotism cannot go hand in hand with piety and holiness. Never was there a greater fallacy than this. The noblest aspirations of our nature flow from the same heavenly source from which Religion comes to us. It is not the mission of Divine Faith to destroy or to impair those faculties which nature has implanted in the soul, but rather to elevate and to ennoble and to perfect them.

"St. Laurence was the model of a true patriot. He impressed upon the Irish chieftains the dangers that impended over them. He entreated them to lay aside their petty jealousies, and to combine together to renew the glory that was shed upon their country on the plains of Clontarf. He even sought the aid of friendly chieftains in the neighbouring islands, the better to ensure success. A national army assembled at his summons, and for a time it seemed as if his patriotism was to be crowned with victory. The invaders were hemmed in on every side, and could no longer venture outside the walls of the capital. The confederacy, how-

ever, of the Irish chieftains was soon dissolved, and thenceforward all the efforts of our saint were directed to promote peace, to diffuse the blessings of charity, and to cement its hallowed bonds. Throughout the entire length and breadth of the land he was revered by all, and posterity has ratified the verdict of his grateful contemporaries when they wished him to be styled *Pater Patriæ*, the true lover of his country and the father of his people."

St. Laurence, like so many Irish Bishops of the present day, enjoyed the privilege of assisting at one of the General Councils of the Church—the Third Council of Lateran. Perhaps, too, like his successor in the See of Dublin, the late Cardinal Archbishop, he was deputed to draw up in its final form some Decree of Faith, the influence of which will never fail in the Church. On his return from Rome he was appointed Papal Legate for Ireland. During the short time that now remained to him on earth, he employed his Legatine powers in Ireland, as he had previously exercised his Episcopal authority, in defence of the liberties of the Church, with the same zeal and fortitude as adorned the life, and shed such an undying lustre on the tragic death, of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

"It was in the same year that St. Thomas and St. Laurence entered on their high duties as Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin. Both alike became illustrious champions of the Church's liberties, and both received the honours of the altar, and yet in many respects how different was their whole career.

"St. Thomas, without any nobility of birth to commend him, engaged in the pursuits of ambition, and won for himself the highest honours and the richest emoluments of the kingdom. St. Laurence, though of princely birth, chose for his portion the lowly service of God, and faithfully walked in the paths of piety in the silence and seclusion of the cloister.

"Till he ascended the See of Canterbury, St. Thomas rivalled the monarch in the splendour of his state and the luxury of his table. He appeared at tilts and tournaments, in gorgeous attire, at the head of the chivalry of England, and he partook of all the pleasures of the Court. St. Laurence passed his days in penitential austerities: it was his delight to bestow everything he had upon the poor, and he made himself all to all that he might win souls to Christ.

"Even as successor of St. Augustine, St. Thomas seemed for a time to waver between the duty which he owed to the Church and his affection for his royal master. Strengthened, however, by God's grace, he at length displayed the very heroism of fortitude, and won the martyr's bright aureola as his prize. St. Laurence

never deviated for an instant from the paths of holiness. Like the sun in the heavens he steadily pursued his onward course, and, with the palm of the confessors of Christ, he merited to unite the reward of the martyrs. He is styled a Martyr in our Annals. for, though he did not shed his blood for the faith, yet through his desire of martyrdom and his sufferings for justice sake, he ensured its eternal reward.

“ St. Thomas’s martyrdom gave victory at once to the cause for which he died. It rolled back the tide of aggression in England, and peace once more smiled upon the Church. This lasted only for a time however. The Norman assaults were soon renewed, the liberties of the Church were again trampled on, the Church was treated as a mere handmaid of the State, and religion became enslaved. No wonder that the so called Reformation should ensue ; no wonder that centuries of gloom, of error, and schism, and heresy, should settle down on the once glorious churches of England. It is only in our own day, through the blessing of the Sovereign Pontiff, and through the fruitfulness of Irish piety, that a second spring-time has dawned upon her, and that the sunshine of peace and the blessings of Divine Faith have begun to be restored to that fair land.”

The circumstances and consequences of his death are thus related by Dr. Moran :—

“ It was on a twofold mission, a mission of peace and a mission in defence of the church’s rights, that St. Laurence sailed for the last time from our shores. Having landed in England, he was informed that by royal order, the ports of the kingdom were closed against his return to Ireland, and thenceforward in the cause of peace and in the cause of the liberties of the Church he was to be an exile from his native land. Hearing that the king was in Normandy, he after a time set out for France, but worn out by his labours and anxieties, fell sick upon the way. Journeying along the smiling valley of the Bresle which then formed the southern boundary of Normandy, he came to an elevated spot now marked by a little chapel which bears his name, and as he saw in the distance the Church of Our Lady of Eu, he cried out “ *Hæc requies mea : This is my resting place for ever : here shall I dwell, because I have chosen it.*” Entering the Abbey he was welcomed by the religious as an Angel from heaven. In his last moments he was heard to repeat the words : “ Oh my people, who now will defend you, who will pour balm upon your wounds !” and closing his eyes in peace he could well exclaim, “ I have loved justice, I have laboured to promote peace, and to defend the freedom of God’s Church, therefore, I die in exile from the land of my birth.”

“ No immediate triumph of God’s Church in Ireland marked the death of St. Laurence O’Toole. But it was something more, perhaps, that through God’s blessing the mantle of his heroism fell

upon our whole nation. From his day the union of the Irish clergy and people has become indissoluble, and true patriotism and piety, love of country, and love of the Church have been inseparably blended together in the Irish Catholic heart. The contest of Satan and of the powers of this world against the freedom of religion did not cease, on the contrary their attacks became every day more fierce and more frequent; and yet that liberty of the Church for which St. Laurence died in exile has never been for a moment surrendered. What nation ever suffered as Ireland has suffered to assert her liberty of serving God? The blood of her sons was poured out in torrents, her sanctuaries that crowned her hills and sanctified her vallies were reduced to ruin, a price was set upon the head of her priests: and even while the sword of persecution was said to be sheathed, was it not merely permitted to our people to drag out a sorrowing existence amid all the poverty and humiliation, and misery of slaves!

“Six centenaries of St. Laurence’s feast have seen the struggle against our Church’s freedom still prolonged. The first three centenaries witnessed the Church of Ireland humbled amid all the miseries of national dissensions and of civic strife. The fourth centenary found Ireland suffering from the persecution of Queen Elizabeth, and sending countless children to join the white-robed army of the martyrs of Christ. The fifth centenary saw the Archbishop of Armagh mount the scaffold at Tyburn with the serenity of an angel, and with the heroism of a true martyr to die for the faith; whilst the successor of St. Laurence in this See, with the like serenity and the like heroism, at a few paces from where we are assembled, was laying down his life for the same holy cause in prison. Another centenary came on, and the faithful were seen gathered together in the garrets or in the stables of the back lanes of this city, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. At length, however, the day of victory and peace has dawned, and as St. Laurence on this seventh centenary of his festival looks down from his heavenly throne on the Church which he so loved, what will he behold? He will see his worthy successor walking in his footsteps, and free from every fetter, be it of gold or be it of steel, that could lessen his independence or prevent him from ministering to the flock of Christ entrusted to his care. He will see his faithful people serving God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, whilst their faith and piety, and charity, are commended throughout the whole Christain world. He will behold the Church for which he laboured, not in the infirmity and decrepitude of old age, but in the full vigour and freshness of youth, her brow adorned with the laurels of victory, and her garments of virtue, bright and fragrant as the threshold of Paradise.”

“LEGENDS OF THE SAXON SAINTS.”¹

THERE could be no stronger proof of the power and beauty of the British legends, centred around King Arthur, than their abiding influence. The idea of weaving them into a body of heroic poems was conceived early and was never laid aside. Milton abandoned it for a still loftier theme only after years of hesitation, and then not without regretful longings. The dream of challenging the Paladins of Roland by the rival prowess of the Knights of the Round Table lit up the chequered life of Dryden. We can scarcely regret that Southey found the wild fictions of Hindoo Mythology more congenial to his mind, and bequeathed the nobler task to a poet of higher genius than his own. At first sight it is not a little singular that, while the Arthurian Romances laid such a spell upon the imagination of Englishmen, so few writers have been attracted to the rich mine in the early records of the English or Anglo-Saxon people themselves. These records yield, no doubt, under some aspects, to the chivalrous lays of the conquered race. In the first place no scenes in the Saxon chronicles present the unity of design which has always suggested Arthur and his Court as a fine subject for poetic treatment. In the second place, notwithstanding the opposite view of Byron, authentic details, however inspiring, can never offer the same opportunities as great actions lying outside the border-land of history. Homer himself could have discovered no enterprise so suited to his purpose as a mythical event which he could mould and fashion according to his own conceptions. But apart from the demands of the highest poetry, too rare after all to be seriously considered, the incidents that could be collected from the vivid narrative of the Venerable Bede are inferior in poetic interest to so few subjects in fact or fiction that they could only have been neglected through an influence affecting, unfortunately, the great body of English literature. The greatness of England, as her political writers boast, is largely due to her skill in adapting her ancient institutions to new conditions of society without destroying the institutions themselves. But if England, unlike France, has never severed the continuity which enables the inquirer to trace the laws of the Confessor in the polity of our own time, she has, still more fatally than France, torn herself from the benign sway

¹ *Legends of the Saxon Saints.* By AUBREY DE VERE. C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1879.

of her religious traditions. In separating from the Catholic Church she broke with all that was most glorious in her past, and her poetry, rich and varied as it is, caught little inspiration from the majesty and beauty of her early annals, from the founders of her arts, her learning and her civilization.

While Mr. Tennyson, therefore, has succeeded to an immemorial inheritance, Mr. De Vere in taking up the trials and victories of the Saxon Saints has entered on an untrodden region. He has discovered a poetic world of his own. This would, according to a critical maxim, be a doubtful advantage, if Mr. De Vere had not a surer guidance than he could get from the most perfect artistic models. For he is deeply imbued with the Catholic spirit which can alone interpret the meaning of heroic sacrifice and give life and movement to the chronicles of the Anglo-Saxon Church. He has already shown his skill and devotion in a similar field. His "*Legends of St. Patrick*" are instinct with the fancy and piety which crowded the literature of Ireland with so many bright creations. His present volume is in sufficient harmony with his earlier work to encourage the hope that he has interrupted, not abandoned the task of illustrating the most glorious period of Irish history. For the "*Legends of Saxon Saints*" carry us back to a time before Ireland and England were sundered by fatal feuds, when Irish missionaries were planting the faith from the Tweed to the Trent, when English scholars found a home in Armagh and Lismore; and while these beautiful poems appeal, with special force, to sentiments that no longer stir the heart of England, they touch, on the other hand, Irish instincts and feelings as strong to-day as they were more than a thousand years ago.

Before we proceed further it is necessary to guard against a possible misconception. Mr. De Vere sometimes employs the word "legend" in its later sense of a "fictitious story"; he more generally, however, uses it in its older meaning as denoting a true "narrative" or "chronicle." He takes the word, for the most part, as it is applied by earlier English writers, for instance in the title of the "*Golden Legend*," one of the first books printed by Caxton, and discards the offensive sense substituted by Protestant prejudice for its primary import. The "*Legends of the Saxon Saints*" then are founded on incidents partly real, partly imaginary suggested by passages in the Ecclesiastical History of Bede. They cover the whole period des-

cribed in that noble work, from the landing of St. Augustine in 597 to the death of Bede himself in 735. They are selected with true poetic insight, and Mr. De Vere has spared no pains to lend them all the interest that various reading could suggest. Each legend is complete in itself, but when, without reproducing the table of contents yet following its arrangement, we say he describes "King Ethelbert and St. Augustine," "The Consecration of Westminster Abbey," "The Penance of St. Laurence," "King Sigebert of Essex," "Caedmon the Cowherd," "How St. Cuthbert kept his Pentecostal Carlisle," "St. Frideswida," and "Bede's Last May," the reader will see that they follow each other in chronological order, and mark the great stages in the growth of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Indeed the strongest exception we would take to Mr. De Vere's plan is that he was not satisfied with the sequence of historical succession. His plan would be sufficiently complete by exhibiting "the chief representatives of a many-sided society, the pagan king and the British warrior, the bard of Odin and the prophetess of Odin, the Gaelic missionary and the Roman missionary, the poet and the historian of Anglo-Saxon Christianity." But Mr. De Vere has thought that the effect would be improved by causing "the shadow of Odin to pass in succession over the background of the different pictures presented." With this view, adopting the Scandinavian tradition endorsed by Gibbon, he makes Odin the chief of a warlike tribe dwelling near the Caspian, when Pompey entered those regions in pursuit of Mithridates. Failing to rouse his people against the great Roman general, he fled with them to the forests of the extreme north. He formed the design of training them up for a distant but striking destiny. He forecast the inevitable hour of Roman decay, and resolved, in the "gloomy recesses" of his soul, to bring his fugitive host under the iron discipline of a creed which would prepare their children for avenging, in the remote future, the present wrongs of their race. Had this conception been interwoven with legends of the terrible conquerors of Rome, of Alaric or Odoacer, it would be in its natural place and would really add "a spiritual dignity to material force." The effect of a poetical agency, though independent of the essential design, even if it only ushers in the main action of a poem, but still more if, in addition, it interposes at intervals, is often singularly fine. It is the great purpose underlying the Greek chorus. In the sister

art of music all have recognised the power of a successful overture, and the perfect overture is the very ideal and measure of an introductory poem. For though lying outside the lyrical drama an overture should foreshadow every changing mood of the action, now with quick movement, now with slow, at one time sinking into the low wail of despair, at another bursting into the full diapason of triumph, or tumultuous passion, or loud voiced defiance, gathering into one unceasing flow of eloquent music the contending emotions, aroused with still greater intensity, when they recur again in the general development of the plot. Such, in literature, is the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, such, in another order, is the Prelude to the *Excursion*. But the fabled history of Odin does not satisfy these conditions. It is not only foreign to the general aim of Mr. De Vere but he is forced, in the attempt to establish some semblance of connection, to make Odin, the prophet of events, utterly inconsistent with the dreams of his life. He has to exhibit him as the herald of the great Christian conquest, directed by that very Rome he hated so much, over the gloomy mythology of which he was to be himself the chief divinity; to make him appear in two characters irreconcilable with one another, and, so far, to destroy the harmonious unity which should reign in every work of the imagination.

We have dwelt upon this point at some length, because we believe straining after unnatural effects to be the great blot in the literature of our day. In every other poem in this volume Mr. De Vere shows a truer perception of the principles of art. Nowhere else is he drawn away from a purpose otherwise admirably conceived. Each picture rises up before us clearly defined, with every detail of colouring and execution skilfully worked out, but always subordinated to the main lines of the story. This is one of the great merits of Mr. De Vere's poetry—a merit never very common, but rarer now than at any period we can recall. The reaction against the school of Pope, helped on by so many influences, is now so complete that the darkness and confusion described by Pope himself in the noble lines at the close of the "*Dunciad*" seems to have settled on the genius of the age. The rugged and uncouth numbers of Mr. Browning offend every canon of taste and every law of language, and are only defended by his admirers, through a supposed strength of thought, which except in a few poems like *Pheidippides*, is revealed only to themselves. Mr. Swinburne has never rivalled the classical

beauty of Atalanta in Calydon and, in later times, has sacrificed his high gifts to a deceptive fluency, and, unfortunately, to ignoble uses. But the hardest thing that could be said of the present state of poetic literature is that so many writers of more or less position have been able to see poetic genius in the discordant rant of Walt Whitman. If we had not this crucial test we might be surprised that Mr. De Vere, Catholic though he be, has been condemned, like so many greater poets in the past, to be "*contentus paucis lectoribus*," and, while waiting for an assured immortality, to accept, instead of popular applause, the homage of small but intellectual circles. Mr. Tennyson alone, by a happy accident, has attained a high position without breaking loose from the best traditions of art, and he is also the only living writer who seems to have exercised a marked influence on the style of Mr. De Vere. Occasionally indeed Mr. De Vere is hurried into unconscious imitation of Mr. Tennyson's mannerisms, as in the following passage, in which the recurring name, balanced by the emphasised indefinite pronoun, set off in turn by repeated epithets, will be recognised as one of the favourite devices of the Laureate:—

"Thus Heida spake:

Heida, the strong one by strong ones feared,
Heida, the sad one by mourners loved:
Heida, the brooder on the sacred past,
The nursling of a Prophet House."

But, on the other hand, though Mr. De Vere does not reach the sustained elevation of Mr. Tennyson's greatest poems, he is free from his graver faults. He is never tedious or obscure. He seldom analyzes an idea or a character to the verge of feebleness. He never tries, as Mr. Tennyson often does, to seize an effect by the use of a word or phrase, owing less, however correct or picturesque, to their appositeness and propriety, than to their obsolete and archaic ring. He relies rather upon strong outlines, and the union of just thought with pure diction, than upon rhetorical artifices. Not that he is wanting in happy and unexpected graces of expression, in striking reflections or in splendid imagery, but they spring up naturally and, without absorbing the principal interest, lend an ornamental dignity to his "*Legends*." The very opening description in "*King Ethelbert and St. Augustine*" is redolent of

forest scenery and summer bloom, recalling the natural charm of Chaucer's sketches of the same sunny land:—

“Far through the forest depths of Thanet Isle,
That never yet had heard the woodman's axe,
Rang the glad clarion on the May-day morn,
Blent with the cry of hounds. The rising sun
Flamed on the forest's dewy jewelry,
While, under rising mists, a host with plumes
Rode down a broad oak alley t'wards the sea.”

This is just the scene to lend the force of contrast to the warlike retinue of Ethelbert, and to harmonize with the peaceful message of St. Augustine. Not less vivid is the picture of London in the second Legend; not London as viewed by Wordsworth from Westminster Bridge, crowded with “ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples,” but London as seen by the founder of the neighbouring Abbey, while gazing across a quiet landscape at the rising glories of St. Paul's:—

“As Sebert stood,
The sweetness of the morning more and more
Made way into his heart. The pale blue smoke,
Rising from hearths by woodland branches fed,
Dimmed not the crystal matin air; nor yet
From clammy couch had risen the mist sun-warmed:
All things distinctly showed; the rushing tide,
The barge, the trees, the long bridge many-arched,
And countless huddled gables, far away,
Lessening, yet still descried.”

The main features in the panorama stretching out before King Sebert are seized upon with poetic insight, and display powers of close and curious observation. The sharp outline of objects in early morning and their clearness, even when lessened in long perspective, belong to that class of natural images which are obvious to all when indicated, but are only fully revealed to the eye of the poet or the painter. But as we believe we could give no real idea of Mr. De Vere's work by random quotations, and as we could not, on the other hand, within our limits, give any intelligible synopsis of a body of poetic legends covering more than a century of intense Catholic life, we shall select a couple for separate, though necessarily brief, analysis. In making this selection we do not imply that they are the most finished, or the fullest of imaginative power, or distin-

guished beyond the others by any poetic qualities. We simply take them as fair specimens of the "Legends," without being guided in our choice by any very definite reason. We proceed then to recount the principal incidents in "The Penance of St. Laurence" and "St. Frideswida, or the Foundation of Oxford."

During the reign of Ethelbert, Kent was converted by St. Augustine. Here and there was a priest of Odin or a rude warrior who openly clung to their old superstitions, and there were probably many more who were only partially weaned from the pagan notions of their forefathers. There are many reasons for thinking that the work of conversion was slower, in those times, than it appears in the retrospect, and that the victory achieved by St. Patrick in Ireland was not repeated elsewhere. Still there is little doubt that the great body of the descendants of the victorious host of Hengist had, within one generation, embraced the Catholic faith. The intrepid missionaries penetrated into every nook. Ethelbert and Queen Bertha seconded their efforts, and sanctuaries of Catholic piety replaced the altars of Thor over all the broad wealds of Kent. Near the mouth of the Medway rose one cathedral. On the Stour a still more famous pile grew up under the eye of St. Augustine himself. The Abbey and Church of Canterbury were the grant of Ethelbert, built near the spot where the procession of Roman monks first advanced to meet him. Even then they were designed to be the primatial seat of the Church in England. The Abbey was planned to remind the disciples of St. Benedict, who at the call of St. Gregory, had set out from Rome to the savage tribes of the North, of the sacred home they had left behind them on the Coelian Hill. But evil days were at hand. The victory of the Church was followed by a searching trial. When St. Augustine and Ethelbert were both laid in the sacred ground of Canterbury a storm of persecution burst over Kent and the neighbouring kingdom of Essex. Eadbald the son of Ethelbert had accepted the Catholic faith. He had even concurred in the pious grants of his father. But, when he ascended the throne, he forgot the lessons of his youth. He contracted an unholy alliance. He was boldly rebuked by St. Laurence, then filling the See of Canterbury. His rage knew no bounds. He desolated the rising sanctuaries of religion. He proclaimed war against the clergy. Like Julian he determined to revive the discarded rites of Paganism, and to offer unholy

sacrifices on the very altars of God. Above all he resolved to make his vengeance felt by the great prelate, who, full of a noble purpose, had made his voice heard in the very court of his king. At the same time the sons of Sebert of Essex, the same monarch whom we saw gazing reverentially on St. Paul's, forgetting the many virtues of their father, had burst into the presence of their bishop and driven him ignominiously from their land. Flying to Rochester he found

“Her bishop, like himself, was under ban :
The twain to Canterbury passed, and there
Resolved to let the tempest waste its wrath,
And crossed the seas. By urgency outworn,
'Gainst that high judgment of his holier will
Laurence to their's deferred, but tarried yet
For one day more to cast a last regard
On regions loved so long.”

That day he passed among the scenes where he had spent the most active days of his life. He is pictured by Mr. De Vere haunting the Abbey halls, the portals crowded with the poor, the scriptorium where the learning of the ancient world was preserved for future times. Long he bent over the scroll—the violated charter of his rights—in which Eadbald, no less than Ethelbert, guaranteed perpetual privileges to the monks of Canterbury. When evening fell, under the sway of contending emotions, he withdrew to pass the night—his last night—in the church consecrated by so many memories. Through the weary watches he moved from tomb to tomb, in anxious and earnest prayer. He poured out his soul before the monument of Ethelbert, the monument of Bertha ; last of all before the shrine of St. Augustine himself. At length he sank down exhausted and fell into a calm slumber:

“As thus he lay
T'wards him there moved in visions of the Lord
A venerable Shape, compact of light,
And loftier than our mortal.”

The Prince of the Apostles, for it was he, rebuked him for his timidity, and disclosed, by reference to his own career, the great purposes of God. He recalled the memorable scene embalmed in the traditions of the Church, when

flying along the Appian Way, from a persecution like that threatened on St. Laurence, he met his Divine Lord bearing his Cross.

“ ‘Where goest thou, Lord?’

I spake; then He: ‘I go to Rome, once more
To die for him who fears for me to die.’
To Rome returned I: and my end was peace.
Return thou too. Thy brethren have not sinned:
They fled consentient with the Will Supreme:
Enough that He who gives to each his part
Hath sealed thy sons and thee to loftier fates:
Therefore more sternly tries. Be strong: be glad:
For strength from joyance comes.”

When the vision had faded away, St. Laurence, under the influence of a deep spirit of penitence, took the discipline of his order. But the sacred chastisement was wrought in a more wonderful manner. Under the last look of the Apostle, his shoulders were marked with the deep traces of a miraculous penance which no human hand could inflict, and no human frame could bear without a sustaining power derived from above. The seal of God was marvellously set upon his determination to imitate the strength St. Peter gathered from his very weakness.

Next day, at noon, Eadbald the king sat enthroned, surrounded by his recreant chiefs, in solemn Witan. He was exulting in his victory over a defenceless man, when such a sight met his astonished gaze as subdued the haughty soul of Attila; such a sight as, centuries afterwards, was seen in Northampton when the greatest of the successors of St. Laurence, after a night of similar torture, boldly advanced to confront the pride of Henry II. A long procession of monks, headed by the Bishop in full canonicals, entered the assembly. He came to deplore his weakness, to speak his stern purpose, to die at his post, to recount the conflict in his soul, the warning he received, his penitence, the punishment so miraculously branded upon him. His shoulders were bared and such a wound disclosed as no one could receive and still survive. The undaunted bearing of St. Laurence, the sanctity of his looks, the evidence he bore about him of the divine protection, subdued and awed the king. His better instincts returned. From a persecutor he became again a protector of the Church, a tradition handed down, as Mr. De Vere describes in his concluding lines, through the line of his successors who saved the

Church in Kent from the storms that raged in other parts of England.

“ In many a Saxon realm
Convulsion rocked her cradle ; altars raised
By earlier kings by later were o'erthrown :
One half the mighty Roman work, and more,
Fell to the ground : Columba's Irish monks
The ruin raised. From Canterbury's towers,
' Rome of the North ' long named, from them alone
Above sea-surge still shone that vestal fire,
By tempest fanned, not quenched ; and at her breast,
For centuries six, were nursed the Coelian race,
The Benedictine Primates of the Land.”

The poetical incidents in this striking tale of Christian struggle and victory, the mental conflict of St. Laurence, the night of watching, the contrast between the heroic fortitude of the man defended by right and the rude tyranny of the king, the associations of the scenes, carrying us back to St. Augustine and St. Gregory, and onward to the most memorable event in the history of Canterbury, are brought out with rare dramatic power and singular beauty of detail.

In “St. Frideswida,” Mr. De Vere presents us with a poem of less varied incident than “St. Laurence,” but appealing to a wider circle. St. Frideswida, the daughter of a pagan chief, had imbibed the Catholic faith from a holy mother, and, in early youth, became familiar with the brightest examples of Christian heroism. Her instincts were at once learned and devout. In the solitude of her home she saw God in His works, but still more in souls fashioned by His example. Among the saints of the early Church she was specially attracted to St. Catherine and St. Cecilia. She resolved to reproduce their virtues in her own life. Mr. De Vere felicitously interweaves their protecting influence with the few but instructive details handed down by her biographers. They hover over her in every emergency, whilst they prophesy the future splendour of the University associated with her name. He exhibits St. Catherine, the glory in her own day of the school of Alexandria, as the pattern of the learned lore of Oxford, and St. Cecilia, the rapt patroness of music, as a type of the elegance and charm of its scholarship. Like them St. Frideswida devoted herself to a life of chastity, and like them too she was pursued by earthly love. She formed a resolution not rare in the chronicles of the saints of God. Flying from the suit of the pagan king of Wessex, backed by a cruel

father, she hurried from her home, and buried herself in the forest that then surrounded the upper waters of the Thames.

“Alone that maid
Glided light limbed, as though some Eden breeze,
Her’s only, charioted the songstress on
Like those that serve the May,”

She fixed her retreat in a scene of lonely retirement where she hoped to be secure from royal and paternal violence ; where

“Vast, immoving groves
Stretched silent forth their immemorial arms.”

But once more she was pursued and once more fled, until she found her final resting place near the junction of the Isis and the Cherwell. Alongside a ford for oxen, hence called Oxenford, in after times famous as Oxford, she fixed her humble home. The fame of her sanctity and of the severe beauty of her life soon spread abroad: the simple dwellers in the forest were subdued by the purity and holiness of her life. From a recluse she became an Apostle. The shepherds learned the words of eternal wisdom from her lips. Her miraculous powers drew to her cell crowds weighed down by human woes. As years went by, when her name had travelled over the south of England, her old persecutor, stricken with blindness, was led to her and was restored to sight. A leper, the first seen so far west, was made whole. Still more were drawn to hear her expositions of the Law of God, conveyed with an eloquence in which the learning of St. Catherine was blended with the seraphic tones of St. Cecilia. She gathered round her holy maidens like herself, until a great community replaced the “sylvan lodge” where she had first prayed and mused in lonely contemplation. Looking out into the future, Mr. De Vere finely pictures how it became the centre of great religious corporations, ever developing into seats of various learning, how around the convent of St. Frideswida

“The goodliest city England boasts, arose
Mirrored in sacred Isis, like that flood
Its youth for aye renewing.”

For, when she was gathered to her reward, her work still went on. Teachers came from beyond the seas, and established schools on the ground consecrated by her footsteps. The Religious Orders, as time went on, raised noble founda-

tions on the twin streams associated with her memory. They passed gradually into the colleges whose history is so lovingly traced by Ingram, girt round with the later creations of Baliol and Walter de Merton, of Wykeham and Waynflete, but all springing from the humble cell of the holy Saxon maid. To her Oxford has looked back, through all its vicissitudes, as the morning star of its existence. The fancied remains of her convent are still pointed out near Canterbury gate ; and though the long processions, which used to gladden the ancient city on her festival day, are gone with the faith she taught the shepherds of the Isis, the episodes so poetically rendered by Mr. De Vere are still emblazoned in her chapel in Christchurch, and may have had some share in the great awakening which, in our day, has given so many members of the University to the creed of its Catholic founders.

We regret that our limits preclude us from dwelling upon the other poems in this beautiful volume. They exhibit a perfect panorama of English life in the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. The great men who planted the Catholic Church in England, as well as those who led the reactions against her, the saintly Sebert and the usurping Oswy, the poet who inspired Milton and the prophetess of Odin, the English St. Cuthbert and the Irish St. Aidan, pass in succession before us. We are carried from the wealds of Kent to the holy mount of Whitby, from the cloisters of Westminster to the quiet retreat of Jarrow, where Bede preserved, for all time, so many inspiring deeds of heroic virtue and so many forms of religious beauty. Over all these personages and institutions clouds of misrepresentation have rested, which the learning and research of the last few generations have been gradually dispelling. It would be unfair not to admit the large share that Protestant writers have had in repairing past injustice; that authorities like Maitland continued the work commenced by Lingard. But the labours of the historian and antiquarian, however effective, can do little comparatively to remove prejudices which, even in the worst times, received small sanction from men of real learning, like Camden or Spelman. The lie in literature no less than in life survives the contradiction; and the popular writings of to-day, whether in poetry or fiction or historical romance, are almost as deeply imbued as ever with the influence of the great Protestant tradition. No man was more impressed than Scott by the grandeur of the mediæval

Church, no man did more, in his way, making due allowance for the surroundings of his life, to discredit the ignorant prejudices with which it was regarded. Yet the convent scene in *Marmion*, lately admitted by a Protestant journal of weight to be absolutely without precedent in the whole history of the Church, was gratuitously invented by Scott, and is yet accepted by a majority of his readers as a probable incident in monastic life. Such illusions as these can only vanish under the growth of a Catholic literature exhibiting the real spirit of the Church, and enshrining in forms of literary excellence the undying memorials of the Ages of Faith. We therefore welcome Mr. De Vere's "Legends" and Mr. O'Hagan's "Song of Roland" not only as works of art, but as priceless contributions to historic and Catholic truth.

J. E.

A QUESTION IN PROBABILISM—III.

AT the close of my Paper in the last number of the RECORD, I stated that in this, the concluding Paper of the short series, to which, for the present, I must confine myself, I should set forth, as far as possible in systematic form, the principles embodied in the teaching of St. Alphonsus as to the various groups of cases regarding the *cessation* or *restriction* of obligations,—cases which occur so numerous, and in regard to questions of the deepest practical moment, in almost every Treatise throughout the course of Moral Theology.

It has been suggested to me that it may be well to premise a few words of explanation. No doubt it is possible that there may be among my readers some whose view of Probabilism¹ is more or less akin to that which F. Ballerini

¹ It may be convenient at the outset, once for all, to state that throughout this Paper, to avoid the constantly recurring use of awkward and embarrassing forms of expression, I shall use the term Probabilism in its looser or more comprehensive sense, so as to comprise *Equiprobabilism*, as well as *Probabilism* strictly and technically so called.

Thus, then, whatever I may state regarding the use of *probable* opinions, is to be understood as no less applicable to *Equiprobabilism* than to *Probabilism*. But as regards *Equiprobabilism*, the limitation is of course to be throughout understood, that the opinion in question is not only solidly probable, but that it is equally, or at least all but equally, probable as the opinion to which it is opposed.

seems to adopt, that is to say, who are of opinion that the entire system rests upon the fundamental principle, that in matters of obligation it is *in all cases* safe to act upon the supposition of the truth of any opinion which is solidly probable. To those who view the matter in this way, it must, no doubt, seem that I am occupying to no purpose much valuable space in the pages of the RECORD. For, in any question regarding the existence of an obligation, unless the opinion "favouring liberty" be solidly probable, no doubt as to the necessity of complying with the obligation can, of course, arise. And, on the other hand, whenever that opinion is solidly probable, if we were to adopt the view of Probabilism to which I have just referred, it should be decided off-hand that the obligation practically does not exist. The aspect of Probabilism, then, to which I am calling attention in these Papers, may, it is suggested, need some preliminary words of explanation.

My former Papers—especially that published in the last number of the RECORD—will, I trust, be regarded as conclusive upon one point. When there is question of the *close*, or *cessation*, of an obligation, the probability of the opinion "favouring liberty" does not—at all events in the opinion of St. Alphonsus—suffice to put an end to the obligation in question. So far then as regards the *close* of an obligation, it is not to be assumed, as a principle at least of universal application, that the mere probability of an opinion is sufficient to warrant us in acting upon it as true.

I do not now stop to inquire how far the recognition of the point thus established, goes to show the inconclusiveness of the arguments by which the lawfulness of acting "in favour of liberty" is proved, even as regards those cases in which there is question of the *beginning* of an obligation. No doubt if the arguments by which this is usually "proved" are but equally available—as would seem to be the case—for the *beginning*, and for the *end*, of an obligation, then, plainly, the maxim "*quod nimis probat, nihil probat*," comes into application. If we are not prepared to admit that the principles which equally affirm the lawfulness of acting against the obligation in *both* classes of cases are sound, it is plain that we cannot on such grounds affirm the lawfulness of thus acting, even when there is question, not of the *close* of an obligation, but of its *beginning*.

I have said that I do not now stop to inquire into this point. It is plainly not necessary for my present purpose that I should do so. Still less is it necessary that I should do more than refer in the most general terms to a similar inquiry, regarding the practical teaching of the standard Probabilist writers as to that class of cases in which the doubt regards the beginning of an obligation. No student of Moral Theology needs of course to be informed that even in many cases of this class St. Alphonsus, and the theologians who follow his teaching, lay down the necessity of fulfilling the obligation. Here also it is obvious that so far as the arguments put forth by those writers are equally available—as, again, I would say, seems to be the case—for *all* cases of the class in question, the principle “quod nimis probat, nihil probat,” is fully applicable. If those arguments are inconclusive as regards any one case in which the beginning of an obligation is in question, they must obviously be inconclusive as regards all the others as well.

Nor is it to be supposed—as I dare say may be supposed by some—that the limitations and drawbacks as to the free use of probable opinions “favouring liberty,” on which this line of criticism is founded, form a peculiar feature of the system of Probabilism¹ as propounded by St. Alphonsus. If this, indeed, were so, no fault could be found with those who prefer to follow up with logical consistency the principles in question to their ultimate issue. But it is, on the contrary, well known to all whose duties have made them familiar with the works of the representative writers of the various schools of Moral Theology, that such is far from being the case.

The limitations in question, or limitations similar in principle to these, form no less an integral part of the teaching of Suarez and of De Lugo, than of the teaching of St. Alphonsus. Rather it would be more strictly in accordance with technical accuracy to say that the idea of a “System” of Probabilism, set forth in an introductory Treatise *de Conscientia*, with its pleasantly facile principles of “*lex dubia non obligat*,” and the like, is altogether

¹It may not be superfluous specially to note that here, as elsewhere throughout this Paper, I use the term Probabilism, as I have already explained, in its more comprehensive sense, as comprising *Equiprobabilism*, as well as Probabilism strictly so called.

of modern date. Nothing of the sort is to be found in the works of the great Probabilist writers whom I have just now named. And so far as it has found its way into the works of more recent writers, as for instance into those of St. Alphonsus and of the theologians who have followed his method, it is, so far from being useful, a very serious incumbrance, serving only to fill the minds of students with general views regarding the lawfulness of acting against an obligation on the ground of its uncertainty—views which have almost immediately afterwards to be modified, or indeed altogether got rid of, if we would not depart from the teaching of those very writers in countless questions throughout the various Treatises of the Course of Moral Theology.

What, for instance, is the purpose of the section which Gury subjoins at the close of his elaborate series of Theses enunciating and establishing his system of Probabilism? It is entitled “*De Usu Probabilitatis, et de Regulis specialibus ad conscientiam in dubiis efformandam.*” Then in its first paragraph it is stated to be an enumeration of special rules *confirming* the general principles of Probabilism, and *applying* them in special cases. But it is obvious that from first to last its object rather is to point out how far the general principles which had just been established by a series of abstract arguments, may be regarded as applying to various classes of cases, and in what cases, *notwithstanding those principles*, it is necessary, in cases of conflicting probabilities, “favouring” the “law” and “liberty,” to observe the law.

The very first of the Rules set forth in it is in fact a practical surrender of the system which if left to be judged on its own merits would seem to the student to have been so solidly, as well as so elaborately, built up. For it lays down that, so far from its being lawful in all cases of conflicting probabilities to go against the law, those cases are at the very outset of our inquiry to be regarded as divided into two great classes. In one of these, the *onus probandi* lies upon “the law,” so that in all cases of doubt, in this class, it is lawful to act against the obligation. But in the other class of cases, the *onus probandi* lies upon “liberty,” so that in all cases of doubt, in this class, the obligation which is in question must be fulfilled. This, in fact, is the only admissible sense of the principle as there laid down :—“In

dubio standum est pro eo, pro quo stat *praesumptio*.”¹ The principles, then, which follow are to be made use of to determine, in each case that may arise, whether it is to be treated as belonging to the first, or to the second, of the two great classes thus described,—in other words, whether in such a case, in the existence of a doubt as to the obligation in question, we are at liberty to act against the obligation, or bound to comply with it.

As this mode of viewing Probabilism may possibly be regarded by some as a violent departure from the view ordinarily taken by theologians, it may be well to note the following points, which I trust will serve to dissipate this prejudice.

In the first place I may confidently appeal to the Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus. What careful reader of it is there who has not felt himself from time to time,

¹ To avoid possible misconception, it may be necessary here to explain that the term “presumption” is a technical one, taken from the Civil and Canon Law. Its meaning is as stated in the text above. A few instances of its use, whether in Law, or in Moral Theology, will suffice to show that it does not by any means necessarily imply a greater *probability* or *likelihood* of the truth of the case which it is said to “favour.” And in those cases where, as a matter of fact, the view favoured by the presumption is the more probable, the presumption is not necessarily founded on this greater probability, but on the fact that, for the public good, or for some other sufficient reason, it is desirable that the *onus probandi* should be thrown upon the opposite side.

In matters of Law, an example of a universally recognised presumption is that stated by Gury (n. 76. VI. 3°). “In dubio nemo praesumitur malus, nisi probetur.” This was a maxim of the Canon Law, whence it has passed into the law of England. Thus Stephen, for instance, in his Commentary (Book 5, chap. 10), speaks of “matters that the law *presumes*,—as that a man is innocent till the contrary be shown—that all official acts have been done in due form—or that a child born to a woman during her marriage with her husband is legitimate.”

One of the examples thus mentioned by the English jurist suggests the theological presumption *pro valore actus*, as it is termed, which Gury states (n. 75. III.) as follows:—“In dubio standum est pro valore actus”—a “presumption” which, as he is careful to point out, sometimes indeed applies “*in favorem libertatis*,” but sometimes also “*contra libertatem*.”

In the examples I have cited it is evident that the presumptions in question rest, not on the greater probability of the view thus favoured, but on other considerations, which render it desirable that in the absence of decisive proof, the truth of the opposite view should not be recognised as established.

It is of course a fundamental principle that “*praesumptio cedit veritati*,” that is to say, that a conclusive proof, advanced on the opposite side, altogether disposes of the “presumption.”

and by no means unfrequently, embarrassed by discovering obligations plainly asserted in cases where if the view of Probabilism which I am combatting were the true one, the obligation should be unhesitatingly set aside? The fact is that to ascertain the actual teaching of St. Alphonsus on any point of obligation we must look to his discussion of the point in detail, and not to the abstract principles laid down in his Treatise *de Conscientia*, or to the arguments by which he there sustains them. In a certain sense no doubt those principles are true; and, so far, the arguments advanced in support of them may be regarded as valid. But as they are commonly understood, *those principles obviously do not coincide with his teaching on questions in detail*; they cover numerous cases in which he recognises an obligation as existing; and, as thus understood, they cannot be regarded as really lying within the scope of the reasoning advanced in support of them, unless we are prepared to abandon that reasoning as altogether invalid, on the principle already more than once quoted:—"Quod nimis probat, nihil probat."

Secondly, I would call attention to a very remarkable passage from De Lugo. I have already observed that his works contain no exposition of a formulated "System" such as that of St. Alphonsus. But in his Treatise *de Fide*¹ we find the following passage, from which it is not difficult to see how far removed from his view of Probabilism is that which I am now contemplating as at all events a possible one. He writes as follows:—

"An cum dubio vel probabilitate obligationis teneamur obligationi satisfacere, non potest una regula generalis pro omnibus materiis assignari.

"In universum tamen loquendo, de probabilitate dicendum videtur quoties per *ultimum judicium*, attentis omnibus circumstantiis intrinsecis et extrinsecis, judicatur solum probabilis obligatio, cum probabilitate etiam de negatione obligationis, non teneri nos obligationi probabili satisfacere sed posse amplecti probabilitatem contrariam.

"Dixi tamen, quando *ultimum judicium* dictat probabilem utramque partem: quia in aliquibus materiis, etiam non obstante probabilitate utriusque partis, debemus tutiorem partem eligere . . . Tunc autem illud judicium probabile non erat ultimum, sed . . . remotum; et postea succedit aliud judicium certum de obligatione sequendi partem tutiorem in illa materia, non obstante probabilitate remota contraria . . .

¹ Disp. 5. sect. i. nn. 16, 17.

“Quando vero . . est dubium, tunc ante adhibitam diligentiam . . ad deponendum dubium . . non possumus operari contra obligationem dubiam; et tunc iudicium etiam ultimum erit de obligatione certa non operandi cum illo dubio, ne exponamus nos temere periculo violandi obligationem.

“Facta vero diligentia, si adhuc perseverat dubium de obligatione, tunc *in aliquibus materiis* possumus uti libertate nostra, et tunc iudicium etiam ultimum erit . . certum de defectu obligationis; *in aliis vero materiis non licebit operari contra obligationem dubiam*; et tunc iudicium etiam ultimum erit per se loquendo certum de obligatione.

“Quae autem sint hae vel illae materiae, *non est hujus loci*; PERTINET ENIM AD VARIOS TRACTATUS.”

Comment on this passage would plainly be superfluous. I now proceed to cite the exposition of the same point as set forth by Suarez. In his Treatise *de Bonitate et Malitia Actuum Humanorum*,¹ after laying down the necessity of a “*certain conscience*” for the lawfulness of an action, he goes on to say:—

“Difficultas est, quando, aut quomodo, non obstante . . dubio, possit homo formare hanc conscientiam certam: Mihi licitum est hic et nunc hoc facere. Et ratio dubii esse potest quia vere *saepe* dicunt in hoc dubio tutiorem partem esse eligendam: aliunde vero est durissimum hominem *semper* ad hoc obligari, alioquin deberet semper vel jejulare vel restituere, etc., quoties dubitat an ad hoc teneatur . . .

“In hoc re morali est INFINITA VARIETAS, et *interdum* cum dubio aliquid licet, *interdum* non licet.

“Regula generalis est . . priusquam liceat cum dubio operari, oportet ut tale dubium fiat involuntarium, et invincibile per sufficientem diligentiam ad expellendum illud . . . Tamen adhuc postquam dubium factum est invincibile, *sufficienter* est MORALIS AMBIGUITAS posita . . .

“Tertia igitur regula haec generalis assignari posse videtur in unaquaque actione quae pendet ex hujusmodi dubitatione: id esse agendum *quod juxta materiae exigentiam et negotii qualitatem minora* habet *incommoda* OMNIBUS PENSATIS.

“Hoc inde patet quia iudicium practicum conscientiae, ut supra dixi, *prudentiale* est, sed proprium prudentiae principium est in singulis actionibus id esse agendum quod minus habet incommodi; atque hoc modo hic etiam verum habet illud principium: In dubiis pars tutior est eligenda: applicare vero hanc regulam ad singulos actus munus est potius prudentiae quam scientiae, PENDET ENIM EX SINGULARIBUS CONTINGENTIBUS.”

¹ Disp. 12 sect. 5. nn. 5, 6.

With these words of the great Masters of Probabilist Theology before us, we can feel little surprise in finding that the body of teaching laid down in regard to the many cases of doubt which are dealt with throughout the vast range of a course of Moral Theology, is not to be summed up in the curt statement that "*lex dubia non obligat*."

But it may, perhaps, be questioned whether after all it is clear that we are obliged to accept the authority even of the great writers whom I have thus quoted. Merely theological authority, however commanding, must give way before clear and unanswerable reasoning. And have we not in the *Morale Systema* of St. Alphonsus,—and, generally speaking, in the numerous expositions of Probabilism to be found among his writings, and in the writings of the theologians who have adopted his method,—arguments, clear and convincing, which put it beyond question that *in all cases* of uncertainty regarding the existence of an obligation, we are justified in acting on the probability of any opinion that "favours" liberty?

In answering the difficulty thus proposed, it might perhaps be regarded as sufficient for my present purpose to refer to what I have already stated a few pages back. No one, I take it, will go so far as to say that *no limitation whatever* is to be placed to the use of solidly probable opinions. Even F. Ballerini does not seem to take so extreme a view as this. Now, if any limitation, however slight, is to be recognised, the principle is not universally true. Then the argument which, so far as it can be supposed to sustain the principle at all, sustains it in its universality, is plainly condemned. "*Quod nimis probat, nihil probat*."

But it will no doubt be regarded as more satisfactory to meet the difficulty directly. It will not, however, I trust, be expected that I should undertake to discuss in detail, and to point out the fallacy which seems to underlie, each one of the arguments in question. To avoid an undue encroachment on the space that will be occupied by matter more interesting, I am sure, to the great majority of the readers of the RECORD, I shall confine myself to the examination of one argument. In doing so I shall take that which seems to be most confidently relied on by St. Alphonsus and by the theologians who have followed in his footsteps.

I take then the argument which occupies the first

place in the admirably lucid statement of the reasoning of St. Alphonsus, presented by Gury. It is as follows:—

“ Ille non est obligatus, qui *invincibiliter ignorat* se esse obligatum. Atqui in hypothesi *invincibiliter ignoro* me esse obligatum. Ergo, etc., etc.

“ Propositio confirmatur ex doctrina S. Thomae. Sic enim ipse (in Quaest. Disp. de Veritate, quaest. 17, art. 3):—‘ Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod, nisi mediante *scientia* illius praecepti.’ . . . Atqui ex S. Thoma ligari virtute *scientiae* perinde est ac *certam* habere obligationem. Ergo nemo ligatur nisi *certa* sit sua obligatio.”

It would I think be impossible to conceive a fairer or more satisfactory statement of the argument. And of this argument, having thus stated it, Gury adds with unquestionable truth:—“ Et hoc quidem argumento maxime utitur S. Lig. *Moral. Syst.*”

Since, however, I am about to confine my criticism to this argument alone, it may be well to transcribe a few passages regarding it from the *Morale Systema* of St. Alphonsus, that my readers may feel satisfied I am doing full justice to it. St. Alphonsus, then, writes as follows:—

“ Ex omnibus his praefatis evidenter apparet moralis certitudo sententiae nostrae, vel potius sententiae D. Thomae, qui pluribus in locis eam docet.

“ Signanter in Opusc. *de Veritate*, quaest. 17, art. 3, hoc morale principium absolute profert:—‘ Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod, nisi mediante *scientia* illius praecepti.’ Ab omnibus philosophis cum D. Thoma docetur distinctio inter *opinionem* et *scientiam*. *Opinio* denotat cognitionem dubiam aut probabilem alicujus veritatis: *scientia* vero cognitionem *certam* ac *patentem* significat. . . .

“ Idem S. Thomas ex D. Augustino in alio loco aperte declaravit:—‘ Ignorantia quae est omnino involuntaria, non est peccatum. . . ignorantia habet quod sit peccatum, ex *negligentia* praecedente, quae nihil est aliud quam non applicare animum ad sciendum ea quae quis scire debet.’ Ergo nequaquam peccat, qui in duarum opinionum aequae probabilitum haesitatione inquit legem, et debita diligentia adhibita, eam omnino dubiam invenit, et ideo non obligantem.”

And in the interval between the two passages I have thus quoted, as adduced by St. Alphonsus to show that the case in question is (a) a case of “*ignorantia*,” or “*defectus scientiae*,” and (b) that the *ignorantia* in such a case is *inculpabilis*, the following passage occurs, in which he

undertakes to answer an objection which had been urged against his view regarding the former point, by his "rigorist" opponent, Patuzzi.

"Objicit 1° sub voce *scientiæ* non intelligi cognitionem *certam*, sed tantum simplicem præcepti *notitiam*, quæ (ut ait) in nostro casu probabiliter habetur ob utriusque opinionis probabilitatem.

"Respondeo et dico . . . Quod sub nomine *scientiæ* intelligatur probabilis notitia, hæc est nova vocabularii nova significatio, dum philosophi omnes cum eodem S. Thoma distinguunt *opinionem* a *scientia*, quæ accipitur ut cognitio *certa* alicujus veritatis."

I have already, in one of those Papers, expressed my opinion that if the works of some of the earlier writers of the German Jesuit school, who specially applied themselves to the elucidation and defence of Probabilism, had come under the notice of St. Alphonsus, the Moral System which he constructed with such anxious care, and fenced round with so many safeguards against the insidious inroads of laxer teaching, would have been placed on a foundation more likely to maintain it in its integrity than that on which it now rests. The argument I have just transcribed affords a favourable opportunity for putting this view into a somewhat concrete form, and possibly for thus rendering its drift more obvious to some of my readers.

As the argument stands, it plainly contemplates no other source of obligation than the particular law in question, the binding force of which is rendered uncertain by the existence of a probable opinion opposed to it. Now, whenever an obligation, even of human law—whether ecclesiastical or civil—is transgressed, the transgression is not confined to that law alone. It is a violation no less of the law of Him by whose authority kings reign, and lawgivers issue their decrees. Thus, of every sin or transgression of law, whether divine or human, ecclesiastical or civil, we accept the definition of St. Augustine: "Dictum, vel factum, vel concupitum, *contra legem Dei æternam*." For, as theologians¹ explain, "quæ sunt contra legem humanam . . . sunt etiam contra legem æternam, . . . quia non est lex . . . quæ non sit conformis legi æternæ cujus est participatio."

Now it is at least a fair question whether in the case of *doubtful* obligations, although the special obligation which

¹ See, for instance, BILLUART, *De Peccatis* (Diss. 1. art. 4. Dices 1°, *Ad quartum*).

is itself doubtful may fail to exercise a binding authority, may not an obligation from the higher law be fully in force? Unquestionably we are to accept in all its integrity the broad principle laid down by St. Thomas, "*Nemo ligatur per praeceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius praecepti.*" And "*scientia,*" as regards the obligation which is doubtful, is, of course, out of the question. But why should it be taken for granted that there may not be another precept, from a higher law, of which, on due investigation, we may obtain the most absolute certainty, and the fullest knowledge?

The doctrine of "*reflex principles,*" which all Probabilist theologians now agree in propounding, furnishes an apt illustration of the point thus brought into notice. By means of such principles we can form an absolutely *certain* judgment, that, at all events in many cases where the probabilities "*for*" and "*against*" the obligation are equal, we are practically free to act against it. Is it then to be taken for granted that there may not also be "*reflex principles*" or,—as it may be better in this case to designate them—"reflex laws," by means of which it may become, in other cases of conflicting probabilities, no less *certain* that practically we are bound on the contrary to take the "*safer*" side?

It will be observed that I do not now assert that such "*reflex*" laws exist. Keeping within the lines of the question I have undertaken to consider, it is sufficient to call attention to the truth—obvious enough, no doubt, when attention has once been directed to it—that such sources of obligation *may* possibly exist; that their existence, on due investigation, *may* be recognised as absolutely certain; that their existence and binding force are *in no way inconsistent* with the line of reasoning pursued by St. Alphonsus, which, in fact, does not touch them at all; and that, in fine, those principles, *if* thus established and recognised, will furnish a logical basis not only for those apparently "*exceptional*" cases which even writers like F. Ballerini must be prepared to recognise, but also for any other cases in which, on sufficient ground being shown, a theologian may maintain the obligation of observing a law, while its existence, or the extent of its binding force, or the existence of the state of facts on which its binding force here and now depends, is altogether doubtful.

Furthermore it is to be observed that the Probabiliorists, and, generally speaking, the theologians of the more

rigid schools, relied for the existence of the obligation of following the *pars tutior*, which they propounded, not so much on the force of the *special* law, the doubtfulness of which in any particular case gives occasion to the question of Probabilism or Probabiliorism, but to a *general*, or *reflex*, law such as I have been describing.

Thus, for instance, Billuart, in answering the arguments commonly advanced by Probabilist theologians—such as that which I have above transcribed—maintains his thesis as to the obligation of observing doubtful laws, as follows:—

“Si sit solide probabile [existere legem, de qua dubitatur, tunc, lex satis cognita est ut obliget] si non *directe et vi sua*, saltem *indirecte et vi legis generalis*, scilicet, in dubio tutiorem partem esse eligendam.”

Again:—

“*Esto legem dubiam non aequè certo obligare directe et vi sua ac legem certam: aequè obligat indirecte et vi legis generalis* vetantis ne exponamus nos periculo peccandi, et ideo jubentis sequi tutius.”

And again, in answer to the objection that by being obliged to take the *pars tutior* in all cases of doubt, we should frequently be obliged to the performance of actions in reality not prescribed by any law, he replies:—

“Tenebimur ad multa facienda quae non praecipiuntur . . . ulla lege *directa*, ea scilicet *de qua dubitatur*, TRANSEAT; ulla lege *reflexa*, ea scilicet lege *generali* sequendi tutius in dubio, NEGO.”

And so in fact the question of Probabilism is stated by the earlier German writers, to whose philosophical and consistent defence of the system I have already so frequently referred. Thus, for instance, the Ingolstadt professor, Ressler, throughout his folio volume of 900 pages, in which the question is discussed under every possible aspect, invariably puts it that the point to be determined is, whether there is among the precepts of the divine and natural law, a general precept, such as I have been describing, a “*lex universalis*,” imposing an obligation of observing in doubtful cases the “*leges particulares*,” and thus providing for their better observance, “*quarum multae passim impune ac licite violarentur, si non daretur lex haec quasi reflexa universalis ac veluti custos reliquarum legum particularium.*”¹

¹ RASSLER, *Norma Recti*, Disp. 3, quaest. 8, n. 383. This aspect of the case is by no means overlooked by Gury. (Part i., n. 63.)

Thus it will be seen that the arguments on which St. Alphonsus and the writers who have adopted his method of establishing the truth of Probabilism rely, in reality fall to a large extent outside the question at issue. For they are directed almost exclusively against the thesis that the doubtful "*lex particularis*" is capable of imposing an obligation. But the question at issue really regards another law—the "*lex generalis*" or "*reflexa*," which is at all events propounded by the defenders of Probabiliorism, and of the more rigid systems, as altogether *certain* in its binding force.

Now it is plainly *possible* that, although we can disprove the existence of any such *universal* reflex law, affecting the entire collection of cases in which the obligation is maintained by the Probabiliorists, there may, nevertheless, be a *number* of reflex laws, each covering a *class of cases* more or less extensive, as, for instance, that large class of cases in which the doubt regards the *close* or *cessation* of an obligation previously in force.

It is easy indeed to see that the recognition of such sources of obligation is by no means excluded by St. Alphonsus' line of argument as set forth in his *Systema Morale*. Moreover, it fits in most consistently with his actual teaching in regard to those numerous cases in which, notwithstanding the existence of a doubt as to an obligation, he affirms the necessity of complying with it. Again, it is most fully consistent with the line of argument relied on for the defence of Probabilism by the writers of the German Jesuit School. And, in fine, any of my readers who may now look back to the extracts I have transcribed from Suarez and De Lugo on pages 729 and 730, will see that it most aptly provides for the "infinite variety" to which those writers refer.

The key to the solution of the whole question is in fact to be found in the passage from Suarez, that I have there quoted. On the one hand: "*vere dicunt saepe . . . tutiorem partem esse eligendam*" On the other: "*durissimum est hominem semper ad hoc obligari*." Probabilism, as thus enunciated, does not *affirm* a *universal liberty* of acting against an obligation in cases of doubt. It merely *denies* the existence of a *universal obligation* of observing the law in all such cases. Thus understood, it is logically *contradictory* of those rigid systems—as for instance Probabiliorism—in which the universality of the obligation is affirmed. As put forth

by some recent expositors it is made to assume the form of being logically the *contrary* of those more rigid systems. Now contradictories cannot be at the same time false; contraries may be. And in fact Probabilism if put forward as *affirming* in cases of doubt the *universal liberty* of action, is—no less than Probabiliorism—plainly and demonstrably false. On the other hand, if understood as *denying* merely the *universal obligation*, it is no less plainly true, and capable of proof. Thus understood, it is in full accord with the teaching of Suarez and De Lugo in the passages I have just quoted; it is in full accord also with the detailed teaching of St. Alphonsus, and in fact of all Probabilist writers of standard authority. For while in the discussion of moral questions, in many cases, and indeed in the majority, those theologians deny the existence of an obligation of observing a doubtful law, they no less plainly, on the other hand, maintain the obligation of observing it in other cases, by no means few.

It is, however, sufficiently obvious that Probabilism, as thus enunciated in a Treatise *de Conscientia*, however useful it may be as a preliminary refutation of the false teaching of the rigid school, must, to a very large extent, be regarded as useless in determining the existence or extent of our obligations in individual questions in detail. Here we must say with Suarez, “*pendet ex singularibus contingentibus;*” or, in the more practical form in which the same truth is expressed by De Lugo:—“*Pertinet ad varios Tractatus.*”

It is, I am satisfied, for the present unnecessary to enforce at any further length the general principle that the mere probability of an opinion, which, if true, would prove the non-existence of an obligation, does not suffice to justify us in acting as if that obligation did not exist. Even when there is question of the *beginning* of an obligation, it is easy to show that cases exist in which the law, though doubtful, must be observed. But I am now concerned only with what regards the *close* or *cessation* of an obligation which previously has been certainly in force. And here it is of course an *a fortiori* case, that the mere probability of an opinion “favouring” “liberty” does not suffice to justify us in acting against the law.

The length to which I have allowed myself to run on in putting forth this most unscientific exposition of my

views upon the important aspect of Probabilism to which I have devoted this Paper, leaves me indeed no space for carrying out my purpose of setting forth the teaching of St. Alphonsus in regard to the class of cases by which the truth of the general principle I have endeavoured to enforce is illustrated.

I must, therefore, postpone to some future occasion the exposition which should necessarily outrun the space now at my disposal. And, no doubt, to any of my readers whose settled views I may perhaps have to some extent disturbed by what I have thus far written, it will be more satisfactory that any further exposition of the question of Probabilism, considered as I should be disposed to consider it, should proceed upon more scientific lines than those I have laid down in these fragmentary Papers.

W. J. W.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

I.

The Distribution of Holy Communion during Mass.

REV. SIR,—I beg to submit for solution the following difficulties :—

1° Is it allowable when the celebrant has just completed the consecration at Mass, for another priest to come and give Holy Communion to those of the congregation who are to receive at that Mass?

2° If it be not lawful in itself, could the practice be permitted because of certain circumstances : for example, that the people may not be kept waiting too long, or to let mothers return home the sooner to prepare their children for the next Mass, &c.?

3° If the practice is allowed, what rite is to be observed? I suppose the "Confiteor," "Indulgentiam," &c., to be said; but what of the blessing? I wish to know, in case the celebrant has pronounced the blessing in Mass before the other priest has completed the distribution of the Holy Communion, should the latter pronounce the blessing also, after he has placed the Ciborium in the Tabernacle, or should the celebrant delay the blessing in Mass until the Communion is over? It certainly does not look well to see the bulk of the congregation standing up at the last Gospel, while others are receiving Communion at the altar rails.

A. R.

The practice described by our correspondent is one which, in our opinion, is not justified by the reasons alleged,

and should not be allowed to continue. The Church has made provision for such cases, by allowing the Holy Communion to be distributed in the circumstances either *before* or *after* Mass. Could not the difficulties of the case be met by giving Communion *before* Mass? And if not *before* Mass, because, perhaps, the consecrated particles have not been reserved, surely the exigencies of the case are not so great as not to be met by the distribution of the Holy Communion "intra Missam," in the correct sense of the words, the second priest being present to assist the celebrant in the distribution. This would not cause a delay of more than five minutes as compared with the very irregular procedure described. Such a procedure is not, as far as we know, contemplated in the rubrics or sanctioned by legitimate custom, and it cannot be continued without very considerable confusion and distraction to the congregation at the most solemn parts of Mass.

It is a case which should be laid before the Bishop for his direction and decision.

If he thinks the circumstances are such as justify the practice, the distribution of the Holy Communion must be regarded, we believe, as "extra Missam," and in the case made, the blessing proper to the Communion should be given by the priest.

II.

The Patron or Titular of our Parish Churches.

REV. SIR,

1° Not a few of my acquaintances, since the decree declaring St. Joseph Patron of the Universal Church, have omitted the commemoration "de Patrono vel Titulo ecclesiae," thinking that the commemoration of St. Joseph sufficed. Are they right?

2° Are we to consider our parish churches to be dedicated to the Saints or Mysteries indicated by the traditions of the people, who know one as St Michael's, another as St. John's, a third as the Church of the Immaculate Conception; or who practise special devotions in them directed to certain Saints as Patrons? I should wish to know whether this would warrant our reciting the prayer of such a Saint or Mystery, rather than the prayer of the Patron of the diocese in general, amongst the "Suffragia" and also in the "A cunctis."

W. D.

Reply to 1° No; they are not right. The commemoration of St. Joseph to be made in the "Suffrages," in no way dispenses with the commemoration of the Patron or Titular of the church to which they are attached.

Reply to 2° It may be useful to remark that it is not necessary that a church should be *dedicated* in order that it should have a Patron or Titular. It is enough if the church be blessed, and placed under the patronage of a certain Saint or Mystery.¹

We regard the tradition of the people, as indicated in the manner described, to be a very satisfactory evidence that the church was blessed, and the Saint named selected for its patron. Accordingly, the priests attached to this church ought to commemorate him, the “*patronus ecclesiae*,” in the “*Suffrages*”; and it is his name that ought to be inserted in the prayer “*A cunctis*” by all priests who say Mass in his church.

III.

REV. SIR,—I am a deacon in a college. Our chapel is exclusively for the use of the college. The public are not admitted to it, even on Sundays, but a few lay persons are allowed, on obtaining special permission, to hear Mass in it on Sundays and Holydays. In these circumstances what Patron or Titular am I to commemorate in the “*Suffrages*”?

M. C.

In this and similar cases, for example in the case of a chaplain to a convent or to a hospital, where the private chapel cannot have a Titular of its own, the commemoration to be made in the “*Suffrages*,” is of the Patron or Titular of the place, or the diocese in which the chapel is situated. This is decided by the following decree of the Sacred Congregation:—

“*Quodnam Suffragium faciendum sit a Directoribus Seminarii sive majoris sive minoris, quibus nulla Ecclesia publica est adnexa, a Capellanis Xenodochii et Monialium, a Clericis in sacris, et a Sacerdotibus in majori Seminario coadunatis tempore secessus Ecclesiastici?*”

S.R.C. resp. “*Praeter communia tenentur tantum ad Suffragium Patroni Diocesanos vel Loci.*”

Die 27 Maii, 1876 (5665).

IV.

Questions regarding Baptism.

1° What is the obligation of using baptismal water in solemn Baptism in the church?

2° What is to be done if there be no font in the church?

¹S.R.C., 21 March, 1711 (3684), 2 September, 1871 (5495), 28 September, 1872 (5519).

3° In the latter case, would a priest be justified in using Holy Water for baptismal water?

Consult O'Kane's "Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual," a book which, we can hardly doubt, is in our correspondent's library. No Irish missionary priest should be without it. The three questions are treated in this valuable book, the first question at page 63, n. 158; the second and third at pages 159, 160, &c., nn. 385-397.

4° In case of a premature birth, or a miscarriage, is the "Blessing after childbirth" given?

Yes; it is given. The Congregation of Rites, when asked whether a woman whose child had died without Baptism could receive the blessing after childbirth answered: "*Servandum omnino Ritale Romanum.*"¹ Now, the ceremony, as we have it in the Roman Ritual, regards only the mother and contains nothing to imply that the child should be alive. "Quinimmo," writes De Herdt, "hæc benedictio neganda non est mulieri cujus proles mortua est, licet etiam absque baptismo."² Baruffaldi,³ Bouvry,⁴ Le Vavasseur,⁵ are of the same opinion, and this is now the common teaching of rubricists.

V.

Black Vestments required for Requiem Mass, except in case of necessity.

In Requiem Masses, if the black vestments are very inferior to the violet vestments, may the violet be used?

We have already stated⁶ that the colour of the vestments to be worn in Masses for the dead is *black*. It is only necessity that can justify the use of violet. We, however, are of opinion that a less grave cause is required to render legitimate the use of violet in a Requiem Mass, than for the substitution of white vestments for red in the Mass of a martyr, or of red for white in the Mass of a confessor. We are led to this opinion chiefly by the consideration of the following facts:—1° For a long time it was the opinion of many rubricists that the use of violet vestments in Masses de Requiem could be tolerated. 2° Even in the Roman Ordo⁷ it used to be stated in the tabulated directions regarding Votive Masses, that the

¹ 12 September, 1857 (5251, n. 20). ² *Prax. Liturg. Rit. Rom.* ix. 4.

³ *Tit.* xliii. n. 15.

⁴ *P.* iv. s. i. n. 5.

⁵ *Tom* i. page 607.

⁶ *L. E. RECORD*, September.

⁷ *Apud* De Conny, *Preface*.

colour for Requiem Masses was "black or violet." 3° The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, when describing the Office of Good Friday, says—"Episcopus et omnes utuntur paramentis nigris, si haberi possunt; et deficientibus nigris, coloris violacei."¹ 4° Finally, even still the colour for a Requiem Mass on All Souls' Day, celebrated in a church in which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed during the "Quarante Ore," is violet and not black.² These facts seem to us to indicate that a less urgent cause would justify the use of violet for black, than is required for the substitution, for instance, of white for red.

But having laid down these general principles, we are unwilling to decide particular cases. They should be sent to the Bishop rather than to us.

Regarding, however, the case brought before us by our respected correspondent we have no hesitation in saying that the cause adduced would not, in our opinion, justify the *habitual* use of violet for black vestments. If the black vestments are so bad as to be unfit for use, surely the parish is not so poor as not to be able to buy a new set. But if our correspondent referred to a single occasion, when the priest was called to say a Requiem Mass in the presence, for example, of a corpse, and black vestments could not be procured, or only such as were not fit to use, we think the necessity sufficient to justify the substitution of the violet colour.

It was only in this sense we wrote in a former number, that violet may be worn in the absence of black. We did not quote the decree of the 23rd July, 1868, relating to this matter, as it is to be found in O'Kane's "Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual," a book with which most of our priests are thoroughly familiar. From letters which have been sent to us, we have reason to believe that it would be useful to print the decree in this place. The decree chiefly refers to the lawfulness of giving Communion with pre-consecrated particles, in black vestments:—

"An sacerdos possit aperire ciborium ad communicandos fideles in paramentis nigris?"

"*Affirmative*, seu posse in missis defunctorum, cum paramentis nigris, sacram communionem fidelibus ministrari, etiam ex particulis praeconsecratis, extrahendo pixidem a tabernaculo. Posse item in paramentis nigris ministrari communionem immediate post Missam defunctorum; data autem rationabili causa, immediate

¹ *Lib. II. cap. xxv. n. 6.*

² *Decretum Generale*, 23 July, 1868

quoque ante eandem Missam; in utroque tamen casu omittendam esse benedictionem; *Missas vero defunctorum celebrandas esse omnino in paramentis nigris*; adeo ut violacea adhiberi nequeant, nisi in casu quo die 2 Novembris, sanctissimae Eucharistiae sacramentum publicae adorationi sit expositum pro solemni oratione XL horarum, prout cantum est in decreto sacrae hujus Congregationis, diei 16 Septembris, anni 1801.

“Et ita decreverunt, ac ubique locorum, si Sanctissimo Domino Nostro placuerit, servari mandarunt. Die 27 Junii, 1868.

“Facta autem relatione SS. Domino nostro Pio IX., Sanctitas sua decretum Sacrae Congregationis approbavit et confirmavit, die 23 Julii, 1868.”

VI.

The “Sacrarium” and the vessel for washing Corporals.

In some places the vessel of water for washing the hands, before and after Mass, is placed over a basin, from which there is a pipe which conducts the water under the earth, the question is: Is it lawful to wash Corporals, &c., in that basin?

S.J.

It is the common teaching of authors who have written on this department of ritual, that the basin in which the sacred linens and vessels are washed should be used exclusively for this purpose. Gavantus¹ describes it as a vessel in the shape of a basin, made of brass, about two feet wide, having two handles, and supplied with a spout or lip through which the water, after use, may be safely and conveniently poured into the *sacrarium* or *piscina*. He adds these words: “quod vas huic usui tantum sit reservatum.” St. Charles also, when giving directions for the cleansing of the sacred vessels, orders “*praestetur vero ab eo qui in sacris sit, in vase ei usui et lavandis corporalibus et purificatoribus tantum destinato*.”² “In all well-regulated sacristies,” writes Bourbon, “there is one vessel, or more than one, exclusively for the purpose of washing the sacred linens.”

There ought, then, to be a separate vessel in which the Corporals, &c., are washed.

The basin described by our correspondent may be fitted to serve as the *sacrarium* or *piscina*, into which the water is to be poured that has been used in washing the Corporals, Purificatories, &c. We should, however, remark that St. Charles requires the *sacrarium* to be

¹ *De Mensuris.*

² *De Munditia Instrumentorum et Vasorum.*

³ *Introduction aux Cérémonies Romaines*, n. 145.

protected with a cover, and under lock and key. It ought, he says, to be kept constantly closed, in order to prevent the sacristan or altar-boys or others from thoughtlessly throwing into it things which it was not intended to receive. It should not be made a common passage for conveying the slops of the sacristy. The mere definition of the *sacrarium* or *piscina* explains the purpose for which it should be exclusively used. "Est autem," writes Quarti,¹ "sacra piscina locus in pariete vel sub terram defossus et ab aliis profanis usibus separatus in quem lotio et similia ob reverentiam projici solent."

VII.

The Litanies allowed to be printed in Prayer-books.

The following warning issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites within the present year is important and interesting. It reminds the Bishops—1° that the only Litanies which have been approved by the Holy See, up to the present, are the Litanies (*a*) of the Saints, to be found in the liturgical books (Breviary, Missal, Pontifical and Ritual), (*b*) the Holy Name of Jesus, and (*c*) the Blessed Virgin; 2° that they are not to allow the public recitation of Litanies which have not been revised and approved by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition; and 3° that they are to be on their guard against giving their approbation for the printing of books containing Litanies which have not received the sanction of the Holy See.

Ex S. Congregatione Rituum.

MONITUM.

"Etsi praeter Litanias SSmi Nominis Jesu, Baetae Mariae Virginis, Lauretanas nuncupatas, et Sanctorum, quae in libris liturgicis habentur, nullae aliae a Sancta Sede approbatae fuerint, quaedam tamen typis passim evulgantur, quae in honorem alicujus Sancti vel mysterii fidelibus recitandae proponuntur. atque in libris praesertim pietatis vulgo *di devozione* continentur, nonnunquam etiam auctoritatis ecclesiasticae sanctione munitis. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio sui muneris esse duxit Rmos locorum Ordinarios admonere, ne sinant alias Litanias publice recitari nisi praedictas, vel alias, si quae a S. Rom. Univ. Inquisitione recognitae et approbatae fuerint; ac simul caveant suam approbationem pro impressione subnectere iis libris in quibus Litaniae invenirentur apostolica sanctione carentes."

Die 16 Junii, 1880.

¹ Pars II. tit. i. dub. 6.

VIII.

“*In honorem*” not “*in honore B. M. semper Virginis.*”

In the prayer “*Suspice, Sancta Trinitas*” of the Mass, we should say “*in honorem B. Mariæ semper Virginis,*” and not “*in honore.*”

“*In ordine Missæ post Lavabo in Oratione, ‘Suspice, Sancta Trinitas,’ plures recentiores Rubricistæ graves dicunt loco ‘in honorem B. Mariæ semper Virginis,’ esse legendum ‘in honore B. M. semper V.’ Estne horum sententia sequenda et correctio hoc in loco Missalis facienda?*”

S.R.C. resp. “*Legendum : in honorem.*”

25 May, 1877 (5694).

R. B.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE FAST AND ABSTINENCE OF ADVENT.

We have received within the last few days the following interesting questions from subscribers:—

I. *The Abstinence from Eggs this year on Christmas Eve.*

December 4th, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

VERY REV. SIR,—In this diocese there was permission to use eggs at dinner on Fridays which were fast days. Does this permission last, so that it would be lawful to eat eggs on the Vigil of next Christmas? I have heard it doubted: as the use of eggs on that day is prohibited by the decree obtained by the Fathers of the Synod of Maynooth, and to be found in the “*Irish Directory,*” 1880, pag. XIII. A reply in your next number would be agreeable to many priests.

F.

II. *The Fast Days in the Fourth Week of Advent.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DEAR SIR,—In the year 1877 our Irish Bishops obtained from the Holy See the privilege of having the fast of Saturday in Advent, transferred to the previous Wednesday. Before this privilege was obtained, Wednesday in Advent was not a fast day, and is now a fast day only, as it would seem, in as far as it is a substitute for Saturday. Now the 25th December this year is

Saturday, and, being Christmas Day, is, of course, not a fast day. Therefore, apparently, neither should the Wednesday immediately preceding it be set down in our Directories as a day of fast. Many would be glad to have your opinion on this point.

M.

It would seem that there is not very great difficulty in coming to a decision in regard to either of the points raised in the above letters, to which it gives me much pleasure, at the request of the Very Rev. Editor, to reply.

I. *The Abstinence from Eggs this year on Christmas Eve.*

As regards this point I would say that, in the absence of special local legislation—a matter on which, as regards the diocese in question, I have no information,—the use of eggs on the 24th of December this year, is not, in the case proposed, unlawful.

It is, I suppose, known generally to the readers of the RECORD that, altogether independently of the concession obtained by the Synod of Maynooth, there are several dioceses in Ireland in which the use of eggs on Vigils and other fasting days occurring on Fridays throughout the year was not prohibited. The diocese in question here is, as the letter states, one of these. The use of eggs, then, on Christmas Eve, this year, would have been lawful in that diocese, if the special favour petitioned for by the Maynooth Synod had not been sought for or granted. So that if their use were now to be considered unlawful, it should be on the ground that the Rescript granting this petition had imposed an obligation of abstinence which did not before exist. And I cannot see how this can be supposed to be the case.

A case, indeed, might be conceived in which a restrictive clause such as that contained in the Rescript—“*exceptis vigiliis Nativitatis D. N. J. C., &c., &c.*”—could be interpreted as imposing such an obligation. If, for instance, the Holy Sec,—informed by the Synod of the obligation generally existing in Ireland—of the exceptional condition, in this respect, of some dioceses—and of the inconvenience resulting from the existence of the obligation generally,—had been asked what rule the Church of Ireland was to follow, then, no doubt, a Rescript stating that eggs might be used on fasting Fridays, “*except on the Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, &c., &c.*” should leave but

little doubt that the exception thus made was to be regarded as affecting the whole country.

But this is not the case in the Rescript in question here. The *Postulatum* of the Synod made no reference to those dioceses in which the use of eggs was already lawful. The application was not for an *exposition of the law* of abstinence, to be followed throughout Ireland. It was a *petition merely for the removal of an obligation* then existing. "Mos est," are the words of the *Postulatum*, "abstinere ab esu ovorum . . . Episcopi petunt UT LICEAT ova comedere." And so the Rescript, in conformity with the terms of the *Postulatum*, is not an exposition of the law, much less a "decree" by which anything is "prohibited," but a *concession of the favour sought for*. For this, of course, is the purport of the technical phrase employed, "*pro gratia*."

Thus then we see that the effect of the "excepting" clause is totally different from that which it would have been in the hypothetical case I have stated above. As actually occurring in the Rescript, it *merely limits the concession* which the Rescript otherwise grants. The permission, *as thus granted*, and in regard to those dioceses in which the use of eggs is allowed *only by virtue of this concession*, does not *authorise* their use this year on Christmas Eve. But it does not, on the other hand, in any way affect those other dioceses in which the permission existed *independently of the special concession which is thus limited*.

It may perhaps be suggested that the publication, in the general *Ordo* or Directory, of the obligation of abstaining from eggs on the day in question may give rise to some difficulty as regards the practical adoption of the view I have put forward. But it must be remembered that this publication was invariably made in precisely the same form, before the privilege we are considering was obtained or sought for. The *Ordo* then, as now, put forward the obligation of abstinence from eggs on every fasting Friday which happened to occur throughout each year. It made no reference to the dioceses in which the use of eggs was then, without question, allowed. It would seem, surely, that there is no reason why the same publication should be regarded as giving rise to any further difficulty now, than then.

In conclusion I would again observe that I have throughout treated the question merely on general principles, and independently of all reference to local

diocesan arrangements, of which, as I have already said, I have no information, as regards the case submitted for consideration.

II. *The Fast Days in the last Week in Advent.*

Here, unlike the last case, we must, I think, come to the conclusion that the obligation in question exists.

The Rescript, as I understand it, is not to be regarded merely as transferring the fast of each individual Saturday in Advent to the corresponding Wednesday. If it were so, indeed, the change could not be regarded as involving the obligation of fasting on the Wednesday of the last week this year. But it is rather to be viewed as substituting one general arrangement of the Advent fast days for another. Before 1875 the fast days were Friday and Saturday. “*Tempore Adventus,*” in the words of the *Postulatum*, “*feria 6^{ta} et Sabbatum sunt dies jejunii.*” The application then made was *to substitute for this arrangement another in which the fast days should be Wednesday and Friday*: “*minus molestum esset, et huic regioni magis accomodatum, si loco Sabbati, feria 4^{ta} fieret dies jejunii; quapropter Episcopi petunt ut jejunium Sabbati tempore Adventus transferatur in feriam 4^{tam}.*” The change was granted as applied for; and thus, even if we had no other light to guide us in the interpretation of the Rescript, it should, I think, be understood as establishing a new arrangement of the Advent fast, in which the Wednesdays and Fridays of the four weeks of Advent should be regarded as fast days.

But, as I have just suggested, there is another very substantial reason for coming to the same conclusion. Its force will be more fully appreciated if I state briefly a few points regarding the obligation of the fast of Advent.

1. It may not be altogether useless to premise,—although indeed I am aware that the information is by no means needed by the writer of the letter in which this interesting question is raised,—that the fast of Advent is not of universal obligation. That it is not imposed by the general law of the Church, may be seen by reference to the Treatise *de Jejunio* in any text book of Moral Theology—as, for instance, in Gury’s *Compendium*.¹

¹ Ferraris in his *Bibliotheca* under the word ADVENTUS gives, of course, a valuable summary of the extant information regarding the fasts of Advent as observed during the earlier ages of the Church, with some interesting details regarding their present observance in Italy and elsewhere.

2. Moreover, rigid as the discipline of our Irish Church has from the beginning been in regard to fasting and abstinence, the fast of Advent was established in Ireland only about a hundred years ago. This is plain from the documents published in that most interesting, but unfortunately by no means widely circulated work, Dr. Renahan's *Collections on Irish Church History*, edited by the present venerated Bishop of Kerry. The circumstance is especially noteworthy when taken in connexion with the fact, which we also learn from the documents published in the work referred to, that until a comparatively recent period, that is to say, until within the last two or three hundred years, *every Wednesday and Saturday throughout the year* was, according to the Irish discipline, a day of *abstinence from meat*, and *every Friday*, a day of abstinence *from eggs and even lacticinia* as well.¹ Yet the fast of Advent had then no place in the observances of our Church. It was not introduced until the year 1778.

3. It is of course known to all the Irish readers of the RECORD that our present arrangement of the Advent fast—in which the fasting days are the Wednesday and Friday of each week—exists by virtue of a concession made by the Holy See in compliance with a petition from the Synod of Maynooth. Previously the fasting days had been Friday and Saturday.

4. But it is not so generally known that the discipline then modified was not of fifty years standing. It was, in fact, introduced only in the year 1829 or 1830.² Previous to 1830 the fasting days of Advent were, as they now once more are, the Wednesday and Friday of each week. And the substitution of Saturday for Wednesday, was then granted, just as the substitution of Wednesday for Saturday has been granted within the last few years, as a favour, in compliance with a petition presented by the Irish Bishops requesting the change to be made.

5. It is not however to be supposed that the petitions of 1830 and of 1875 were in any way inconsistent with each

¹ On the rigour with which the discipline of fasting and abstinence was observed by our forefathers, I would refer to a footnote to a former paper of mine, in the first number of the present series of the RECORD (March, 1880, p. 30).

² I have not been able to ascertain the precise date of this change. In the *Ordo* of 1829, the fast is marked for the Wednesdays and Fridays; in that of 1831, for the Fridays and Saturdays. I have not succeeded in finding an *Ordo* of 1830. In all probability it contains the documents concerning this change.

other. For we must bear in mind another very important and substantial change of discipline, which took place in the interval between the two, and which altogether removed the state of facts that had influenced the Bishops to make the former application. In 1830, all Saturdays as well as Fridays, throughout the year, were days of abstinence from meat. Thus it was obviously a lightening of the obligation of the Advent fast, to transfer it from the Wednesdays, which were not days of abstinence, to the Saturdays which were. But when the Irish Bishops received, in 1832, authority to dispense in the observance of the abstinence on Saturdays,¹ it became, so far as regarded this consideration, a matter of indifference, whether the Advent fast was or was not transferred back to its original day, Wednesday. Many circumstances,—some especially affecting the convenience of the clergy,—rendered it desirable that it should be so transferred. And thus when the application was made, in the petition of the Maynooth Synod, the Holy See without difficulty granted it.

6. It will, I think, appear sufficiently plain from this statement of facts that no very substantial doubt can be entertained as to the obligation of fasting on the Wednesday of the last week of Advent, even when the Saturday of that week does not happen to be within the time of Advent, or consequently a fast day. The normal days of the Advent fast, in Ireland, as in England and Scotland, and indeed, generally speaking, wherever it exists at all—are Wednesday and Friday. The change to Saturday was a purely accidental one; and now that the fast has been restored to its original days,² there does not appear to be any sufficient reason why it should not be observed on any of those days which falls, as the Wednesday of the fourth week does this year, within the Advent time.

7. I have mentioned above that the fast of Advent was introduced into Ireland in the year 1778. It may not be uninteresting to add that the occasion of its introduction was the suppression of a number of holidays (22), the

¹ The date of the Bishops' Pastoral Letter granting the dispensation is the 5th of March, 1832. The Letter is to be found in the RECORD (former series) Vol. 9, page 142; (December 1872).

² Thus, for instance, if we examine the concessions recorded in the *Bullarium* from the beginning of the Pontificate of Pius VI., we shall find that where the introduction of the fasts of Advent is mentioned, the circumstances being invariably the same as those in which those fasts were introduced into Ireland, the days mentioned are the *Wednesday* and *Friday* of each week.

Vigils of several (8) of which had been fast days. The words of the Rescript of retrenchment, so far as regards this point, are:—"Vigilias autem festis . . . dispensatis adnexas Sanctitas sua mandavit transferri in 4^{am} et 6^{am} feriam uniuscujusque hebdomadae adventus, in quibus jejunium idem servandum erit quod in quadragesima et quatuor temporibus anni servari debet."

8. Some points of interest which I find among my notes, regarding holidays of obligation in Ireland, and their retrenchment, I shall, with the Editor's permission, reserve for the next number of the RECORD.

W. J. W.

DOCUMENTS.

NO Document hitherto published by His Holiness Leo XIII. will be so frequently referred to in future times as the following Encyclical on the Teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS,
PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS
CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM
APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPISCOPIB ET
EPISCOPIB UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM
CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Aeterni Patris Unigenitus Filius, qui in terris apparuit, ut humano generi salutem et divinae sapientiae lucem afferret, magnum plauae ac mirabile mundo contulit beneficium, cum coelos iterum ascensurus, Apostolis praecepit, ut *euntes docerent omnes gentes*;¹ Ecclesiamque a se conditam communem et supremam populorum magistram reliquit. Homines enim, quos veritas liberaverat, veritate erant conservandi: neque diu permansissent caelestium doctrinarum fructus, per quos est homini parta salus, nisi Christus Dominus erudiendis ad fidem mentibus perenne magisterium constituisset. Ecclesia vero divini Auctoris sui cum erecta promissis, tum imitata caritatem, sic jussa perfecit, ut hoc semper spectarit, hoc maxime voluerit, de religione praecipere et cum erroribus perpetuo dimicare. Huc sane pertinent singulorum Episcoporum vigilati labores; huc Conciliorum perlatae leges ac decreta, et maxime Romanorum Pontificum sollicitudo quotidiana, penes quos

¹ Matth. xxviii., 19

beati Petri Apostolorum Principis in primatu successores, et jus et officium est docendi et confirmandi fratres in fide.—Quoniam vero Apostolo monente, *per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam*¹ Christifidelium mentes decipi solent, et fidei sinceritas in hominibus corrumpi, ideoque supremi Ecclesiae Pastores muneris sui perpetuo esse duxerunt etiam veri nominis scientiam totis viribus provehere, simulque singulari vigilantia providere, ut ad fidei catholicae normam ubique traderentur humanae disciplinae omnes, praesertim vero *philosophia*, a qua nimirum magna ex parte pendet ceterarum scientiarum recta ratio. Id ipsum et Nos inter cetera breviter monuimus, Venerabiles Fratres, cum primum Vos omnes per Litteras Encyclicas allocuti sumus; sed modo rei gravitate, et temporum conditione compellimur rursus Vobiscum agere de incunda philosophicorum studiorum ratione, quae et bono fidei apte respondeat, et ipsi humanarum scientiarum dignitati sit consentanea.

Si quis in acerbitem nostrorum temporum animum intendant, earumque rerum rationem, quae publice et privatim geruntur, cogitatione complectatur, is profecto comperiet, fecundam malorum causam, cum eorum quae premunt, tum eorum quae pertimescimus, in eo consistere, quod prava de divinis humanisque rebus scita, e scholis philosophorum jampridem profecta, in omnes civitatis ordines irrepserint, communi plurimorum suffragio recepta. Cum enim insitum homini natura sit, ut in agendo rationem ducem sequatur, si quid intelligentia peccat, in id et voluntas facile labitur: atque ita contingit, ut pravitas opinionum, quarum est in intelligentia sedes, in humanas actiones influat, easque pervertat. Ex adverso, si sana mens hominum fuerit, et solidis verisque principiis firmiter insistat, tum vero in publicum privatumque commodum plurima beneficia progignet.—Equidem non tantam humanae philosophiae vim et auctoritatem tribuimus, ut cunctis omnino erroribus propulsandis vel evellendis parem esse judicemus; sicut enim, cum primum est religio christiana constituta, per admirabile fidei lumen *non persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis* diffusum, *sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis*,² orbi terrarum contigit ut primaevae dignitati restitueretur; ita etiam in praesens ab omnipotenti potissimum virtute et auxilio Dei expectandum est, ut mortalium mentes, sublatis errorum tenebris, resipiscant. Sed neque spernenda, nec posthabenda sunt naturalia adjumenta, quae divinae sapientiae beneficio, fortiter suaviterque omnia disponentis, hominum generi suppetunt; quibus in adjumentis rectum philosophiae usum constat esse praecipuum. Non enim frustra rationis lumen humanae menti Deus inseruit; et tantum abest, ut superaddita fidei lux intelligentiae virtutem extinguat aut imminuat, ut potius perficiat, auctisque viribus, habilem ad majora reddat.—Igitur postulat ipsius divinae Providentiae ratio, ut in revocandis ad fidem et ad salutem populis etiam ab humana scientia praesidium quaeratur: quam industriam, probabilem ac sapientem, in more positam fuisse praeclarissimorum Ecclesiae Patrum, antiquitatis monumenta testantur. Illi scilicet neque paucas, neque tenues rationi partes dare consueverunt, quas omnes perbrevis complexus est magnus Augustinus, *huic scientiae tribuens . . . illud quo fides saluberrima . . . gignitur, nutritur, defenditur, roboratur*.³

Ac primo quidem philosophia, si rite a sapientibus usurpetur, iter ad veram fidem quodammodo sternere et munire valet, suorumque alumnorum animos ad revelationem suscipiendam convenienter prae-
parare: quamobrem a veteribus modo *praevia ad christianam fidem insti-*

Coloss. ii., 8.

² Cor. ii., 4.

De Trim. lib. xiv., c. 1.

tutio,¹ modo *christianismi praeludium et auxilium*,² modo ad *Evangelium paedagogus*³ non immerito appellata est.

Et sane benignissimus Deus, in eo quod pertinet ad res divinas, non eas tantum veritates lumine fidei patefecit, quibus attingendis impar humana intelligentia est, sed nonnullas etiam manifestavit, rationi non omnino impervias, ut scilicet, accedente Dei auctoritate, statim et sine aliqua erroris admixtione omnibus innotescerent. Ex quo factum est, ut quaedam vera, quae vel divinitus ad credendum proponuntur, vel cum doctrina fidei arctis quibusdam vinculis colligantur, ipsi ethnicorum sapientes, naturali tantum ratione prae lucente, cognoverint, aptisque argumentis demonstraverint ac vindicaverint. *Invisibilia enim ipsius, ut Apostolus inquit, a creatura mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas*;⁴ et *gentes quae legem non habent* . . . ostendunt nihilominus *opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis*.⁵ Haec autem vera, vel ipsis ethnicorum sapientibus explorata, vehementer est opportunum in revelatae doctrinae commodum utilitatemque convertere, ut re ipsa ostendatur, humanam quoque sapientiam, atque ipsum adversariorum testimonium fidei christianae suffragari. Quam agendi rationem, non recens introductam, sed veterem esse constat, et Sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus saepe usitatam. Quin etiam venerabiles isti religiosarum traditionum testes et custodes formam quamdam ejus rei et prope figuram agnoscunt in Hebraeorum facto, qui Aegypto excessuri, deferre secum jussi sunt argentea atque aurea Aegyptiorum vasa cum vestibus pretiosis, ut scilicet, mutato repente usu, religioni veri Numinis ea supellex dedicaretur, quae prius ignominiosis ritibus et superstitioni inservierat. Gregorius Neocaesariensis⁶ laudat Origenem hoc nomine, quod plura ex ethnicorum placitis ingeniose decerpta, quasi erepta hostibus tela, in patrocinium christianae sapientiae et perniciem superstitionis singulari dexteritate retorserit. Et parem disputandi morem cum Gregorius Nazianzenus,⁷ tum Gregorius Nyssenus⁸ in Basilio Magno et laudant et probant; Hieronymus vero magnopere commendat in Quadrato Apostolorum discipulo, in Aristide, in Justino, in Irenaeo, aliisque permultis.⁹ Augustinus autem, *Nonne aspicimus, inquit, quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto Cyprianus, doctor suavissimus et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius? quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius? ut de vivis taceam, quanto innumerales Graeci?*¹⁰ Quod si vero naturalis ratio opimam hanc doctrinae segetem prius fudit, quam Christi virtute fecundaretur, multo uberiorem certe progignet, posteaquam Salvatoris gratia nativas humanae mentis facultates instauravit et auxit.—Equis autem non videat, iter planum et facile per huiusmodi philosophandi genus ad fidem aperiri?

Non his tamen limitibus utilitas circumscribitur, quae ex illo philosophandi instituto dimanat. Et revera divinae sapientiae eloquiis graviter reprehenditur eorum hominum stultitia, qui de his quae videntur bona, non potuerunt intelligere *Eum qui est; neque, operibus attendentes, agnoverunt quis esset artifex*.¹¹ Igitur primo loco magnus hic et praeclarus ex humana ratione fructus capitur, quod illa Deum esse demonstret: *a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri*.¹²—Deinde Deum ostendit omnium perfectionum cumulo singulariter excel-

¹ Clem. Alex., Strom. lib. i., c. 16; 1. vii., c. 3.

² Orig. ad Greg. Thaum.

³ Clem. Alex. Strom., i., c. 5.

⁴ Rom. i., 20.

⁵ Ib. ii., 14-15.

⁶ Orat. paneg. ad Origen.

⁷ Vit. Moys.

⁸ Carm. i., Iamb. 3.

⁹ Epist. ad Magn.

¹⁰ De doctr. christ. l. ii., c. 40.

¹¹ Sap. xiii., 1.

¹² Sap. xiii., 5.

lere, infinita in primis sapientia, quam nulla usquam res latere, et summa iustitia, quam pravus nunquam vincere possit affectus, ideoque Deum non solum veracem esse, sed ipsam etiam veritatem falli et fallere nesciam. Ex quo consequi perspicuum est, ut humana ratio plenissimam verbo Dei fidem atque auctoritatem conciliet.—Simili modo ratio declarat, evangelicam doctrinam mirabilibus quibusdam signis, tamquam certis certae veritatis argumentis, vel ab ipsa origine emicuisse: atque ideo omnes, qui Evangelio fidem adiungunt, non temere adiungere, tamquam doctas fabulas secutos,¹ sed rationabili prorsus obsequio intelligentiam et iudicium suum divinae subicere auctoritati. Illud autem non minoris pretii esse intelligitur, quod ratio in perspicuo ponat, Ecclesiam a Christo institutam (ut statuit Vaticana Synodus) *ob suam admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus locis fecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum esse motivum credibilitatis, et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.*²

Solidissimis ita positis fundamentis, perpetuus et multiplex adhuc requiritur philosophiae usus, ut sacra Theologia naturam, habitum ingeniumque verae scientiae suscipiat atque induat. In hac enim nobilissima disciplinarum magnopere necesse est, ut multae ac diversae coelestium doctrinarum partes in unum veluti corpus colligantur, ut suis quaque locis convenienter dispositae, et ex propriis principiis derivatae apto inter se nexu cohaereant; demum ut omnes et singulae suis iisque invictis argumentis confirmentur.—Nec silentio praetereunda, aut minimi facienda est accuratior illa atque uberior rerum, quae creduntur, cognitio, et ipsorum fidei mysteriorum, quoad fieri potest, aliquanto lucidior intelligentia, quam Augustinus aliique Patres et laudarunt et assequi studuerunt, quamque ipsa Vaticana Synodus³ fructuosissimam esse decrevit. Eam siquidem cognitionem et intelligentiam plenius et facilius certe illi consequuntur, qui cum integritate vitae fideique studio ingenium conjungunt philosophicis disciplinis expositum, praesertim cum eadem Synodus Vaticana doceat, ejusmodi sacrorum dogmatum intelligentiam *tum ex eorum, quae naturaliter cognoscuntur, analogia; tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo peti oportere.*⁴

Postremo hoc quoque ad disciplinas philosophicas pertinet, veritates divinitus traditas religiose tueri, et iis qui oppugnare audeant resistere. Quam ad rem, magna est philosophiae laus, quod fidei propugnaculum ac veluti firmum religionis munimentum habeatur. *Est quidem, sicut Clemens Alexandrinus testatur, per se perfecta et nullius indiga Servatoris doctrina, cum sit Dei virtus et sapientia. Accedens autem graeca philosophia veritatem non facit potentior; sed cum debiles efficiat sophistarum adversus eam argumentationes, et propulset dolosas adversus veritatem insidias, dicta est vinea apta sepes et vallus.*⁵ Profecto sicut inimici catholici nominis, adversus religionem pugnaturi, bellicos apparatus plerumque a philosophica ratione mutuuntur, ita divinarum scientiarum defensores plura e philosophiae penu depromunt, quibus revelata dogmata valeant propugnare. Neque mediocriter in eo triumphare fides christiana censenda est, quod adversariorum arma, humanae rationis artibus ad nocendum comparata, humana ipsa ratio potenter expediteque repellat. Quam speciem religiosi certaminis ab ipso gentium Apostolo usurpatam commemorat S. Hieronymus scribens ad Magnum: *Ductor christiani exercitus Paulus*

¹ II. Petr. i., 16.² Const. dogm. de Fid. Cath., cap. 3.³ Const. cit. cap. 4.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Strom. lib. i., c. 20.

*et orator invictus, pro Christo causam agens, etiam inscriptionem fortuitam arte torquet in argumentum fidei: didicerat enim a vero David extorquere de manibus hostium gladium, et Goliath superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare.*¹ Atque ipsa Ecclesia istud a philosophia praesidium christianos doctores petere non tantum suadet, sed etiam jubet. Etenim Concilium Lateranense V., posteaquam constituit *omnem assertionem veritati illuminationae fidei contrariam omnino falsam esse, eo quod verum vero minime contradicat,*² philosophiae doctoribus praecipit, ut in dolosis argumentis dissolvendis studiose versentur, siquidem, ut Augustinus testatur, *si ratio contra divinarum Scripturarum auctoritatem redditur, quamlibet acuta sit, fallit veri similitudine; nam vera esse non potest.*³

Verum ut pretiosis hisce, quos memoravimus, afferendis fructibus par philosophia inveniatur, omnino oportet, ut ab eo tramite nunquam deflectat, quem et veneranda Patrum antiquitas ingressa est, et Vaticana Synodus solenni auctoritatis suffragio comprobavit. Scilicet cum plane compertum sit, plurimas ex ordine supernaturali veritates esse accipiendas, quae cujuslibet ingenii longe vincunt acumen, ratio humana, propriae infirmitatis conscia, majora se affectare ne audeat, neque easdem veritates negare, neve propria virtute metiri, neu pro lubitu interpretari; sed eas potius plena atque humili fide suscipiat, et summi honoris loco habeat, quod sibi liceat, in morem ancillae et pedissequae, famulari coelestibus doctrinis, easque aliqua ratione, Dei beneficio, attingere. In iis autem doctrinarum capitibus, quae percipere humana intelligentia naturaliter potest, aequum plane est, sua methodo, suisque principiis et argumentis uti philosophiam: non ita tamen, ut auctoritati divina sese audacter subtrahere videatur. Imo, cum constet, ea quae revelatione innotescunt, certa veritate pollere, et quae fidei adversantur pariter cum recta ratione pugnare, noverit philosophus catholicus se fidei simul et rationis jura violaturum, si conclusionem aliquam amplectatur, quam revelatae doctrinae repugnare intellexerit.

Novinus profecto non deesse, qui facultates humanae naturae plus nimio extollentes, contendunt, hominis intelligentiam, ubi semel divinae auctoritati subiciatur, e nativa dignitate excidere, et quodam quasi servitutis jugo demissam plurimum retardari atque impediri, quominus ad veritatis excellentiaeque fastigium progrediatur. Sed haec plena erroris et fallaciae sunt; eoque tandem spectant, ut homines, summa cum stultitia, nec sine crimine ingrati animi, sublimiores veritates repudient, et divinum beneficium fidei, ex qua omnium bonorum fontes etiam in civilem societatem fluxere, sponte rejiciant. Etenim cum humana mens, certis finibus, iisque satis angustis, conclusa teneatur, pluribus erroribus, et multarum rerum ignorationi est obnoxia. Contra fides christiana, cum Dei auctoritate nitatur, certissima est veritatis magistra; quam qui sequitur, neque errorum laqueis irretitur, neque incertarum opinionum fluctibus agitur. Quapropter qui philosophia studium cum obsequio fidei christinae conjungunt, ii optime philosophantur: quandoquidem divinarum veritatum splendor, animo exceptus, ipsam juvat intelligentiam; cui non modo nihil de dignitate detrahit, sed nobilitatis, acuminis, firmitatis plurimum addit. Cum vero ingenii aciem intendunt in refellendis sententiis, quae fidei repugnant, et in probandis, quae cum fide cohaerent, digne ac perutiliter rationem exercent: in illis enim prioribus, causas errorisprehendunt, et argumentorum, quibus ipsae fulciuntur, vitium dignoscunt: in his autem posterioribus, rationum momentis

¹ Epist. ad Magn.

² Bulla Apostolici regiminis.

³ Epist. 147. (al. 7.) ad Marcellin. n. 7.

potiuntur, quibus solide demonstrentur et cuilibet prudenti persuadeantur. Hac vero industria et exercitatione augeri mentis opes et explicari facultates qui neget, ille veri falsique discrimen nihil conducere ad profectum ingenii, absurde contendat necesse est. Merito igitur Vaticana Synodus praeclara beneficia, quae per fidem rationi praestantur, his verbis commemorat: *Fides rationem ab erroribus liberat ac tuetur, eamque multiplici cognitione instruit.*¹ Atque idcirco homini, si saperet, non culpanda fides, veluti rationi et naturalibus veritatibus inimica, sed dignae potius Deo grates essent habendae, vehementerque laetandum, quod, inter multas ignorantiae causas et in mediis errorum fluctibus, sibi fides sanctissima illuxerit, quae, quasi sidus amicum, citra omnem errandi formidinem portum veritatis commonstrat.

Quod si, Venerabiles Fratres, ad historiam philosophiae respiciatis, cuncta, quae paulo ante diximus, re ipsa comprobari intelligetis. Et sane philosophorum veterum, qui fidei beneficio caruerunt, etiam qui habebantur sapientissimi, in pluribus deterimine errarunt. Nostis enim, inter nonnulla vera, quam saepe falsa et absona, quam multa incerta et dubia tradiderint de vera divinitatis ratione, de prima rerum origine, de mundi gubernatione, de divina futurorum cognitione, de malorum causa et principio, de ultimo fine hominis, aeternaeque beatitudine, de virtutibus et vitiis, aliisque doctrinis, quarum vera certaque notitia nihil magis est hominum generi necessarium. Contra vero primi Ecclesiae Patres et Doctores, qui satis intellexerant, ex divinae voluntatis consilio, restitutorem humanae etiam scientiae esse Christum, qui Dei virtus est Deique sapientia² et *in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi,*³ veterum sapientum libros investigandos, eorumque sententias cum revelatis doctrinis conferendas suscipere: prudentique delectu quae in illis vere dicta et sapienter cogitata occurrerent, amplexi sunt, ceteris omnibus vel emendatis, vel rejectis. Nam providissimus Deus, sicut ad Ecclesiae defensionem martyres fortissimos, magnae animae prodigos. contra tyrannorum saevitiem excitavit, ita philosophis falsi nominis aut haereticis viros sapientia maximos objecit, qui revelatarum veritatum thesaurum etiam rationis humanae praesidio tuerentur. Itaque ab ipsis Ecclesiae primordiis, catholica doctrina eos nacta est adversarios multo infensissimos, qui christianorum dogmata et instituta iridentes, ponebant plures esse deos, mundi materiam principio causae caruisse, rerumque cursum caeca quadam vi et fatali contineri necessitate, non divinae providentiae consilio administrari. Jamvero cum his insanientis doctrinae magistris mature congressi sunt sapientes viri, quos *Apologetas* nominamus, qui, fide praecunte, ab humana quoque sapientia argumenta sumpserunt, quibus constituerent, unum Deum, omni perfectionum genere praestantissimum esse colendum; res omnes e nihilo omnipotenti virtute productas, illius sapientia vigere, singulasque ad proprios fines virtute productas, illius sapientia vigere, singulasque ad proprios fines dirigi ac moveri. Principem inter illos sibi locum vindicat, *S. Justinus* martyr, qui posteaquam celeberrimas graecorum Academias, quasi experiendo, lustrasset, plenoque ore nonnisi ex revelatis doctrinis, ut idem ipse fatetur, veritatem hauriri posse pervidisset, illas toto animi ardore complexus, calumniis purgavit, penes Romanorum Imperatores acriter copioseque defendit, et non pauca graecorum philosophorum dicta cum eis composuit. Quod et *Quadratus* et *Aristides*, *Hermias* et *Athenagoras* per illud tempus egregie praestiterunt. Neque minorem in eadem causa gloriam adeptus est *Irenaeus*, martyr invictus, Ecclesiae Lugdunensis Pontifex: qui cum strenue refutaret perversas orientalium opiniones,

¹ Const. dogm. de Fid. Cath., cap. 4. ² I Cor. i., 24. ³ Coloss. ii, 3.

Gnosticorum opera per fines romani imperii disseminatas, *origines haereseon singularum* (auctore Hieronymo), *et ex quibus philosophorum fontibus emanarint* . . . *explicavit*.¹ Nemo autem non novit *Clementis Alexandrini* disputationes, quas idem Hieronymus sic, honoris causa, commemorat: *Quid in illis indoctum? imo quid non de media philosophia est?*² Multa ipse quidem incredibili varietate disseruit ad condendam philosophiae historiam, ad artem dialecticam rite exercendam, ad concordiam rationis cum fide conciliandam utilissima. Hunc secutus *Origines*, scholae Alexandrinae magisterio insignis, graecorum et orientalium doctrinis eruditissimus, perplura eademque laboriosa edidit volumina, divinis litteris explanandis, sacrisque dogmatibus illustrandis mirabiliter opportuna; quae licet erroribus, saltem ut nunc extant, omnino non vacent, magnam tamen complectuntur vim sententiarum, quibus naturales veritates et numero et firmitate augentur. Pugnat cum haereticis *Tertullianus* auctoritate sacrarum Litterarum; cum philosophis, mutato armorum genere, philosophice; hos autem tam acute et erudite convincit, ut iisdem palam fidenterque objiciat: *Neque de scientia, neque de disciplina, ut putatis, aequamur*.³ *Arnobius* etiam, vulgatis adversus gentiles libris, et *Lactantius* divinis praesertim Institutionibus, pari eloquentia et robore dogmata ac praecepta catholicae sapientiae persuadere hominibus strenue nituntur, non sic philosophiam evertentes, ut Academici solent,⁴ sed partim suis armis, partim vero ex philosophorum inter se concertatione sumptis eos revincentes. Quae autem de anima humana, de⁵ divinis attributis, aliisque maximi momenti quaestionibus, magnus *Athanasius* et *Chrysostomus* oratorum princeps, scripta reliquerunt, ita, omnium judicio, excellunt, ut prope nihil ad illorum subtilitatem et copiam addi posse videatur. Et ne singulis recensendis nimii simus, summorum numero virorum, quorum est mentio facta, adjungimus *Basilium* magnum et utrumque *Gregorium*, qui, cum Athenis, ex domicilio totius humanitatis, exiissent philosophiae omnis apparatu affatim instructi, quas sibi quisque doctrinae opes inflammato studio pepererat, eas ad haereticos refutandos, instituendosque christianos converterunt. Sed omnibus veluti palmam praeripuisse visus est *Augustinus*, qui ingenio praepotens, et sacris profanisque disciplinis ad plenum imbutus, contra omnes suae aetatis errores acerrime dimicavit fide summa, doctrina pari. Quem ille philosophiae locum non attigit; imo vero quem non diligentissime investigavit, sive cum altissima fidei mysteria et fidelibus aperiret, et contra adversariorum vesanos impetus defenderet; sive cum, Academicorum aut Manichaeorum commentis deletis, humanae scientiae fundamenta et firmitudinem in tuto collocavit, aut malorum, quibus premuntur homines, rationem et originem et causas est persecutus? Quanta de Angelis, de anima, de mente humana, de voluntate et libero arbitrio, de religione et de beata vita, de tempore et aeternitate, de ipsa quoque mutabilium corporum natura subtilissime disputavit? Post id tempus per Orientem *Ioannes Damascenus*, Basilii et Gregorii Nazianzeni vestigia ingressus, per Occidentem vero *Boëtius* et *Anselmus*, Augustini doctrinas professi, patrimonium philosophiae plurimum locupletarunt.

Exinde mediae aetatis Doctores, quos *Scholasticos* vocant, magnae molis opus aggressi sunt, nimirum segetes doctrinae fecundas et uberes, amplissimis Sanctorum Patrum voluminibus diffusas, diligenter congerere, congestasque uno velut loco condere, in posterorum usum et commoditatem. Quae autem scholasticae disciplinae sit origo, indoles et

Epist. ad Magn.

² Loc. cit.³ Apologet. § 46.⁴ Inst. vii., cap. 7.⁵ De opif. Dei, cap. 21.

excellentia, juvat hic, Venerabiles Fratres, verbis sapientissimi viri, Praedecessoris Nostri, Sixti V, fusius aperire: "Divino Illius munere, qui solus dat spiritum scientiae et sapientiae et intellectus, quique Ecclesiam suam per saeculorum aetates, prout opus est, novis beneficiis augeat, novis praesidiis instruit, inventa est a majoribus nostris sapientissimis viris, Theologia scholastica, quam duo potissimum gloriosi Doctores, angelicus S. Thomas et seraphicus S. Bonaventura, clarissimi hujus facultatis professores . . . excellenti ingenio, assiduo studio, magnis laboribus et vigiliis excoluerunt atque ornarunt, eamque optime dispositam, multisque modis praeclare explicatam posteris tradiderunt. Et hujus quidem tam salutaris scientiae cognitio et exercitatio, quae ab uberrimis divinarum Litterarum, summorum Pontificum, sanctorum Patrum et Conciliorum fontibus dimanat, semper certe maximum Ecclesiae adjumentum afferre potuit, sive ad Scripturas ipsas vere et sane intelligendas et interpretandas, sive ad Patres securius et utilius perlegendos et explicandos, sive ad varios errores et haereses detegendas et refellendas; his vero novissimis diebus, quibus jam advenerunt tempora illa periculosa ab Apostolo descripta, et homines blasphemii, superbi, seductores proficiunt in peius, errantes et alios in errorem mittentes, sane catholicae fidei dogmatibus confirmandis et haeresibus confutandis per-necessaria est."¹ Quae verba quamvis Theologiam scholasticam dumtaxat complecti videantur, tamen esse quoque de Philosophia ejusque laudibus accipienda perspicitur. Siquidem praeclarae dotes, quae Theologiam scholasticam hostibus veritatis faciunt tantopere formidolosam, nimirum, ut idem Pontifex addit, "apta illa et inter se nexa rerum et causarum cohaerentia, ille ordo et dispositio tamquam militum in pugnando instructio, illae dilucidae definitiones et distinctiones, illa argumentorum firmitas et acutissimae disputationes, quibus lux a tenebris, verum a falso distinguitur, haereticorum mendacia multis praestigiis et fallaciis involuta, tamquam veste detracta patefiunt et denudantur,"² praeclarae sunt ejus philosophiae, quam magistri scholastici, data opera et sapienti consilio, in disputationibus etiam theologicis, passim usurpare consueverunt. Praeterea cum illud sit scholasticorum Theologorum proprium ac singulare, ut scientiam humanam ac divinam aretissimo inter se vinculo conjunxerint, profecto Theologia, in qua illi excelluerunt, non erat tantum honoris et commendationis ab opinione hominum adeptura, si mancā atque imperfectam aut levem philosophiam adhibuissent.

Jamvero inter Scholasticos Doctores, omnium princeps et magister, longe eminet *Thomas Aquinas*: qui, uti Cajetanus animadvertit, veteres doctores sacros quia summe veneratus est, ideo intellectum omnium quodammodo sortitus est.³ Illorum doctrinas, velut dispersa ejusdam corporis membra, in unum Thomas collegit et coagmentavit, miro ordine digessit, et magnis incrementis ita adauxit, ut catholicae Ecclesiae singulare praesidium et decus jure meritoque habeatur. Ille quidem ingenio docilis et acer, memoria facilis et tenax, vitae integerrimus, veritatis unice amator, divina humanaque scientia praedives, soli comparatus, orbem terrarum calore virtutum fovit, et doctrinae splendore complevit. Nulla est philosophiae pars, quam non acute simul et solide pertractarit: de legibus ratiocinandi, de Deo et incorporeis substantiis, de homine aliisque sensibilibus rebus, de humanis actibus eorumque principiis ita disputavit, ut in eo neque copiosa quaestionum seges, neque apta par-

¹ Bulla—*Triumphantis*, an. 1588.

² Bull. cit.

³ In 2^m. 2^{ae}., q. 148, a. 4. in fin.

tium dispositio, neque optima procedendi ratio, neque principiorum firmitas aut argumentorum robur, neque dicendi perspicuitas aut proprietates, neque abstrusa quaeque explicandi facilitas desideretur.

Illud etiam accedit, quod philosophicas conclusiones angelicus Doctor speculatus est in rerum rationibus et principiis, quae quam latissime patent, et infinitarum fere veritatum semina suo velut gremio concludunt, a posterioribus magistris opportuno tempore et uberrimo cum fructu aperienda. Quam philosophandi rationem cum in erroribus refutandis pariter adhibuerit, illud a se ipse impetravit, ut et superiorum temporum errores omnes unus debellarit, et ad profligandos, qui perpetua vice in posterum exoriturum sunt, arma invictissima suppeditarit. Praeterea rationem, ut par est, a fide apprime distinguens, utramque tamen amice consocians, utriusque tum jura conservavit, tum dignitati consuluit, ita quidem ut ratio ad humanum fastigium Thomae pennis evecta, jam fere nequeat sublimius assurgere; neque fides a ratione fere possit plura aut validiora adiumenta praestolari, quam quae jam est per Thomam consecuta.

Has ob causas, doctissimi homines, superioribus praesertim aetatibus, theologiae et philosophiae laude praestantissimi, conquisitis incredibili studio Thomae voluminibus immortalibus, angelicae sapientiae ejus sese non tam excolendos, quam penitus innutriendos tradiderunt. Omnes prope conditores et legiferos Ordinum religiosorum jussisse constat sodales suos, doctrinis S. Thomae studere et religiosius haerere, cauto, ne cui eorum impune liceat a vestigiis tanti viri vel minimum discedere. Ut Dominicanam familiam praetereamus, quae summo hoc magistro jure quodam suo gloriatur, ea lege teneri Benedictinos, Carmelitas, Augustinianos, Societatem Jesu, aliosque sacros Ordines complures, statuta singulorum testantur.

Atque hoc loco magna cum voluptate provolat animus ad celeberrimas illas, quae olim in Europa floruerunt, Academias et Scholas, Parisiensem nempe, Salmantinam, Complutensem, Duacenam, Tolosanam, Lovaniensem, Patavinam, Bononiensem, Neapolitanam, Conimbricensem, aliasque permultas. Quarum Academiarum nomen aetate quodammodo crevisse, rogatasque sententias, cum graviora agerentur negotia, plurimum in omnes partes valuisse, nemo ignorat. Jamvero compertum est, in magnis illis humanae sapientiae domiciliis, tamquam in suo regno, Thomam consedissem principem; atque omnium vel doctorum vel auditorum animos miro consensu in unius angelici Doctoris magisterio et auctoritate conquievisse.

Sed, quod pluris est, Romani Pontifices Praedecessores Nostrae sapientiam Thomae Aquinatis singularibus laudum praeconiis, et testimoniis amplissimis prosecuti sunt. Nam Clemens VI.¹ Nicolaus V.² Benedictus XIII.³ alique testantur, admirabili ejus doctrina universam Ecclesiam illustrari; S. Pius V.⁴ vero fatetur eadem doctrina haereses confusas et convictas dissipari, orbemque universum a pestiferis quotidie liberari erroribus; alii cum Clemente XII.⁵ uberrima bona ab ejus scriptis in Ecclesiam universam dimanasse, Ipsumque eodem honore colendum esse affirmant, qui summis Ecclesiae doctoribus, Gregorio, Ambrosio, Augustino et Hieronymo defertur; alii tandem s. Thomam proponere non dubitarunt Academiae et magnis Lyceis exemplar et magistrum, quem tuto pede sequerentur. Qua in re memoratu dignissima videntur B. Urbani V. verba ad Academiam Tolosanam; *Volumus*

¹ Bulla *In Ordine*

² Breve ad FF. Ord. Praedic. 1451.

³ Bulla *Pretiosus*.

⁴ Bulla *Mirabilis*

⁵ Bulla *Verbo Dei*

*et tenore praesentium vobis injungimus, ut B. Thomae doctrinam tamquam veridicam et catholicam sectemini, eandemque studeatis totis viribus ampliari.*¹ Urbani autem exemplum Innocentius XII.² in Lovaniensi studiorum Universitate, et Benedictus XIV.³ in Collegio Dionysiano Granatensium renoverunt. His vero Pontificum maximorum de Thoma Aquinate judiciis, veluti cumulus, Innocentii VI. testimonium accedat: *Hujus (Thomae) doctrinae prae ceteris, excepta canonica, habet proprietatem verborum, modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum, ita ut numquam qui eam tenuerint, inveniuntur a veritatis tramite deviasse; et qui eam impugnaverit, semper fuerit de veritate suspectus.*⁴

Ipsa quoque Concilia (Ecumenica, in quibus eminet lectus ex toto orbe terrarum flos sapientiae, singularem Thomae Aquinati honorem habere perpetuo studuerunt. In Conciliis Lugdunensi, Viennensi, Florentino, Vaticano, deliberationibus et decretis Patrum interfuisse Thomam et pene praefuisse dixeris, adversus errores Graecorum, haereticorum et rationalistarum ineluctabili vi et faustissimo exitu decertantem. Sed haec maxima est et Thomae propria, nec cum quopiam ex doctoribus catholicis communicata laus, quod Patres Tridentini, in ipso medio conclavi ordini habendo, una cum divinae Scripturae codicibus et Pontificum Maximorum decretis *Summam* Thomae Aquinatis super altari patere voluerunt, unde consilium, rationes, oracula peterentur.

Postremo haec quoque palma viro incomparabili reservata videbatur, ut ab ipsis catholici nominis adversariis obsequia, praeconia, admirationem extorqueret. Nam exploratum est, inter haereticarum factionum duces non defuisse, qui palam profiterentur, sublata semel e medio doctrina Thomae Aquinatis, se facile posse *cum omnibus* catholicis doctoribus *subire certamen et vincere, et Ecclesiam dissipare.*⁵ Inanis quidem spes, sed testimonium non inane.

His rebus et causis, Venerabiles Fratres, quoties respicimus ad bonitatem, vim preclarasque utilitates ejus disciplinae philosophicae, quam majores nostri adamarunt, judicamus temere esse commissum, ut eidem suus honos non semper, nec ubique permanserit: praesertim cum philosophiae scholasticae et usum diuturnum et maximorum virorum judicium, et, quod caput est, Ecclesiae suffragium favisse constaret. Atque in veteris doctrinae locum nova quaedam philosophiae ratio hac illac successit, unde non ii percepti sunt fructus optabiles ac salutare, quos Ecclesia et ipsa civilis societas maluissent. Adnitentibus enim Novatoribus saeculi XVI. placuit philosophari citra quempiam ad fidem respectum, petita dataque vicissim potestate quaelibet pro lubitu ingenioque excogitandi. Qua ex re primum fuit, genera philosophiae plus aequo multiplicari, sententiasque diversas atque inter se pugnantes oriri etiam de iis rebus, quae sunt in humanis cognitionibus praecipuae. A multitudine sententiarum ad haesitationes dubitationesque persaepe ventum est: a dubitationibus vero in errorem quam facile mentes hominum delabantur, nemo est qui non videat. Hoc autem novitatis studium, cum homines imitatione trahantur, catholicorum quoque philosophorum animos visum est alicubi pervasisse; qui patrimonio antiquae sapientiae posthabito, nova moliri, quam vetera novis augere et perficere maluerunt, certe minus sapienti consilio, et non sine scientiarum detrimento. Etenim multiplex haec ratio doctrinae, cum in magistrorum singulorum

¹ Const. 5^a. dat. die 3 Aug. 1368, ad Cancell. Univ. Tolos.

² Litt. in form. Brev., die 6 Feb., 1694.

³ Litt. in form. Brev., die 21 Aug., 1752.

⁴ Serm. de S. Thom.

⁵ Beza—Bucerus

auctoritate arbitrioque nitatur, mutabile habet fundamentum, eaque de causa non firmam atque stabilem neque robustam, sicut veterem illam, sed nutantem et levem facit philosophiam. Cui si forte contingat, hostium impetu ferendo vix parem aliquando inveniri, ejus rei agnoscat in seipsa residere causam et culpam. Quae cum dicimus, non eos profecto improbamus doctos homines atque solertes, qui industriam et eruditionem suam, ac novorum inventorum opes ad excolendam philosophiam afferunt: id enim probe intelligimus ad incrementa doctrinae pertinere. Sed magnopere cavendum est, ne illa industria atque eruditione tota aut praecipua exercitatio versetur. Et simili modo de sacra Theologia judicetur; quam multiplici eruditionis adjumento juvari atque illustrari quidem placet, sed omnino necesse est, gravi Scholasticorum more tractari, ut, revelationis et rationis conjunctis in illa viribus, *invictum fidei propugnaculum*¹ esse perseveret.

Optimo itaque consilio cultores disciplinarum philosophicarum non pauci, cum ad instaurandam utiliter philosophiam novissime animum adjecerint, praeclaram Thomae Aquinatis doctrinam restituere, atque in pristinum decus vindicare studuerunt et student. Pari voluntate plures ex ordine Vestro, Venerabiles Fratres, eandem alacriter viam esse ingressos, magna cum animi Nostri laetitia cognovimus. Quos cum laudamus vehementer, tum hortamur, ut in suscepto consilio permaneant: reliquos vero omnes ex Vobis singulatim monemus, nihil Nobis esse antiquius et optabilius, quam ut sapientiae rivos purissimos ex angelico Doctore jugi et praedivite vena dimanantes, studiosae juventuti large copioseque universi praebeatis.

Quae autem faciunt, ut magno id studio velimus, plura sunt. Principio quidem, cum in hac tempestate nostra, machinationibus et astu fallacis cujusdam sapientiae, christiana fides oppugnari soleat, cuncti adolescentes, sed ii nominatim qui in Ecclesiae spem succrescunt, pollenti ac robusto doctrinae pabulo ob eam causam enutriendi sunt, ut viribus validi, et copioso armorum apparatu instructi, mature assuescant causam religionis fortiter et sapienter agere, *parati semper*, secundum Apostolica monita, *ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea, quae in nobis est, spe*,² et *exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos qui contradicunt, arguere*.³ Deinde plurimi ex iis hominibus qui, ab alienato a fide animo, instituta catholica oderunt, solam sibi esse magistram ac ducem rationem profitentur. Ad hos autem sanandos, et in gratiam cum fide catholica restituendos, praeter supernaturale Dei auxilium, nihil esse opportunius arbitramur, quam solidam Patrum et Scholasticorum doctrinam, qui firmissima fidei fundamenta, divinam illius originem, certam veritatem, argumenta quibus suadetur, beneficia in humanum genus collata, perfectamque cum ratione concordiam tanta evidentia et vi commonstrant, quanta flectendis mentibus vel maxime invitis et repugnantibus abunde sufficiat.

Domestica vero, atque civilis ipsa societas, quae ob perversarum opinionum pestem quanto in discrimine versetur, universi perspicimus, profecto pacatior multo et securior consisteret, si in Academicis et scholis sanior traderetur, et magisterio Ecclesiae conformior doctrina, qualem Thomae Aquinatis volumina complectuntur. Quae enim de germana ratione libertatis, hoc tempore in licentiam abeuntis, de divina cujuslibet auctoritatis origine, de legibus earumque vi, de paterno et aequo summorum Principum imperio, de obtemperacione sublimioribus potestatibus, de mutua inter omnes caritate; quae scilicet de his rebus et

¹ Sixtus V., Bull. cit.² I. Pet. iii., 15.³ Tit. i., 9.

aliis generis ejusdem a Thoma disputantur, maximum atque invictum robur habent ad evertenda ea juris novi principia quae peccato rerum ordini et publicae saluti periculosa esse dignoscuntur. Demum cunctae humanae disciplinae spem incrementi praecipere, plurimumque sibi debent praesidium polliceri ab hac, quae Nobis est proposita, disciplinarum philosophicarum instauratione: Etenim a philosophia tamquam a moderatrice sapientia, sanam rationem rectumque modum bonae artes mutuari, ab eaque, tamquam vitae communi fonte, spiritum haurire consueverunt. Facto et constanti experientia comprobatur, artes liberales tunc maxime floruisse, cum incolumis honor et sapiens judicium philosophiae stetit; neglectas vero et prope oblitteratas jacuisse, inclinata atque erroribus vel ineptiis implicita philosophia. Quapropter etiam physicae disciplinae, quae nunc tanto sunt in pretio, et tot praeclare inventis singularem ubique eient admirationem sui, ex restituta veterum philosophia non modo nihil detrimenti, sed plurimum praesidii sunt habiturae. Illarum enim fructuosae exercitationi et incremento non sola satis est consideratio factorum, contemplatioque naturae: sed, cum facta constiterint, altius assurgendum est, et danda solerter opera naturis rerum corporearum agnoscendis, investigandisque legibus, quibus parent, et principiis, unde ordo illarum et unitas in varietate, et mutua affinitas in diversitate proficiscuntur. Quibus investigationibus mirum quantam philosophia scholastica vim et lucem, et opem, est allatura, si sapienti ratione tradatur.

Qua in re et illud monere juvat, nonnisi per summam injuriam eidem philosophiae vitio verti, quod naturalium scientiarum profectui et incremento adversetur. Cum enim Scholastici, sanctorum Patrum sententiam secuti, in Anthropologia passim tradiderint, humanam intelligentiam nonnisi ex rebus sensibilibus ad noscendas res corpore materiaeque carentes evehi, sponte sua intellexerunt, nihil esse philosopho utilius, quam naturae arcana diligenter investigare, et in rerum physicarum studio diu multumque versari. Quod et facto suo confirmarunt: nam S. Thomas, B. Albertus magnus, alique Scholasticorum principes, non ita se contemplationi philosophiae dederunt, ut non etiam multum operae in naturalium rerum cognitione collocarint: imo non pauca sunt in hoc genere dicta eorum et scita, quae recentes magistri probent, et cum veritate congruere fateantur. Praeterea, hac ipsa aetate, plures iique insignes scientiarum physicarum doctores palam aperteque testantur, inter certas ratasque recentioris Physicae conclusiones, et philosophica Scholae principia nullam veri nominis pugnam existere.

Nos igitur, dum edicimus libenti gratoque animo excipiendum esse quidquid sapienter dictum, quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum atque excogitatum; Vos omnes, Venerabiles Fratres, quam enixe hortamur, ut ad catholicae fidei tutelam et decus, ad societatis bonum, ad scientiarum omnium incrementum auream sancti Thomae sapientiam restituatis, et quam latissime propagetis. Sapientiam sancti Thomae dicimus: si quid enim est a doctoribus Scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quaesitum, vel parum considerate traditum, si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaerens, vel denique quoquo modo non probabile, id nullo pacto in animo est aetati nostrae ad imitandum proponi. Ceterum, doctrinam Thomae Aquinatis studeant magistri, a Vobis intelligenter lecti, in discipulorum animos insinuare; ejusque prae ceteris soliditatem atque excellentiam in perspicuo ponant. Eandem Academiae a Vobis institutae aut instituendae illustrent ac tueantur, et ad grassantium errorum refutationem adhibeant. Ne autem supposita pro vera, neu corrupta pro sincera bibatur, providete ut sapientia Thomae

ex ipsis ejus fontibus hauriatur, aut saltem ex iis rivis, quos ab ipso fonte deductos, adhuc integros et illimes decurrere certa et concurs doctorum hominum sententia est : sed ab iis, qui exinde fluxisse dicuntur, re autem alienis et non salubribus aquis creverunt, adolescentium animos arcendos curate.

Probe autem novimus conatus Nostros irritos futuros, nisi communia cepta, Venerabiles Fratres, Ille secundet, qui *Deus scientiarum* in divinis eloquiis¹ appellatur ; quibus etiam monemur, *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum esse, descendens a Patre luminum.*² Et rursus : *Si quis indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo : qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non improperat ; et dabitur ei.*³ Igitur hac quoque in re exempla sequamur Doctoris angelici, qui numquam se lectioni aut scriptioni dedit, nisi propitiato precibus Deo ; quique candide confessus est, quidquid sciret, non tam se studio aut labore suo sibi peperisse, quam divinitus accepisse : ideoque humili et concordii obsecratione Deum simul omnes exoremus, ut in Ecclesiae filios spiritum scientiae et intellectus emittat, et aperiatur eis sensum ad intelligendam sapientiam. Atque ad uberiores percipiendos divinae bonitatis fructus, etiam B. Virginis Mariae, quae sedes sapientiae appellatur, efficacissimum patrocinium apud Deum interponite ; simulque deprecatores adhibete purissimum Virginis Sponsum B. Josephum, et Petrum ac Paulum Apostolos maximos, qui orbem terrarum, impura errorum lue corruptum, veritate renovarunt, et caelestis sapientiae lumine compleverunt.

Denique divini auxilii spe freti, et pastorali Vestro studio confisi, Apostolicam benedictionem, coelestium munerum auspicem et singularis Nostrae benevolentiae testem, Vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, universoque Clero et populo singulis commisso, peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 4 Augusti, ann. 1879, Pontificatus Nostri anno Secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ I. Reg. ii., 3. ² Iac. i., 17. ³ Ibid. v., 5.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Tractatus de Actibus Humanis, Auctore GULIELMO J. WALSH, S.T.D.

It should seem idle to commend to the readers of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, any work on Theology emanating from the distinguished President of Maynooth College. The articles on subjects connected with the Sacred Sciences, with which Dr. Walsh has been enriching the pages of this Journal, almost uninterruptingly, for the past ten years—not to speak of the writings he has published on Scripture and Canon Law—have distinctly pointed out their author as a not unworthy successor to the great and illustrious men who have built up for Maynooth a name second to none amongst the theological colleges of the Catholic world. But, I believe, that the *Tractatus de Actibus Humanis*, just published, will add to the reputation even of Dr. Walsh, and bring a new renown to the great ecclesiastical Institution, over which, at so young an age, he has been called to preside.

The Theory of Human Acts has been justly styled the foundation of Moral Theology, and yet, I think, it may be truly said that until the publication of Dr. Walsh's book, we have had no treatise on the subject, which either as a class-tract or as a manual of ready and reliable reference could be regarded as entirely satisfactory. In truth, writers on Human Acts have hitherto been rather remarkably wanting in accuracy and precision. Even in explaining the radical notion of the subject which they treat, it is possible to observe, even amongst respectable authors, great and conspicuous confusion. A great many content themselves with quoting the words of St. Thomas "*Illae solae (actiones) proprie dicuntur humanae, quae sunt propriae hominis, in quantum est homo.*"¹ Now, without some such explanation as Dr. Walsh gives, or as indeed St. Thomas himself immediately subjoins, these words have always seemed to me exceeding misleading. It may concern a philosopher, but how can it concern a theologian, to discuss the acts which a man performs in the respect in which he differs from the brutes? Perhaps it will be said that every such act is a moral act, and fit object of praise or censure. Were this true, it would still be a confession that the fundamental idea of a Human Act is not, *formaliter*, the act done by a man "as a man" and "as differing from the beasts," but the act *for which the agent may be praised or blamed*, or, in other words, by which he may be helped or impeded in the attainment of his last end.

But it is not true that the act performed by a man, *in quantum differt ab irrationabilibus creaturis*, is necessarily an act for which the agent may be praised or censured, unless the explanation be added "*Differt autem homo ab irrationabilibus creaturis, in hoc quod*

¹ Summa, 1. 2. q. in corp.

est suorum actuum dominus."¹ The act of laughter is an act proper to man and not common with the beasts, and yet it may not be a Human Act. The primo-primi motions of our rational intellect are not common with the beasts, and yet they are not Human Acts. The Amor Dei in Patria, in the case of our Lord and His Blessed Mother, who may be said to be the only *homines* in Heaven² is not a Human Act, though elicited by faculties distinctively rational. Of course, it will be said that this is a question *de modo loquendi*, and there are writers like Perrin³, who, clinging with pernicious tenacity to their original blunder, maintain that such acts as I have mentioned may be properly termed *human*, and that liberty is not required to constitute a Human Act.

But what business can it be of a moral theologian to treat of acts destitute of freedom, and for which therefore, as Catholics must hold, the agent, at least in the present state of fallen nature, cannot be regarded as deserving of punishment or reward? Better, surely, to follow the method and *modus loquendi* of St. Thomas. In the preface to the first question of the Prima Secundae, the Master of the Schools states very distinctly the true idea of a Human Act, "*ubi primo considerandum occurrit de ultimo fine humanae vitae; et deinde de his per quae homo ad hunc finem pervenire potest, vel ab eo deviare.*" And in the preface to the sixth question: "*Quia igitur ad beatitudinem per actus aliquos necesse est pervenire, oportet consequenter de humanis actibus considerare, ut sciamus quibus actibus perveniatur ad beatitudinem vel impediatur beatitudinis via.*" It is evident that only such acts as may promote or prevent the attainment of our end, fall within the domain of the theological discussion.

Setting out with this idea, it is easy to prove that the three elements mentioned so expressly in Dr. Walsh's definition, and which he explains with such thoroughness and lucidity, are essential to every Human Act: namely, the Advertence of the Intellect, the Determination of the Will, and the Exercise of Liberty. If any of these elements be wholly destroyed, the agent ceases in any respect to be responsible; if they be injured or impeded either slightly or considerably, the imputability of the act is diminished to a corresponding extent.

But it is in their definitions of terms that writers on Human Acts have hitherto most conspicuously failed. Incorrect or inaccurate definitions have wrought more mischief than can be readily believed. Dr. Walsh has done a service the importance of which cannot be exaggerated, in pointing out the various senses in which the same words have been often employed, and in warning against the mis-

¹ St. Thomas, *ibidem*.

² "*Loquor autem de homine ut intellectualis est . . . non ut ab Angelis distinguitur, nam quae hic de homine tractamus omnia similiter in Angelis inveniuntur.*" Suarez. *De Fine Hominis*. Disp. 2. Sect. 2. n. 7.

³ *De Actibus Humanis*. pag. 72.

takes which such confusion is calculated to cause. Nothing, to my mind, can be better, in the way of definition and analysis, than his treatment of the numerous divisions of *Voluntarium* (nn. 48-86), of *Ignorantia* (nn. 217-255), of *Metus* (nn. 306-325) &c. He carefully reminds the reader that these distinctions will be required to be known in other parts of the theological course, and his definitions are framed or selected on the excellent principle, that terms constantly occurring, and especially those consecrated by usage to the expression of recognised formulae, should be understood throughout, and by all, in a uniform sense. He gives several instances of the danger of inconsistency in this respect. Thus, in the *Treatise on Sins*, theologians most commonly assure us that *Voluntarium Perfectum* is required for grievous sin. But in the *Treatise on Human Acts*, they disagree rather surprisingly in ascribing a meaning to *Voluntarium Perfectum*. Dr. Walsh (nn. 53-55) mentions and explains three very divergent opinions. Does this disagreement arise from the fact that theologians are not of one mind on the constituents of mortal sin? Not at all; it is agreed there should be full advertence of the intellect and deliberate consent of the will. The confusion arises from an unfortunate inconsistency in the use of technical terminology, which, on the part of professional writers, can hardly be excused from criminal carelessness. In this connection I may observe that the words of Gury himself—though they are commonly adopted—seem to me likely to mislead beginners. “*Prius [Voluntarium perfectum] illud est,*” he says (n. 5. 1^o), “*quod fit cum plena cognitione et pleno voluntatis consensu.*” Full consent may easily be understood to imply the absence of any reluctance on the part of the will, and I should, therefore, prefer to employ the words *deliberate consent*.

Again, by pointing out the distinction between *Voluntarium Interpretativum Absolutum* and *Voluntarium Interpretativum Conditionatum*, our author shows the controversy amongst theologians to be unreal regarding the sufficiency of an *intentio interpretativa* for the valid reception of Extreme Unction.

The chapter in Dr. Walsh's book *De Ignorantia* may be referred to as a rare example of most learned and accurate treatment of an important and difficult subject. Everybody knows the controversies and complications that perpetually recur in reference to *vincible* and *invincible* ignorance. With Dr. Walsh as guide the clouds and obscurity disappear, and the humblest student may understand a subject that has vexed and perplexed many an able man.

But, I think, every student will consider himself most indebted to Dr. Walsh for his exhaustive and most satisfactory disquisition regarding the *act having two effects*. The principle that determines the lawfulness of an act from which a good and a bad effect follow, ramifies into every portion of Moral Theology and is of extremest importance. In explaining it, Dr. Walsh displays

a grasp of thought and power of analysis worthy of our greatest theologians. He broaches no new doctrine, but, setting aside the incoherent dicta with which we have been familiar, he gathers into one clear and comprehensive formula the principles in which, practically, all are agreed. I feel very assured that Dr. Walsh's services in this matter, to which I can now only refer, will be generally recognised.

It seems an omission that Dr. Walsh did not devote a few sentences to the explanation of that system of volition which in our own days, Bain, Mill, Huxley, Tyndall, Hodgson, &c., have set up or resuscitated against the Catholic doctrine of Free Will. In a short space, he could have described its peculiar nature, and shown how it saps the foundations of morality. If "given certain psychical and corporeal antecedents, one definite group of psychical consequents infallibly and inevitably ensue," human liberty and responsibility are, of course, at an end. Whatever impedes or destroys the *humanity* of an act might well be mentioned in the Treatise before us, but for an exhaustive refutation of modern errors concerning Free Will, Dr. Walsh would, doubtless, have referred us to the articles of Dr. Ward in the *Dublin Review*.

Whatever opinion one may entertain on the famous controversy "An *detur actus indifferens in individuo*?"—and I confess to being a Thomist myself—it cannot be denied that our author states the question with extreme clearness and accuracy, and makes out a powerful case for the Scotist view. It was most important, of course, to diminish as much as possible the argument on the other side from the authority of the Angelical Doctor. Dr. Walsh does not deny that St. Thomas admitted no indifferent act *in individuo*, but he makes an ingenious effort to show, that St. Thomas was far from maintaining the necessity of always acting *ob finem honestum*. In this, he contends, the Master of the Schools differed entirely from his followers, and admitted with the Scotists the occasional lawfulness of a *finis sensibilis*; only whereas the Scotists hold that an act performed *ob finem sensibilem* is, at most, *indifferent*, St. Thomas going farther than they, and thus more Scotist than the Scotists themselves, held it to be *good*.

Were I to venture an opinion, I should certainly say, that Dr. Walsh does not seem to me to have established this view of St. Thomas' teaching. In nearly every one of the passages cited, or in the immediate context, St. Thomas most distinctly mentions *ends* which every Thomist would denominate *good*. Surely "*justa necessitas aut pia utilitas*" (Dr. Walsh, n. 677), "*recreatio*¹ (678) *ne animus frangeretur*" (n. 679), "*ne animus nimia severitate frangatur*" (682), &c., are *fines honesti*. Play to refresh the mind or rest the body is good; to make the delectation of play one's end is bad. And so St. Thomas² teaches:—"Sed Chrysostomus dicit

¹ Vid. Gonet, Disp. 5, sect. 3, versus finem.

² 2. 2. Quest. 168, art. 2 ad 2.

‘non dat Deus ludere sed diabolus’ dicendum quod verbum illud Chrysostomi intelligendum est de illis . . . qui *finem in delectatione ludi constituunt*.”

Dr. Walsh’s style of Latin is correct and even elegant. There is not a single sentence in the book capable of being misunderstood, and the reader is rewarded with equal delight and instruction. There have been volumes, written even by able men, “ubi nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat;” but if amongst the many good qualities of this excellent book, there be one feature prominently praiseworthy, it is the perfect arrangement of all its parts and paragraphs, the “*lucidus ordo*” that shines throughout. The author need not fear that any body will think he has written too diffusely. In any case, the admirable Compendium at the end will exclude every objection on the score of prolixity.

I entirely admire Dr. Walsh’s practice of giving copious references, and of frequently introducing his reader to the very words of our great theologians. It enlivens the reading and the study of the page, it makes us familiar with the manner of thought and speech of eminent men, and it rouses a desire of further acquaintance with those noble works which enrich, beyond all others, the literature of theology. Few will appreciate the extraordinary reason which induced Laurentius Neesen—also a president of a college—to adopt a system the precise contrary of Dr. Walsh’s. “*Studiose*,” he says in the preface to his Treatise on Human Acts, “*abstinui a citatione auctorum, ut consulerem bono studiosorum. eos avertendo a noxia curiositate*.” Is it another mark of the more liberal views that prevail, that the head of the greatest ecclesiastical college at present in the world, does not share in the belief of the Mechlin president of more than two hundred years ago, that the study of the great theological classics should be inhibited to students as the gratification of *noxious curiosity*?

M. J. M.

WE have received for Review the following Books which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From MESSRS. BURNS & OATES—

The Dominican Hymn Book, with Vespers and Compline.

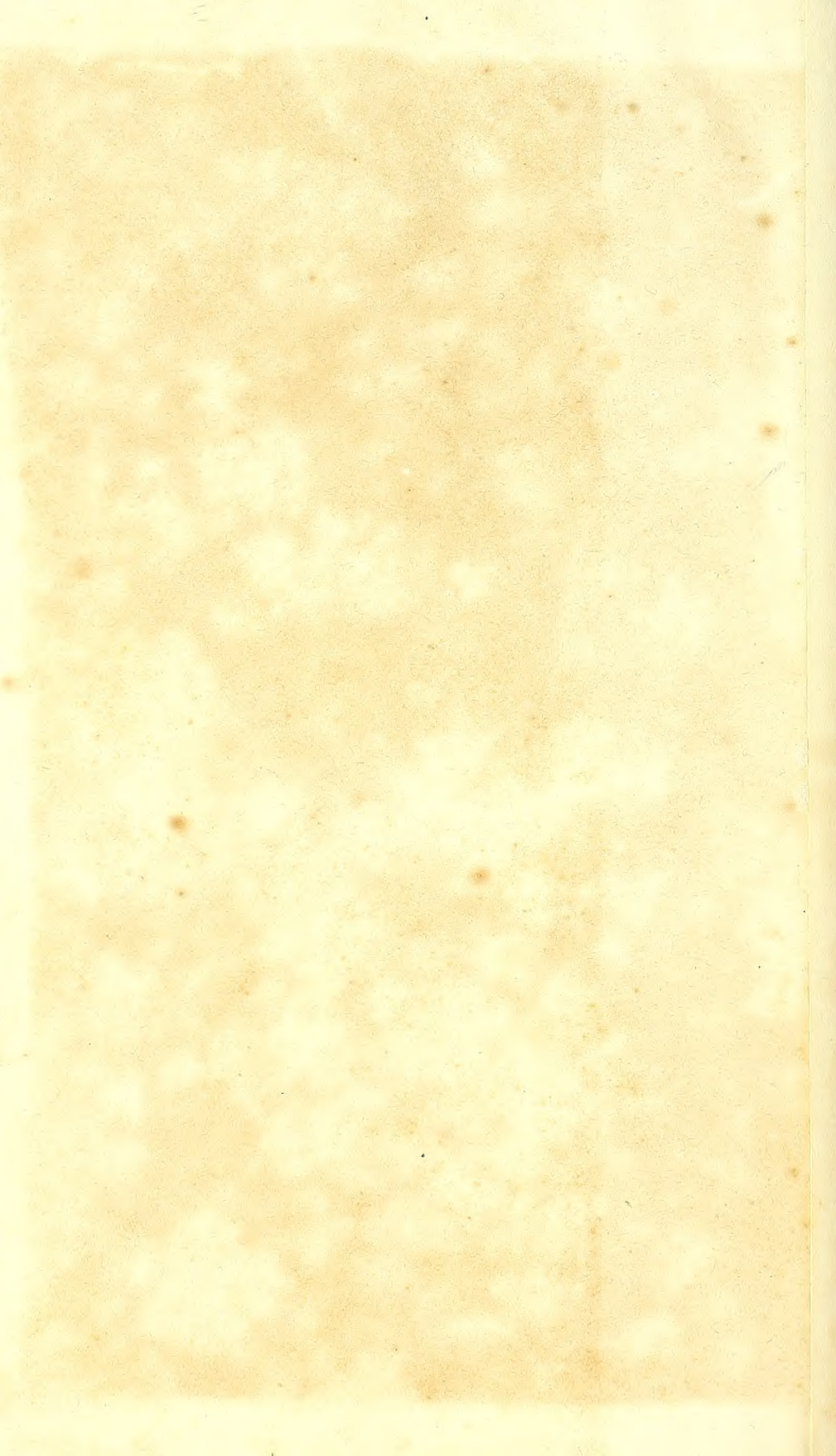
St. Mary Magdalen. By R. PÈRE H. D. LAGORDAIRE. Translated by E. A. HAZELAND.

From the AUTHOR—

Vox Populi. A Sequel to the Philosophy of Voice. By CHARLES LUNN.

The Philosophy of Voice. By CHARLES LUNN. Fourth Edition, enlarged.





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